THE SEERS OF THE ṚGVEDA

By

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Department of Sanskrit, University of Poona

UNIVERSITY OF POONA
Poona
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This thesis was accepted by the University of Poona for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (1955) and is now published
with financial assistance from the University Grants
Commission, New Delhi.

First edition 500 copies : November 1964

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Price Rs. 25/-

Printed by **D. D. Gangal,** at Lokasangraha Press, 1786, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2,
and published by **W. H. Golay,** Registrar, University of Poona, Ganeshkhind, Poona-7.

To

my revered teacher,

Prof. Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar

PREFATORY NOTE

It was in the period 1951-55 that I had originally prepared this thesis for the Ph. D. Degree, under the guidance of Guruvarya Padmabhūṣaṇa Prof. Dr. Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar, of the Unversity of Poona. I was then working as a Research Fellow in this Department. During the period of my Fellowship, Junior and Senior, I did some work also in connection with Indological bibliography, critical editing of Sanskrit texts, and miscellaneous Indological problems. It was in this period that Dr. Dandekar initiated me into the field of Vedic research in particular and of Indological research in general.

After working as a Sub-Editor in the Sanskrit Dictionary Department of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute for a period of seven years (1956 63), I again returned to the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages of the University of Poona as a lecturer.

I am grateful to the authorities of the University for having accepted this thesis for publication.

The work of printing was done at the Lokasangraha Press, Poona. I am thankful to Shri K. G. Sonar, Shri D. D. Gangal, Shri Gijare, and other workers in the press for their co-operation.

Department of Sanskrit and
Prakrit Languages,
University of Poona,
Poona–7
November, 1964.

V. G. Rahurkar.

Abbreviations

AB Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
AIHT Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by **Pargiter**.
AV Atharvaveda.
ĀśGS Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
ĀśŚS Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
BĀU Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
BD Bṛhaddevatā.
BDCRI Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
CAI Chronology of Ancient India, by **Pradhan**.
Comm. Vol. Commemoration Volume.
CU Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
GB Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
IA Indian Antiquary.
IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly.
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, U. S. A.
JASBL Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), Calcutta.
JBBRAS Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JBHU Journal of the Banares Hindu University, Banares.
JOR Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JUB Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay.
JUP Journal of the University of Poona, Poona.
MBh Mahābhārata.
NIA New Indian Antiquary, Poona.
P. Purāṇa.
PAIOC Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference (including summaries of papers).
PB Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.
PIHC Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (including summaries of papers).
PO Poona Orientalist, Poona.
QJMS Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
ṚV Ṛgveda.
ŚB Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
SV Sāmaveda.
TB Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TMB Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa.
TS Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
VM Vedic Mythology by **Macdonell** and *Vedische Mythologie* by **Hillebrandt**.
VS Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.
WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien.
ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesselschaft.

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INTRODUCTION

Very few attempts have so far been made to make a comprehensive study of the Ṛgvedic literature and tradition from the point of view of the ethnic and sociopolitical history of the authors of the *ṚV*. It should be remembered that, though mainly intended to be a hymnal collection, the *ṚV* can be regarded, to a degree unusual in what is generally understood to be hieratical religious literature, as a significant social record of a culturally vital period in Indian history.

Tradition also seems to have been, in a sense, aware of the importance of the Veda from this point of view. For, it lays down the four essential aspects of the Vedic study, namely, the study of the *ṛṣi* or the authors of the Veda; of *chandas*, that is, metres; of *daivata*, that is, Vedic mythology; and of *yoga*, that is, the ritualistic application of the Vedic literature.[1] So far as the *ṚV* is concerned, out of these four traditionally recognised aspects of study, *daivata* or mythology has been very thoroughly studied. Ṛgvedic metre may also be said to have received adequate attention from scholars. The various problems relating to the ritualistic employment of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* have, again, occupied Vedists from time to time. The only aspect which has been more or less neglected so far, and which, therefore, remains to be properly investigated, is the *ṛṣi* or the study of the authors of the *ṚV*.

Oldenberg[2] has, no doubt, written an article about the authors of the *ṚV*-hymns, but his treatment is by no means detailed or exhaustive and the only purpose which his contribution may be said to have served is to emphasise the importance of this subject and to indicate the lines on which its study could be carried out. In his excellent work[3] **Pargiter** has made a remarkable attempt to reconstruct ancient Indian historical tradition, but, for his material, he has depended more or less exclusively on the *Purāṇas*. A detailed and an exhaustive study of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* has long been a desideratum and is, therefore, being undertaken in the present thesis.

In this connection, it may be incidentally pointed out that modern literary criticism also puts greater stress on the study of the author and his peculiar environ-

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(1) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, Vol.I, p.32 :

अविदित्वा ऋषिं छन्दो दैवतं योगमेव च ।
योऽध्यापयेज्जपेद्वापि पापीयाञ्जायते तु सः ।।
ऋषिच्छन्दोदैवतानि ब्राह्मणार्थं स्वराद्यपि ।
अविदित्वा प्रयुञ्जानो मन्त्रकण्टक उच्यते ।।

(2) *ZDMG*, 42, pp. 199–247.

(3) *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. **Kosambi**, ("The study of ancient Indian Tradition", *Indica*, *IHRI*, Silver Jubilee Vol. pp. 196–214) rightly points out that **Pargiter's** real service is the collation of Purāṇic king-lists and that a good deal of Purāṇic material deserves to be studied, by an anthropologist rather than by a historian.

ments as a necessary aid for the proper understanding and estimate of his literary work.

The sociohistorical importance of the study of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* is quite patent. The *ṚV*, being the oldest extant literary work belonging to the Vedic Indians, has naturally preserved relics of different types of culture which prevailed in the early periods of India's history. Through a comprehensive study of the families and individuals who were responsible for this remarkable literary monument, it would be possible to present, in the proper historical perspective, the various stages in the evolution of the life and thought reflected in the *ṚV*. The correlation of the history of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* and their patrons with the accounts given in the later Vedic literature and the *Purāṇas* would prove immensely helpful for the reconstruction of the cultural history of India.

It has been already suggested that the *ṚV* ought to be approached and studied not only as a hymnody but also as a significant record of the social history of the Vedic Indians. By the very nature of things, however, such material of socio-historical import is scattered promiscuously all over the *ṚV-saṁhitā*. Before, therefore, one could utilize the *ṚV* as an efficient source for what may be called historical biographies of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*—biographies, that is to say, which would aim at presenting systematically, though in some cases, only in broad outlines, the significant role played by those *ṛṣis* in the social, political, religious, ritualistic, philosophical and literary history of ancient India—one would have to collect together all the references direct or indirect to a particular *ṛṣi* and his family, critically analyse those references, and then constructively synthesise them. In the form of such scientifically reconstructed historical biographies of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*, mainly based on the material available from the *ṚV*, which, indeed constitute the theme of this thesis, can be forged useful links to connect the pre-Ṛgvedic, the Ṛgvedic and the post-Ṛgvedic periods of the cultural history of India.

An objection of the *mūle kuṭhāraḥ* type may be raised at this juncture, against such an attempt to reconstruct the historical biographies of the authors of the *ṚV*. Tradition claims that the Veda is *apauruṣeya*, that is to say, no human agency is responsible for the creation of the Veda. The Veda is not man-made but god-given.[4] How, then, can one speak of the authors of the Veda, namely, the *ṛṣis*, and of the study of their achievements and environments ?

It may, however, be pointed out in this connection that the concept of *apauruṣeyatva* has been interpreted differently by different schools. In the introduction to his *Ṛgvedabhāṣya*,[5] Sāyaṇa has dealt with the question about the authorship of the *ṚV* from the *Mīmāṁsā* point of view. He has quoted the *sūtras* of Jaimini[6] which give the *pūrvapakṣa* and the *siddhānta* regarding this subject. The arguments, in this connection, may be briefly stated as follows : According to the *pūrvapakṣa*, the Veda must have had human origin. Just as literary compositions like the *Raghuvaṁśa* etc. are known to have been composed by the poets like Kālidāsa etc., similarly the Veda which is a literary composition must have been composed by some human authors.[7] The titles such as Kāṭhaka, Kauthuma etc., given to Vedic texts presumably indicate the authors of those texts. Moreover, the Veda can by no means be considered to be without beginning.[8] For, the names of mortals like Babara Prāvāhaṇi and Kusurubinda Auddālaki, occur in the Vedic texts.[9] These Vedic texts cannot, therefore, be placed prior to these persons and must accordingly be supposed to have a beginning. It is also seen that the Veda contains various foolish statements which are like the ravings of a mad man. These and similar other objections are refuted by Jaimini in his *Siddhāntasūtras*[10] It has been already established that the Veda is eternal and,therefore, without beginning.[11] As regards the names Kāṭhaka, Taittirīya etc., it can be said that they simply signify a priestly tradition handing down the knowledge of the Veda.[12] As regards the names Babara etc. it can be said that they may not necessarily be human names.[13] Moreover, sentences occurring in the Veda, such as, *jyotiṣṭomena svargakāmo yajeta*, clearly suggest that the Veda could not have been composed by any human author.[14] For, how can any human being possibly know the connection between the performance of a sacrificial rite and its *adṛṣṭa phala ?* Further, the statements made in the Veda are quite coherent, systematic, and furnished with all the necessary details. How, then, can they be compared with the ravings of a mad man ? These statements may appear queer at first sight, but, on a closer scrutiny, they will be found to have suitable purports.[15] In addition to these arguments Sāyaṇa adduces, in his support evidence from the *sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa,[16] the *śruti*[17] and the *smṛti*.[18]

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[4] Cf. *BĀU* 2.4.10.

[5] Cf. *ṚV*, VSM, Vol. I, pp.15-16.

[6] *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* I.1.27-32.

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(7) Cf. *PMS* I.1.27 : वेदांश्चैके संनिकर्षं पुरुषाख्याः ।

(8) Cf. *PMS* I.1.28 : अनित्यदर्शनाच्च ।

(9) Cf. *TS* VII.1.10.2 : बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत । and also *TS* VII. 2.2.1 : कुसुरुबिन्द औद्दालकिरकामयत ।

(10) Cf. *PMS* I.1.5 : औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्य अर्थेन सम्बन्धः ।

(11) Cf. *PMS* I.1.29 : उक्तं तु शब्दपूर्वत्वम् ।

(12) Cf. *PMS* I.1.30 : आख्या प्रवचनात् ।

(13) Cf. *PMS* I.1.31 : परं तु श्रुतिसामान्यमात्रम् ।

(14) Cf. *PMS* I.1.32 : कृते चाविनियोगः स्यात्कर्मणः समत्वात् ।

(15) Cf. *Jaiminīya-Nyāyamālā-Vistara* I.1.8 :

पौरुषेयं न वा वेदवाक्यं स्यात् पौरुषेयता ।
काठकादिसमाख्यानाद्वाक्यत्वाच्चान्यवाक्यवत् ॥
समाख्यानं प्रवचनाद्वाक्यत्वं तु पराहतम् ।
तत्कत्रनुपलम्मेन स्यात्ततो पौरुषेयता ॥

(16) Cf. Brahma-sūtra I.3.29 : अत एव च नित्यत्वम् ।

(17) Cf. *ṚV* VIII.75.6 : वा॒चा विरूप॒नित्य॑या ।

IV

Thus, according to the traditional view, as put forth by Jaimini and Sāyaṇa no human origin can be ascribed to the Veda. There are, no doubt, frequent references in the Vedic literature itself, to several *ṛṣis*, who are said to be responsible for the various Vedic *mantras*. But this their responsibility is to be understood in a limited sense. The *ṛṣis* did not create or compose the *mantras*, which, indeed, had been in existence from times immemorial, but they only 'saw' or discovered them. A *ṛṣi* is indeed one who sees.[19] What the *ṛṣis* were able to see through their intuitive knowledge is the Veda.[20]

The implications of this traditional view are, indeed, quite patent. The characterisation of the Veda as *apauruṣeya* immediately distinguished it from all other literature and raised it to the level of profound sanctity and absolute authority. The divine origin and impersonal character of the Veda invested it with a kind of infallibility, for, owing to the inherently imperfect character of human faculties, all that is created by man is also bound to be imperfect and cannot, therefore, be regarded as authoritative.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the characterisation of the Veda as *apauruṣeya* cannot be understood literally. As a matter of fact, attempts were made, even in early times, to rationalise the *apauruṣeyatva* of the Veda. Especially the theory, put forth by the Naiyāyikas, about the relation between word and meaning is very significant in this connection. According to them, the pronunciation of each syllable has a beginning and an end. Unless the pronunciation of one syllable is complete, the other syllable cannot be pronounced. The same is true of words also. Such successive pronunciation is styled by the Naiyāyikas as '*ānupūrvī*'. This *ānupūrvī* proves that no literature—not even the Veda—is eternal and without a beginning. The Veda must, accordingly, be regarded as man-made; but its absolute authority is established on account of the fact of its having emanated from competent persons (*āpta*), who had an intuitive perception of truth.[21] If we trace the authorship of the Veda backwards, we come to a stage when our memory fails and we do not remember who the most ancient *ṛṣis* were and it is in this sense also that the Vedas are styled as *apauruṣeya*.

Patañjali, the great grammarian, in his gloss on Pāṇini IV·3·101, observes that the question of the eternity of the Vedas refers to their sense, which is eternal (*artho nityaḥ*), and not to the order of their letters (*ānupūrvī*), which is certainly not eternal.

The Sāṅkhyas[22] agree with the Naiyāyikas in rejecting the doctrine of eternity of the connection of a word with its meaning and, though they regard the Veda as *pauruṣeya* in the sense that it emanated from the Primeval *puruṣa*, yet

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(19) Cf. *Nirukta* II.11 : ऋषिर्दर्शनात् ।

(20) The word, Veda, is linguistically connected with Latin *video* (= to see).

(21) Cf. *Nirukta* I.20 : साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो वभूवुः ।

(22) Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* V.40–51.

they maintain that it was not the result of a conscious effort on the part of this *puruṣa,* but only an unconscious emanation from him like his breathing.

The *apauruṣeyatva* of the Veda has been explained in another way also. It has been suggested that the subject-matter or the contents of the Veda are *apauruṣeya,* while the verbal representation of those contents, in so far as it is brought about by the *ṛṣis,* is *pauruṣeya.* In other words, the knowledge contained in the Veda is eternal, the *ṛṣis* are simply the vehicles of that knowledge. It is in the sense that the Veda is characterised as the 'rhythm of the Infinite heard by the soul'. In some passages of the Veda itself, the *mantras* are said to have been fashioned by the poets.[23] This would imply that, in respect of the Veda, the expression was human while the subject-matter was super-human.[24]

It is possible to explain the concept of the *apauruṣeyatva* in a fairly rational manner if we approach this whole question from the point of view of the growth of the Veda, as a literary work, from its basic *mantra*-form to its well-organised *saṁhitā*-form. The word *saṁhitā* itself presupposes that there was a time when the various *mantras* of the Veda were in a scattered, unorganised condition. Indeed, this is exactly what could be expected. It can be said about the Veda that the conditions of the life of the Vedic Indians are faithfully reflected in the form and contents of the various types of that literature. From the time of their first migrations from the region round about Balkh up to the time of their early settlements in the Saptasindhu—during which period, indeed, the bulk of the *mantra*-material must have been produced—the Vedic people lived a nomadic, unsettled life. This 'unsettled' character of their life is reflected in the stray and scattered condition of the *mantras* which they composed during that period. What is, however, more pertinent from our present point of view is that, during this period, the Vedic people also lived a kind of community-life. Whatever, they did and achieved belonged to the community as a whole. The *mantras* were thus regarded as constituting a communal possession. There was no specification of the *mantras* according to individual authors. Rhetorically speaking, there was no *pauruṣeyatva*—no individualistic specification—in connection with the *mantras.* This was thought of only after the *mantras* came to be collected, arranged and organised—a condition which reflects the more or less 'settled' character of the life of the Vedic Indians—and after family-consciousness superseded community-consciousness in the social life of the Vedic Indians. Such a literary-historical interpretation of the concept of the *apauruṣeyatva* is possible, though, it must be added, it could certainly not have been the idea in the minds of the traditional scholiasts.

Whatever it is, one thing is quite certain, namely, that, from the historical point of view, one has necessarily to presume the existence of human authors in respect of the Veda. As a matter of fact even the ancient tradition seems to be

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(23) Cf *ṚV* I.20.1, 38.4, 47, 47.2, 60.3, 61.14, 62.13, 63.9, 88.4, 166.15, 171.2, 184.5; II.39.8; III.29.15; V.22.4; VI.54.6; VII.18.4, 31.13, 32.2, 97.9, 103.8; VIII.8.17; X.23.6, 120.8.

(24) Cf. **Tilak**, *Arctic Home in the Vedas,* p.459 : It is interesting to note in this connection a passage (*ṚV* VIII.95.4–5) where *gir,* that is, expression, is contrasted with *dhī* or thought. Cf. also **Muir** *OST*, III.p.239.

inclined towards such a view, for, it states : *yasya vākyam sa ṛṣiḥ.*[25] It must, however, be made quite clear at this stage that it is not possible to ascertain the authorship of the various *mantras* from the *mantras* themselves. It is only in a few cases that the name of the author occurs in the hymn. So, in this connection, we have to depend mainly on tradition as represented in (1) the structure of the *saṁhitā*, (2) later Vedic texts like the *Brāhmaṇas*, (3) the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Ṛgvidhāna*, (4) the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, (5) the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, (6) the *Nītimañjarī* of Dyā Dviveda, and (7) the Purāṇic accounts.

The *Brāhmaṇas* have to be regarded as an important source of information regarding the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*—particularly regarding their ritualistic contribution. Several *sāmans* and *Yāgas* mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*, are named after these *ṛṣis*. Similarly in the *Brāhmaṇas* we often come across a detailed treatment of several Ṛgvedic legends.

The *Sarvānukramaṇī*[26] has been composed by Kātyāyana, and it is, as its name indicates, a collection of various indexes for the *ṚV*. This work gives, in the form of *sūtras*, the first words of every hymn, the number of verses in that hymn, the name and the family of the *ṛṣi* to whom the hymn is ascribed, the deities to whom the single verses are addressed, and the metre or metres in which the hymn is composed. The *Ārṣanukramaṇī*,[27] which is ascribed to Śaunaka, enumerates the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns according to the *maṇḍalas*. These two works are important because they afford proof that, even in every early times, the texts of the Vedic *saṁhitās* were in exactly the same form, having the same divisions, the same number of verses etc., as we have them at present. While making use of these sources, however, one has to be very cautious and critical, because, though, in a large number of cases the tradition seems to have been preserved intact, in a few cases it is preserved only partially, while in a few others it is artificially concocted.

The *Bṛhaddevatā*[28] is also ascribed to Śaunaka. It constitutes a more or less exhaustive manual dealing with the gods celebrated in the various hymns of the *ṚV*. It contains about forty legends referring to these gods and is, therefore, an important work also from the point of view of Indian narrative literature. Chronologically the *Bṛhaddevatā* has to be placed between the *Nirukta* on one hand and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* on the other. It borrows largely from the former and is borrowed from, still more largely, by the latter. It must be pointed out that the *Bṛhaddevatā* is neither a mere index of Ṛgvedic deities nor just a collection of legends relating to them. It also gives information regarding the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* and about the vehicles of various gods and contains a detailed account of the Āprī hymns and a full discussion about the character of the hymns addressed to the

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(25) Cf. *Sarvānukramaṇī* 2.4 Sāyaṇa usually quotes this maxim. Cf. for instance, his *bhāṣya* on X.10 (*ṚV*, VSM, Vol. 4, p. 294).

(26) edited by **Macdonell**, Oxford, 1886.

(27) Published in the Bibliotheca Indica with the *Bṛhaddevatā* edited by **Rajendralal Mitra**, Calcutta, 1892.

(28) Critically edited and translated into English by **Macdonell** HOS, Volumes V and VI.

Viśvedevāḥ. The *Ṛgvidhāna*[29] is also ascribed to Śaunaka and deals mainly with the ritualistic employment of the various hymns and single *mantras* in them—in the order in which they occur in the *ṚV saṁhitā*.

As regards the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*,[30] it quotes profusely from the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the *Bṛhaddevatā*, and the *Nirukta*. Sāyaṇa makes it a point to present, wherever possible, the legendary background of the *sūktas* in the *ṚV* and thus constitutes a veritable mine of information regarding the Ṛgvedic gods and *ṛṣis*. The *bhāṣya* is further important in so far as it can be regarded as the parent-arbiter of all the later translations of the *Ṛksaṁhitā*. Sāyaṇa's introduction to his *bhāṣya*, again, contains an excellent discussion of the various preliminary problems relating to the study of the Veda.

Next in importance is the *Nītimañjarī*[31] of Dya Dviveda. This work is rather remarkable, for, its author draws upon the *ṚV* for the purpose of preparing a compendium of moral tales. The knowledge of the legends relating to the *ṛṣis*, the *devatās* etc. of the *ṚV* is highly essential especially for a Vedist. Dyā Dvived, imparts that knowledge in an easy and attractive manner. The Vedic legenda are not as well known as the Purāṇic ones. The author of the *Nītimañjarī* has therefore, made an attempt to elucidate the former ones by means of ample quotations from various ancillarly Vedic texts, many of them being other than those quoted by Sāyaṇa. It must, however, be pointed out that, in a number of cases, the morals seem to have been artificially derived from the stanzas of the *ṚV*.

We may now advert to the historical process of the *saṁhitīkaraṇa* of the *ṚV*. For, as indicated above, the present structure of the *saṁhitā* reflects, perhaps more thoroughly and systematically than anything else, the tradition pertaining to the authorship of the *ṚV*. It has been already pointed out that the *saṁhitā* of the *ṚV* pre-supposes a period when the *ṚV-mantras* must have existed in a scattered condition. It is possible to assume that the composition of the Vedic *mantras* began long before the Vedic Aryans entered into India. This was a period when the people lived a nomadic and unstable life. In their onward march from Balkh towards Saptasindhu they may be presumed to have fought a number of battles with the various indigenous tribes inhabiting those regions. Ultimately, under the leadership of Indra, they entered the land of the seven rivers as victors. In this region also, their programme of conquest, colonisation and civilization continued. It was indeed, in this manner that the early settlements of the Vedic Indians emerged. This change from nomadic life to settled life naturally had its effect on their thought-process and general way of living. One aspect of this effect can be seen in their attitude in connection with the precious heritage of the *mantra*-material which they had inherited from their ancestors. As was but to be expected, all this material had been handed down to these early Indian settlers in a

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(29) Edited by Rudolf **Meyer**, Berolini, 1878.

(30) The *ṚV–saṁhitā* with the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, ed. by **Sonatakke** and **Kashikar**, published by VSM, Poona.

(31) Edited by S. J. **Joshi**, Benares, 1933.

stray, scattered and unorganised condition. Now when these people began to experience a sense of security, prosperity and leisure, they naturally thought of collecting together all those stray *mantras* and arranging them systematically—in other words of making a *saṁhitā* out of them. Originally, these *mantras* must have been composed in a living dialect, which may be designated as proto-Ṛgvedic. While drawing upon this common stock of the *mantra*-material for their *saṁhitā*, the hymn-makers of Saptasindhu must have worked upon them and revised them over and over again. In doing so, however, these hymn-makers seem to have used, more or less purposely, an archaic and artificial language.[32] As **Edgerton**[33] has pointed out, these hymn-composers were members of a priestly guild, the intellectual leaders of their community and very proud of their status. They were carefully trained, and, on the whole, handled their situation quite well. Though, therefore, the original mantras, which presumably belonged to different periods and related to several vicissitudes must have been linguistically and stylistically heterogeneous, they appear in the *saṁhitā* in a linguistically and stylistcally more or less of a uniform form. One has indeed to assume the existence of two distinct periods in this connection—one of original composition and the other of literary redaction.[34] In addition to drawing upon this ancient common stock of the *mantra*-material which had been handed down to them, these later hymn-makers also continued to compose their own original songs. These old and new hymns were eventually collected together and arranged according to a definite plan. Two factors in the cultural life of these early Vedic Indians seem to have significantly influenced this arrangement. As has been already indicated, the community-consciousness, which prevailed in the social life of the nomadic conquerors of the pre-Saptasindhu period, now gave place to a kind of family-consciousness, which gradually developed among the victorious settlers. This was but a natural historical process. As a consequence of this, the *mantras* which were originally regarded as a communal production and property, now came to be claimed as having been produced by the progenitors and members of specific families and, therefore, as belonging to them. As the first essential step in the direction of the arrangement implied by the *saṁhitīkaraṇa*, therefore, the hymns were classified according to the families of the authors. The major portion of the *ṚV. saṁhitā* is consequently made up of such family-books. For instance, out of the ten books, called *maṇḍalas*, of which the *ṚV-saṁhitā* is constituted,[35] six books (namely, *maṇḍalas* 2 to 7) represent the hymnal activity of six properly constituted major families of the Vedic poet-priests; one *maṇḍala* (namely, the first) represents collectively the hymnal activity of several minor Vedic family-groups; and one *maṇḍala*, (namely, the eighth), that of individual authors generally belonging to a single family-stock.

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(32) Cf. **Dandekar**, "The antecedents and the early beginnings of the Vedic period", *PIHC*, X, Bombay, 1947, pp. 49ff.

(33) **Edgerton**, "The Indo-European semivowels", Lg.19(2), 1943.

(34) It is even suggested that the *ṚV saṁhitā* is a product of an epigonic stage of poetry—**Scherman.**

(35) Cf. *ĀśGS* III.4 (*Tarpaṇādhyāya*) :

अथर्षयः शतर्चिनो माध्यमा गृत्समदो विश्वामित्रो वामदेवो
भरद्वाजो वसिष्ठः प्रगाथाः पावमान्यः क्षुद्रसूक्ता महासूक्ताः।

The other factor which seems to have influenced the *saṁhitīkaraṇa* in connection with the *ṚV* may be characterised as a religious factor. The religous history of the Vedic age would show that the Soma-cult, which had actually been in vogue even during the period when the ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians—that is to say, the Aryans—lived together, presumably in the Balkh region, gradually grew in inportance, indeed, so much so that, in the religious life of the early Vedic Indians, it came to occupy almost the central place. This phenomena is reflected in the *saṁhitīkaraṇa* of the Ṛgvedic *mantras*, for, a whole book (namely, the ninth) is devoted to the Soma-cult. That *maṇḍala* is an exclusive collection of Soma-hymns—those hymns having been brought together irrespective of their authorship. The tenth *maṇḍala* is a collection of the residuary *mantras*.

Generally speaking, the term *maṇḍala* implies, apart from the homogeneity of authorship, certain other characteristics. Within a *maṇḍala*, the *sūktas* are grouped together according to their subject-matter or the *devatā* and these *devatā*-groups are then arranged in a fixed order. In every *maṇḍala*, the *Agni-sūktas* occur first, then the *Indra-sūktas*, and then the *sūktas* addressed to other gods according to the special religious proclivities of the respective families. Further the hymns in each of the *devatā*-groups are arranged in such a manner that every following hymn has fewer stanzas than the preceding one.[36] There are, however, a few cases, where this normal arrangement of *sūktas*, within a *devatā*-group, according to the descending number of stanzas in these *sūktas* is disturbed.[37]

It may be noted that each succeeding *maṇḍala* out of *maṇḍalas* two to seven, which are the really regular family-books, normally contains a larger number of *sūktas* than the preceding *maṇḍalas*.[36] These family-*maṇḍalas* as may be presumed to have formed the oldest portion—the nucleus of the *saṁhitā* as it were to which *maṇḍala* one was prefixed and *maṇḍalas* eight, nine and ten were affixed. The eighth *maṇḍala* is generally not regarded by scholars, as a family-*maṇḍala*, but it is treated as such by Aśvalayana,[39] who styles the *ṛṣis* of this *maṇḍala* as *Pragāthāḥ*. In this *maṇḍala*, there are[92] regular *sūktas*, while eleven *sūktas* (49–59) more, which are called the *Vālakhilya-sūktas* and are apocryphal in character, are included in it. These eleven *Vālakhilyas* are all composed by the Kaṇvas, and of the other 92 *sūktas*, about fifty belong to them. Thus, there appears to be no reason why this

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(36) This entire scheme is known as *Maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā*.

(37) Such cases often raise a doubt about the authenticity of the stanzas concerned. Those stanzas are often regarded *prima facie* as an interpolation. It is also significant that most of such violations occur at the end of a *devatā*-group. The probable explanation may be that the shortest hymns, which stand at the end of each group, were, at some time, through misunderstanding, combined.

(38) *Maṇḍalas* two to seven consist respectively of 43, 62, 58, 87, 75 and 104 *sūktas*.

(39) Cf. *ĀśGS* III.4.

maṇḍala also should not be regarded as the family-*maṇḍala* of the Kaṇvas.[40] There are, no doubt, included in this *maṇḍala*, some *sūktas* composed by authors belonging to families, other than that of the Kaṇvas; but the predominance of the Kaṇvas is unmistakable. *Macdonell*[41], however , says that the eighth *maṇḍala* cannot be regarded as a family-*maṇḍala* because that *maṇḍala* contains fewer hymns than the seventh. But the argument based on the number of hymns can hardly be considered to be conclusive in the matter of determining whether a particular *maṇḍala* is a family-*maṇḍala* or not. It may also be pointed out, in this connection, that the rule regarding the ascending number of the *sūktas* in the succeeding family-*maṇḍala* is already violated in two cases. On the other hand it is possible to argue that the eighth *maṇḍala* was traditionally regarded as a family-*maṇḍala* and that the eleven apocryphal hymns were included in that *maṇḍala* in order to make the number of hymns in that *maṇḍala* larger than that in the preceding, that is, the seventh *maṇḍala*.

The ninth *maṇḍala* differs from other *maṇḍalas* in that it exclusively consists of hymns addressed to one deity, namely Pavamāna Soma. These hymns are composed by *ṛṣis* most of whom figure as authors in other *maṇḍalas* as well. Attention, may, however, be drawn in this connection to one significant point. The Kāśyapas who appear in the *sūtras* as an important family, are represented in the *ṚV* only through five scattered hymns, I.99, V.44, VIII.97, and X.106 and 163. But in the ninth *maṇḍala*, the only well-defined groups of hymns (IX: 5–24, 53–60) belong to them. Presumably the Kāśyapas were specialists in the Soma-cult and their *Āprī*-hymn (IX.5) is a remarkable 'tour-de-force', contriving as it does to fit the word, *pavamāna*, into every stanza of the traditional form.

Maṇḍalas one and ten invest the *ṚV-saṁhitā* with a kind of symmetry, for, they contain 191 hymns each and represent respectively the beginning and the end of the *saṁhitā*. The authors of the first *maṇḍala* are designated by Aśvalāyana as *Śatarcinaḥ*, that is, those who have composed a hundred *ṛks* each. Ṣadguruśiṣya says that the *ṛṣis* of the first *maṇḍala* are called *Śatarcins*, because the first among them namely, Madhucchandas has 102 *ṛks* to his credit and is, accordingly, the real *Śatarcin*. The other *ṛṣis* in the first *maṇḍala* are called *Śatarcin* only by courtesy. According to Ṣadguruśiṣya, the authors of the *sūktas* included in *maṇḍalas* 2 to 9 are the *Mādhyamas*.[42] **Vaidya**,[43] on the other hand, thinks that the *ṛṣis* of the first *maṇḍala* itself are called both *Śatarcins* and *Mādhyamas* by Aśvalāyana. Those authors in the first *maṇḍala*, who have composed hundred or more stanzas are according to **Vaidya**, the *Śatarcins* while

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(40) The *ṛṣis* in this *maṇḍala* are styled as Pragāthāḥ by Aśvalāyana because *ṛṣi* Pragātha is the composer of the first *sūkta*; but he also belongs to the family of Kaṇvas. Cf. in this connection *sūkta* VIII.48 and Ṣadguruśiṣya's commentary in the *Sarvānukramaṇī* (p.136) ed. by **Macdonell**.

(41) *Op. cit* p.42.

(42) Ṣadguruśiṣya says : द्वितीयादिनवमान्तेषु मध्यमेषु मण्डलेषु मध्यमनामानः ।

(43) **Vaidya**, *A history of Sanskrit Literature* (Vedic period), p. 61.

those who have composed fewer than 100 stanzas are the *Mādhyamas*. **Vaidya's** suggestion does not appear to be right in as much as it cannot explain the propriety of the name *Mādhyamāḥ*. The first *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* contains groups of hymns which, for the most part, constitute miniature family-books. Generally speaking, they possess all the characteristics of the *maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā*. Most of the names of the *ṛṣis* occurring in this *maṇḍala* are known from the six family-*maṇḍalas*, while the last group of *sūktas* is ascribed to Agastya. This comparatively late appearance of the Agastyas in the *ṚV* accords well with the positio of this clan in the *pravara*-lists, where it is regularly placed last, and is considered to be "the eighth in addition to the seven *ṛṣis*". In the group of hymns attributed to Kutsa (I.94–115), an indication of the emergence of the later *gotragaṇa* of that name, grouped under the *Kevala Aṅgirasas*, may be seen. The group ascribed to Parucchepa Daivodāsi (I.127–139) may foreshadow the Kevala Bhṛgu Gaṇa of the Mitrayus, whose *pravara* is "Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa". Indeed, there can be little doubt that this family was already sufficiently important, before the close of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa* of the *mantras* of the *ṚV*, to have an *Āprī*-hymn of its own.[44] That this *Āprī* occurs only in the tenth *maṇḍala* and that there is only one other hymn attributed to this Vādhryaśva, is, sufficient indication of the late emergence of this family within the Ṛgvedic society.

The tenth *maṇḍala*, which evidently represents the last stage in the process of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*, is a collection of residual hymnal material. It is, however, possible to connect the traditionally known authors of the hymns included in this *maṇḍala* either with the families already known from the earlier books of the *ṚV* or with the later *pravara*-lists. Aśvalāyana characterises the *ṛṣis* of this *maṇḍala* as *Kṣusdrasūktas* and *Mahāsūktas*, that is, "composers of small and great hymns". The commentator Śadguruśiṣya explains that the hymns up to the famous *nāsadīya-sūkta* (X.129) are great hymns and the remaining (130-191) are small ones. It must also be pointed out that the tradition regarding the original authorship of many *sūktas* included in the tenth *maṇḍala* had become extinct even at the time of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*. The *Saṁhitākāras* have, therefore, superimposed upon those hymns some kind of fictitious authorships.[45]

For our present purpose, at any rate, the most significant characteristic of the *maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā* is the homogeneity of authorship in a *maṇḍala*. Conscious attempts seem to have been made to establish the authorship of a particular family in respect of a particular *maṇḍala* by adding to some hymns in that *maṇḍala* the refrain of the family. The refrain of the Gṛtsamadas of the second *maṇḍala*, for instance, is either *bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ or suvīrāso vidathamāvadema* and that of the Vasiṣṭhas of the seventh *maṇḍala* is *Yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ*. Such hallmark of the family is, in many cases, introduced obviously as an afterthought and in an artificial manner. For, in those cases, it becomes

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(44) *ṚV* X.70 is attributed to Sumitra Vādhryaśva.

(45) Partially fictitious names are given to authors in some rare cases also in other *maṇḍalas*.

quite clear that the original last *pāda* of the last stanza in a hymn must have been dropped and the refrain of the family artificially inserted there. This becomes particularly conspicuous when the metre of that stanza is different from the metre of the refrain. Another indication of the authorship of a particular family is given by the distinctive attitude and the trend of thought of that family as expressed in its *maṇḍala.* The fourth *maṇḍala* for instance, reflects the mystic attitude of the Vāmadevas and the sixth *maṇḍala* the pastoral character of the life of the Bhāradvājas. Still another indication of a particular *maṇḍala* being the creation of a particular family is the occurrence, in most of the family *maṇḍalas*, of what are called the family-hymns. By glorifying some special achievements of an early ancestor or the founder of the family, these family-*sūktas* seem to have aimed at elevating the family as a whole in the estimation of the people.[46] In a sense, the *Āprī-sūktas* also must be regarded as establishing the authorship of a particular family in respect of a particular *maṇḍala*[47] In this connection, attention may be drawn to a significant ritualistic tradition of the later period. While reciting Ṛgvedic mantras on different occasions in the course of a sacrifice, the *hotā* who belongs to the *ṚV* and to whom this duty is assigned, is not required necessarily to recite such *mantras* only as are the compositions of the family to which he belongs. On the contrary, the *hotā* must recite such *mantras* as are actually prescribed, irrespective of any considerations of his own *gotra.* When, however, he is required to recite an *Āprī-sūkta*, he must necessarily recite only the *Āprī-sūkta* belonging to his own family. It will be seen from this that each family has regarded its *Āprī-sūkta* as its exclusive property.

The various distinct and definite features of the arrangement of the *ṚV*, which have been briefly stated above, would suggest that there must have existed some conscious and active agency in respect of the process of *Saṁhitīkaraṇa.* In that case, such an agency may indeed be regarded as a guarantee for the veracity of the traditions regarding the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*, which are implied by the *saṁhitā.*

In general, it may be said that, in the earlier period of the formation of the *ṚV-saṁhitā*, the families corresponding to the regular family-*maṇḍalas* namely, Gṛtsamada Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, and Kaṇva had been particularly prominent. Other more or less prominent families of that period must have been the Agastyas, the Kutsas, the Vādhryaśvas (Mitrayus), the Kāśyapas and the Jamadagnis. In the *sūtra*-accounts we come accross many other families belonging either to the Kevala Bhṛgus or the Kevala Aṅgirasas. Most of them can be traced back to some kind of Ṛgvedic origin, as their *pravaras* contain the names of seers, to whom are attributed various hymns of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV.* Thus, for instance, the Saṁkṛtis. The Sāṁkṛtis, with their *pravara*, ' Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāṁk-

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(46) Cf. **Velankar**, "Family-*sūktas* in the family-*maṇḍalas*", *JBBRAS* 18, 1942. According to him II.53, IV.18, V.40, VI.47 and VII.18 and 33 are family-*sūktas.*

(47) Cf. **Potdar,** "*Āprī* Hymns in the *ṚV*" VII *AIOC* (summary).

ṛtya' may be connected with the seer of X.73. The Maudgalyas can be traced to Mudgala Bhārmyśva, the seer of X.102. The Rathītaras must be related to Aṣṭrādaṁṣṭra Vairūpa, the author of X.111. The Kapis can be traced to Urukṣaya Āmahīyava, the seer of X.118. The Kutsas may be said to have connection with Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva, the author of X.134. The Vainyas can be shown to be related to Pṛthu Vainya (X.148.4–5).

It would be appropriate, at this stage, to discuss how the word *ṛṣi* is generally explained. The *TĀ*[48] derives the word *ṛṣi* from *abhi* + *ā* + *ṛṣ* (= to go towards, to appear). Sāyaṇa[49] also derives it from *ṛṣ* (= to go).[50] Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on I.1.2[51] again explains the word from the grammatical point of view. The word *ṛṣi* is made up, according to him of *ṛṣ* + *in*. There is no ablaut of the radical vowel in the case *ṛ*, according to, Pāṇini's *sūtra*, *ṛṣyandhaka* etc., otherwise the word would have been *arṣin*. If, the termination is taken to be *kit*, then the question of the modification (*guṇa*) of the penultimate short vowel does not arise at all. In his introduction to the commentary of the *ṚV*[52] sayaṇa seems to connect the word *ṛṣi* with *dṛś* (= to see), saying that the Veda which was beyond the scope of sense-perception, was revealed, first of all, to the sages through the favour of God. As the sages were thus first 'to see' the Veda they are called *ṛṣis*. In his *Nirkuta* (2.11) Yāska also quotes the opinion of Aupamanyava : *ṛṣirdarśanāt | stomān dadarśa iti Aupamanyavaḥ*. The implication of this interpretation obviously is that the Veda is eternal that it has not been created by any agency, and that the only thing for which the *ṛṣis* may claim credit is that they 'discovered' it and brought it to the notice of the posterity. The *ṛṣis* are indeed *sūktadraṣṭāraḥ* and not *sūktakartārah*. The *Nirukta*[53] further informs us that the *ṛṣis*, to whom the knowledge was

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(48) *TĀ* 2.9 : अजान् ह वै पृश्नींस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म स्वयंभ्वभ्यानर्षत् तदृषयोऽभवन् ।

(49) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p. 32 : ऋष् गतौ इति धातुः वेदप्राप्त्यर्थं तपोऽनुतिष्ठतः पुरुषान् स्वयंभूर्वेदपुरुषः प्राप्नोत् ।

(50) The root *ṛṣ* is frequently used in the *ṚV* to mean 'to go', e. g. I.164.15, IV.58.6, and IX. 34.2. Cf. also *Vāyu P.* 59.80 : ऋषित्येष गतौ धातुः श्रुतौ सत्ये तपस्यथ ।

(51) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I. p. 36 : इन् प्रत्ययान्त ऋषिशब्द 'ऋष्यन्धक' इति निपतनात् (पाणिनि ४.१.११४) लघूपधगुणाभावः । (पाणिनि ७.३.८६) कित् प्रत्ययो वाऽत्र ज्ञेयः (उणादिसूत्र ४.५५९) ।

(52) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p. 32 : तथातीन्द्रियस्य वेदस्य परमेश्वरानुग्रहेण प्रथमतो दर्शनात् ऋषित्वमभिप्रेत्य स्मर्यते "युगान्तेऽन्तर्हितान् वेदान सेतिहासान् महर्षयः । लेभिरे तपसा पूर्वमनुज्ञाता स्वयंभुवा ॥ "

The word *ṛṣi* occurs in the *ṚV* about 56 times. Sāyaṇa in his commentary explains it differently at different places as *atīndriyadraṣṭā*, *mantradraṣṭā* and *jñānavān* etc. It seems that according to him the *ṛṣi* was a person endowed with a prophetic knowledge and a poetic vision.

(53) Cf. *Nirukta* I.20 : साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुस्तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान् सम्प्रादुः उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुर्वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च ।

directly revealed, imparted it through direct instruction, to others to whom it was not revealed. These latter becoming diffident about the continuity of this direct tradition and with a view to preserving every single letter of it, composed the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. The *ŚB*[54] derives the word *ṛṣi* from *riṣ* (= to toil hard, to suffer from). All these tradtional interpretations[55] of the word *ṛṣi* seem to take into account the content—direct as well as implied—of the word rather than its linguistic form.

Ulhenbeck[56] tries to connect the word, *ṛṣi*, with Avestic *ereśya* meaning 'right-doing'. **Taraporevala**[57] has tried to establish the phonetic identity of the words, *aśa* of the *Avesta* and *ṛta* of the *ṚV.* He points out that *ṛtasya panthāḥ* in the *ṚV* (VII.65.3) and *aśāhe pantāo* in the last stanza of *Yasna* (LXXII.11) suggests the concept of the path of righteousness or purity. A regular gradation in the *Avesta* is pointed out by him such as : *ṛta–ereta–areta–arta–arśa* (eres)*–aśa*. According to **Taraporevala**, therefore, the word *ṛṣi* is a derivative from *ṛṣ* (i e. truth or righteousness). **Grassmann**[58] tries to derive it from *arṣ* (= to flow) and hence *ṛṣi* means one in whom knowledge is flown. T. **Bloch**[59] also suggests that the word *ṛṣi* may be derived from *arṣ* (variant : *varṣ* because the word *ṛṣi* may be derived from *arṣ* (variant : *varṣ*) because the *ṛṣi* is, indeed, a rain-magician. The *PW*[60] derives it from *arc*-to praise. **Gray,**[61] on the other hand, states that the etymologies given by all these modern scholars appear to be phonologically impossible. **Gray** thinks that *ṛṣis* received their appellation because they were believed, in a pre-historic period, actually to have 'seen' the hymns while in a highly emotional state of religious exaltation, very possibly in a trance. With this hypothesis **Gray** tries to connect the word, *ṛṣi* with Sanskrit *re* –roar; Gothic *razda* and *OE reord* (speech). The *IE*-base *rese* thus appears in Sanskrit as *ras* (= to howl, to cry); perhaps in Latin *raccāre, rancare* (= to roar) and *rāna*–'frog'. The entire group, according to **Gray**, appears to go back to an onomotopoetic base represented by

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(54) Cf. *ŚB* 6.1.1.1 : श्रमेण तपसा अरिषन्त तस्माद् ऋषयः ।

(55) Some other traditional interpretations of the word are :
  (a) *VS* VII.46 ऋषिर्मन्त्राणां व्याख्याता ।
  (b) Baudhāyana in his *Dharmasūtra* 2.6.36 : ऋर्षिमंन्त्रार्थज्ञः ।
  (c) The *Medinīkośa* : ऋषिर्वेदे वसिष्ठादौ । Cf. also *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 3.3.435.
  (d) *Amarakośa* : ऋषयः सत्यवचसः ।

(56) *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch der Altindischen,* sprache, 35 (Amsterdam, 1898–9), corrected by C. **Bartholome,**

(57) *Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volume,* part II, pp.143–146.

(58) *Worterbuch zum Rigveda,* p·292. **Siddheshwar Varma,** in his *Etymologies of Yāska,* p·55, also points out that according to linguists the word should literally mean 'enraptured' as it goes back to Indo-European *erṣ—,eras*—to flow, cf. *Lat. arszus*—'violent', Greek *arsen*—male Avestan *arśan*—man. **Rajwade** in his *Yāska's Nirukrta,* p·348, says that it is impossible to derive the word.

(59) *WuS,* 2·4–7.

(60) *PW,* I·p. 1063.

(61) "Four Indo-Iranian Etymologies" (Sanskrit *ṛṣi*—seer), *Language,* Vol. 25, pp·375–76.

Sanskrit *re*, a vocative particle generally expressing contempt or disrespect. **Gray's** suggestion is certainly ingenious and actually seems to point the way to a correct etymology of the word, *ṛṣi.* Whatever, however, be the correct etymology of the word, the concept, *ṛṣi*, has all along been taken to include ideas relating to poetic and prophetic vision, super-sensual knowledge, righteousness and ecstacy.

From the culture-historical point of view, the word *ṛṣi* may be taken to represent a distinct type of culture in ancient India. Without going into the details of the entire problem in this connection, one may broadly say that the ancient Indian culture-complex is mainly made up of two cultural strands–the *ṛṣi* culture and the *muni*-culture. It is certainly possible to specify the exact implications of these two terms. It may be pointed out, for instance, that the *ṛṣis* sponsored the Indra-cult, recited prayers and performed *homa*; adopted uniconic worship; lived a full social life of a householder; and generally manifested a kind of hieratic attitude. The *munis*, on the other hand, sponsored Rudra-Śiva cult; practised *yoga*, austerities and orgiastic rites; adhered to a kind of iconism; glorified life of renunciation, isolation and wandering mendicancy: and were refreshingly unsophisticated in their attitude.[62] Generally speaking, therefore, it may be said that the *ṛṣis* are the representatives of the Vedic Aryan current of thought while the *munis* represent the pre-Vedic indigenous current of thought. The ancient Indian culture is, indeed, the result of a kind of organic inter-action of these two currents of thought. In the *ṚV* the *munis*[63] and the *yatis*[64] seem to have been clearly distinguished from the *ṛṣis*.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that there has always been evident among Indologists a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the Vedic Aryan element in India's culture-complex[65]. According to this school of thought, the Vedic *ṛṣis* have made the greatest contribution to the moulding of the Indian way of life and thought through the ages. A careful analysis of Indian way of life and thought would, however, clearly show that the contribution of the *munis* to its make-up is not only not less significant than that of the *ṛṣis*, but also that the former is perhaps of a more vital character than the latter.

The *ṚV* presents to us the picture of a social organisation in which the various vocations seem to have been in a more or less fluid condition. An individual could, for instance, be both a civilian and a soldier. The *ṛṣi*-hood, also did not constitute the monopoly of any particular class or sect. Indeed, many of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* were poets, priests and warriors combined. Even those from among the common mass of the people who composed hymns came to be

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(62) See : **Dandekar,** "Vṛtrahā Indra", *ABORI,* XXXI, pp·1–55, and "Rudra in the Veda" *JUP,* I, pp·94–148.

(63) Cf. *ṚV* VII·56·8, VIII·17·14 and X·136·2, 4, 5.

(64) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·3·9.

(65) Cf. **Dandekar,** "The Mahābhārata : Origin and growth", *University of Ceylon Review,* Vol. XII, p·1.

called *ṛṣis*. Nor was *ṛṣi*-hood restricted to the male sex. Several *ṛṣikās*, like Viśvavārā, Ghoṣā etc. have distinguished themselves by their writings. The *ṛṣis* generally lived a full social life and discharged with the greatest diligence their manifold duties. The burthen of their prayers was mainly the fulfilment of temporal aspirations and occasionally of enjoyment of blessings hereafter. Optimism, hope and cheerfulness are the usual characteristics of the compositions of the Vedic *ṛṣis*. "Life is for living and for living well"—seems to have been their motto.

Indeed, quite a large number of references in the Veda and even in later literature clearly indicate that the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* have played a very significant role in the religious, social, political and literary history of ancient India. An attempt is, therefore, made in this thesis to present this their role in the proper perspective and with all its ramifications. For this purpose, all material from the *ṚV*, relating directly or indirectly to the socio-historical, religio-ritualistic, philosophical, literary and other allied cultural activities of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV*, is carefully collected. Wherever necessary this material is supplemented by the material derived from other Vedic and post-Vedic texts. All this material is then systematically analysed and constructively synthesised. The results so achieved are then presented in ten different chapters—the first six chapters dealing with the six well-organised major families of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*, the seventh with the larger and less organised Kaṇvas, the eighth with the minor families, the ninth with authors of the *Soma-sūktas*, and the tenth with the authors of the residual hymnal material.

A more or less uniform plan of treatment of the subjects is followed in most of the chapters. After a brief general introduction, all the Ṛgvedic passages relating to a particular *ṛṣi* are first brought together and an attempt is then made to determine as to which of those passages relate to the eponymous seer himself, which to any other member of his family, and which to the family of that seer as a whole. Certain broad criteria are employed in this connection. For instance, those passages, which refer to the birth of the *ṛṣi* and give some other special details about his personal life, or which describe some special achievements of the *ṛṣi*, or in which the *ṛṣi* is mentioned as a standard of comparison or as one of the ancient *ṛṣis*, or as a special protege of some god, are normally regarded as relating to the eponymous seer—the progenitor of the family. All other references in singular, which are of a very general character, may be taken to relate either to the progenitor or to some other member of the family. The passages, wherein the name of the *ṛṣi* occurs in plural may be presumed to be denoting the family as a whole. It must be emphasised that these are after all, broad criteria and required to be relevently modified before they are employed in respect of specific cases. Such a classification of Ṛgvedic passages, does, however, necessarily facilitate an adequate historical treatment of the career individually of a particular seer and collectively of his family.

As regards this career its sociohistorical aspect is first taken up for consideration. One of the most important sources for a socio-historical study of the

Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* is perhaps constituted by the so-called family-hymns, which occur in most of the family-*maṇḍalas*. These family-hymns record some unusual exploit of the early ancestor or rather the founder of the family, an exploit which is normally described as having been performed with the help of Indra and which is considered to be bringing special credit and glory to the whole family.[66] Wherever such a family-hymn is available, it is discussed in detail, stanza by stanza. The views of various scholars about that hymn are critically examined and an attempt is made to bring out its sociohistorical significance. The relations of a particular seer and his family with other families are then discussed at some length. The *dānastuti*-hymns constitute another important source for a socio-historical study of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*. These hymns, while eulogising the liberality of kings and princes, who bestowed upon the *ṛṣis* a variety of gifts, throw considerable light on the history of the families of the *ṛṣis* and their patrons. The information regarding the genealogies of the *ṛṣis* and their patrons, which is available from the *dānastutis* is constructively correlated with the information on the subject derived from the *Purāṇas*. In the *dānastutis* we also often come across several important geographical references. For instance, in those hymns are mentioned names of various rivers, on the banks of which, presumably the *ṛṣis* performed their sacrifices and received gifts from their patrons. It is thus possible to determine the habitat of the various *ṛṣi*-families.

The next important source for the study of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* from the socio-historical point of view is the legends which are referred to in the Ṛgvedic *sūktas* and are elaborated by the other Vedic texts, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Nirukta*, the *BD* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* and the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*. Of particular importance, in this connection, are the *Saṁvāda-sūktas* or the dialogue-hymns. Varous theories have been put forth by scholars about these *sūktas*, such as, the *ākhyāna*-theory of **Oldenberg,** the ballad-theory of **Pischel** and the drama-theory of **Windisch.** It is with the first theory that we are mainly concerned here. **Oldenberg** points out that the *Saṁvāda-sūktas* are actually portions of earlier *ākhyānas* made up of verse and prose—the prose-portion being either completely lost or preserved only in some later traditions. This view is not new, for, it has been already put forth by the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Nirukta*, the *BD*, the *Anukramaṇī* and the *Nītimañjarī*. Especially Sāyaṇa has very often depended on the tradition in this regard. Whenever it is impossible to give any *laiñgika viniyoga*, that is, information regarding application of a particular hymn as indicated by some suggestive references in that hymn, Sāyaṇa takes recourse to **itihāsa**. **Geldner**[97] also has emphasized the importance of the historical tradition relating to the Ṛgvedic hymns and has suggested that in the indigenous exegetic tradition, it is possible to discover certain items which are directly connected with the *ṚV*-tradition. In the present thesis, wherever possible, the legends about the *ṛṣis* given by later traditions and the legends indicated in the *Saṁvāda-sūktas* are traced through various Vedic and post-Vedic texts. An attempt is made to sift mythology from history and the legend is examined

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(66) Cf. **Velankar,** "A family-hymn of the Agastyas", *PAIOC* XII and "Family-hymns in the family-*maṇḍalas*", *JBBRAS*, 18, 1942.

(67) *Vedische studien*, I, pp·243 and 295.

critically and with a "constructive vision".[68] The culture-historical value of these legends is, indeed, great. For, in them are reflected successive phases of ancient Indian culture and civilisation. The *Itihāsa-purāṇa*, as reflected in the Vedic texts, gives us a picture of the ancient society, at least in its outlines[69].

Among the various problems relating to the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* which have been tackled in this thesis, is the one concerning the concepts of *Saptarṣis* and *Gotrarṣis* and the position of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis vis-a-vis* these two specific groups of *ṛṣis*. Seven *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* are brought together to form a distinct group and are referred to as such four times in the *ṚV*[70]. In the later *saṁhitās* this group of seven *ṛṣis* is mentioned several times[71]. It may be recalled that, in the *ṚV*, the number, seven, presumably possesses a peculiar magic-ritualistic significance. That number can hardly be taken to have been employed in the *ṚV-saṁhitā* to denote an arithmetically definitive sense. In connection with the concept of the seven *ṛṣis* also, it would not be correct to lay any special stress on the number, seven. All that that concept may imply is that, among the ancient *ṛṣis*, certain *ṛṣis* were regarded as having been particularly eminent. From the sociohistorical point of view, these *Saptarṣis* may be assumed to have constituted the leadership of the ancient Indo-Aryan community. The *BĀU*[72] enumerates the seven *ṛṣis* as Gotama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, and Atri. It is indeed significant that five of these seven *ṛṣis* are also the seers of the family-*maṇḍalas*. It has been already seen that the family-*maṇḍalas* two to seven constitute the kernel of the *ṚV*. It, therefore, appears that the families of *ṛṣis* to whom these *maṇḍalas* belong, formed the leading section of the Ṛgvedic society.

It is, indeed, significant that the names of *ṛṣis* who are included among the *Saptarṣis* occur also in the group of the so-called *gotrarṣis*. Broadly speaking, the *gotrarṣis* are those ancient *ṛṣi*s-ancestors, to whom the origins of all the later Indo-Aryan families are traced back. The most common view in this connection is that *gotra* is the *ṛṣi*-ancestor, in whose line a person is born—this ancestor himself being a son or a descendant of one of the seven great *ṛṣis* and the eighth, Agastya.[73] An important stanza in the *MBh*, on the other hand, states that originally there were only four *gotras*.[74] The sociohistorical implication of this statement would

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(68) Cf. **Macdonell,** "The Principles to be followed in translating the *ṚV*" (Commemorative Essays presented to R. G. **Bhandarkar,** *BORI*, 1917), pp·3–18.

(69) Cf. **Hariyappa,** "Ṛgvedic legends through the ages", *BDCRI*, XI, p·136.

(70) Cf. *ṚV* IV·42·8, X·82·2, 109·4 and 130·7.

(71) Cf. *VS* XIV·24; *AV* XI·1·1·24; XII·1·39 etc.

(72) *BĀU* II·2·4.

(73) विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजोऽथ गौतमः । अत्रिर्वसिष्ठ कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः ।।
एतेषां सप्तानां ऋषीणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रमित्याचक्षते ।

(74) *MBh*, Śāntiparvan, 264 :

मूलगौत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि भारत ।
अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ।।
कर्मतोऽन्यानि गोत्राणि समुपन्नानि भारत ।
नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं सताम् ।।

be that originally there were four great stocks of Indo-Aryan families and that subsequently they came to be eight. Comparing the later eight names of *gotrarṣis* and the earlier four, we find that Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha are retained; Bhṛgu is substituted by his son Jamadagni, Aṅgiras is substituted by his two sons or grandsons Bharadvāja and Gotama and three, namely, Viśvāmitra, Atri and Agastya are entirely new additions.[75]

The concept of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of *gotra* from very ancient times. *Pravara* literally means 'choice invocation'. While invoking Agni to convey his offerings to the gods a sacrificer recited the names of his illustrious ancestors, who had, in former times invoked Agni effectively and successfully.[76] The word *pravara* thus came to denote one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer.[77] A close examination of the Ṛgvedic hymns, the *Śrautasūtras* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* would show that the pravaras usually contain the names of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* and that tradition has attempted to dovetail the *pravara*-system into the *gotra* system. Incidentally it may also be pointed out that, in the later Vedic texts certain *gotras* and *pravaras* came to be associated, in a specific manner, with certain ritualistic practices.

The attitude of different Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* towards different religious cults, indeed, constitutes a fascinating subject for study. Though the religion of the *ṚV* can be said to have been generally dominated by the Indra-cult, it must not be forgotten that there had been in existence, in that period, several other religious. cults also. And the compositions of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* would seem to indicate that some of those *ṛṣis* specially sponsored certain specific cults from among them. Similarly, the contribution made by the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* to the development of the institution of Vedic sacrifice has been referred to in several post-Ṛgvedic texts. Some of those *ṛṣis*, for instance, are represented to have either invented, or specialised in, certain special items of Vedic ritual. This whole aspect of the religious history of ancient India has been duly taken into account in the present thesis.

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(75) **Pargiter** (*AIHT*, p·186) lays stress on the statement about the four *mūla-gotras* in the *MBh* and says that the early priestly tradition began with the Non-Ailas. The Kaśyapas, as he himself points out, are definitely known to be of a later origin than the Bhṛgus and the Vasiṣṭhas or even the Atris and yet they are counted among the original *gotras*. But **Ghurye** (*PAIOC*, IX, pp·911–954) points out that this discrepancy may be explained as being due to the obvious Bhṛguization (cf. **Sukthankar**, *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 176) of the extant *MBh*. One Kaśyapa is venerated by Paraśurama, the Bhārgava hero of the epic, and it is likely that the redactor in his partiality for the Bhārgavas has also glorified the person who was respected by Paraśurāma. But the omission of Atri from the *mūlagotras* cannot be easily explained. The *ṚV* describes Atri as the seer of *pañca janāḥ* and the Brahmanic tradition looks upon him as the greatest of the sages who contributed to the development of sacrificial technique. Generally speaking one may conclude with **Ghurye** that the three priestly families of the Bhṛgus the Aṅgirasas and the Vasiṣṭhas were the oldest. The priority of these families is further confirmed by the fact that in the *ṚV*, the *pitṛs*, or the ancient fathers are the Navagvas, the Aṅgirasas, the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus and the Vasiṣṭhas.

(76) The enumeration of those names served, as it were, both as an enticement for and as an assurance to Agni.

(77) It is laid down in the *Śrauta-sūtras* that the *pravara* of a *gotra* may consist of one, or two, or three or five *ṛṣis*, but never of four.

So far, however, as the philosophical speculations, as such, of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* are concerned, we get but very scanty information about that subject from the *ṚV* as also from the later Vedic literature. It is, indeed, very significant that the families of *ṛṣis* or individual *ṛṣis*, who are traditionally regarded as the authors of the *ṚV*, rarely figure as teachers in the *Upaniṣads*. Does this fact perhaps suggest that the principle source of Upaniṣadic philosophy is to be traced back to the way of life and thought of the indigenous *munis* of India and that the influence on it of the Vedic Aryan *ṛṣis*, if any, is but superficial ?[78]

It has, indeed, been very well said that the Vedic seer possessed the secret of making his religion poetry and his poetry religion. An estimate of the writings of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* from the literary and poetic points of view must, therefore, form an integral part of any account comprising an appreciation of their manifold activities. One can hardly afford to lose sight of the fact that the Ṛgvedic hymns were primarily intended to be 'hymns'. They, accordingly, possess in ample measure, the poetic earnestness and exuberence, characteristic of hymns. There is also enough evidence to prove that quite a large number of Ṛgvedic *sūktas* are the product of conscious art. It is, indeed, interesting to study how, from the poetical point of view also, different *ṛṣis* have reacted differently to the various themes in hand. Similarly, it must be emphasised that without properly understanding the significance of the poetic images employed by the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*, one would not be in a position to form a correct estimate of their thought and attitude towards the world.

An attempt is thus made, in this thesis to state and evaluate, in a more or less comprehensive manner, the role of the *ṛṣis* of the *ṚV* in the domains of social and political history; religion, ritual and philosophy; poetry and literature; and general culture. It must, however, be added that none can be more conscious than the author himself of the manifold difficulties which beset this task and of the essentially tentative character of the picture which can be reconstructed on the basis of the available material. All the same, he has ventured to set up these 'pins' and would not be sorry if they are bowled off only to make way for stronger and more secure ones to be set up.

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(78) According to **Kosambi** ("Early Brahmins and Brahmanism", *JBBRAS*, 23, pp·39–46), the *Upaniṣads* represent a long process of assimilation and adoption of foreign ritual and philosophy by the indigenous Brāhmaṇas, who could not all have been associated with Kṣatriyas from the earliest times. Both the *yajña* and its philosophy have clearly been acquired from Kṣatriyas.

CHAPTER I

GṚTSAMADA AND THE GṚTSAMADAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

The second *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* occupies the first place within the nucleus of the *Saṁhitā*. It is not clear why this *maṇḍala* should have been put at the beginning of the nucleus. Indeed, it is difficult to rationalize the particular order of *maṇḍalas* two to seven. One thing, however, seems to be certain, namely, that the order of these *maṇḍalas* indicates neither the chronological sequence of their composition nor the intellectual eminence nor the social position of the different families which are traditionally believed to have composed them.[1]

This *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* is traditionally ascribed to the authorship of Gṛtsamada. The *Anukramaṇī*,[2] for instance, mentions that Gṛtsamada, who was originally the son of Śunahotra belonging to the Aṅgiras family but who, later, became the son of Śunaka belonging to the Bhṛgu family, 'saw' this *maṇḍala*.

There are many difficulties in collecting material about this *ṛṣi* and his family. The second *maṇḍala* is the smallest in extent in the whole *Saṁhitā*[3] and,

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(1) It is suggested that the order of *maṇḍalas* two to seven is governed by the ascending number of hymns in these *maṇḍalas*. The second *maṇḍala* has the smallest and the seventh has the greatest number of hymns. But this principle, it may be pointed out, is not applicable in the case of the fourth and the sixth *maṇḍalas*. **Bergaigne,** however, argues that there is a possibility of rearranging the hymns in these *maṇḍalas* and thus it can be shown that they fit in the above order.

Brough, on the other hand, points out ('The Early History of the Gotras', *JRAS*, April 1947, p. 85) that there is a striking symmetry of arrangement so far as the nucleus of the *ṚV* is concerned. The Gṛtsamadas of book II are the sole representatives of the Bhṛgus. Books IV, VI and VIII represent the three well-known subdivisions of the Aṅgirasas, namely the Gautamas, the Bhāradvājas, and the Kevala Angirasas represented by the Kāṇvas. On the other hand, books III, V, and VII belong to the non-Bhṛgu Aṅgiras *gotras*. Probably, therefore, this alternating arrangement of the books was intentional, and the distinction between the Bhṛgu—Aṅgiras Brāhmaṇas and others was important from very early times. The distinction continued for a very long time and there are numerous traces of it in later ritual literature.

(2) Cf. *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, (*ṚV* VSM. Vol. I. p. 1)—
तथा चानुक्रमणिका-- 'य आङ्गिरसः शौनहोत्रो भूत्वा भार्गवः शौनकोऽभवत् स गृत्समदो द्वितीयं मण्डलमपश्यत् ' इति ।
Cf. also the *Ārṣānukramaṇī* ed. by Mitra and published with the *Bṛhaddevatā* in Bibliotheca indica, 1892., p. 245

मध्यमेष्वृषयो ज्ञेया मण्डलेष्वथ मध्यमाः ।
तत्र त्वमग्न इत्यादि द्वितीयं मण्डलं प्रति ।।
ऋषिर्गृत्समदो नाम विज्ञेयः स च शौनकः ।
औरसः शुनहोत्रस्य शुनकस्यैव कृत्रिमः ।।
तस्मादाङ्गिरसः पूर्वं पश्चात्स भृगुतां गतः ।

(3) It contains forty three *sūktas*.

accordingly affords but little scope for the presentation of sociohistorical material. Proper names relating to this family, actually occurring in this *maṇḍala*, are very few and even these few names do not occur in any other *maṇḍala*. It is not possible, therefore, to supplement the information, derived from the second *maṇḍala* itself, by the information derived from the other *maṇḍalas*. It should also be noted, at the outset, that the name Gṛtsamada itself does not occur in singular anywhere in the text. The tradition, however, ascribes thirtyfive out of the fortythree hymns in this *maṇḍala* to the authorship of Gṛtsamada. Besides, there are some passages in this *maṇḍala* where *Gṛtsamadāsaḥ*[4] and *Gṛtsamadāḥ*[5] are clearly mentioned as the authors of this *maṇḍala*. Evidently these names refer to the members of the family whose progenitor was Gṛtsamada. They are also referred to as *Śunahotrāḥ*[6] in view of the fact that Gṛtsamada was originally the son of Śunahotra Āṅgirasa.[7]

It is argued[8] on the basis of the facts that the *ṚV* fails to give substantial information about Gṛtsamada and that the family hymn is altogether absent in the second *maṇḍala*, that the authorship of the Gṛtsamadas is doubtful. But, as pointed out above tradition is strongly in favour of the authorship of the Gṛtsamadas. The absence of the family-hymn, by itself, cannot prove anything against the overwhelming evidence of tradition. Besides, as has been suggested later on, it is possible, from certain points of view, to regard the twelfth hymn in this *maṇḍala* as the family-hymn.

The occurrence of the two names, Gṛtsamadas and Śunahotras, has led **Weber**[9] to conjecture a double authorship for this *maṇḍala*. He suggests that it is possible to divide this *maṇḍala* into two *maṇḍalas*, a Gṛtsamada-*maṇḍala* and a Śunahotra-*maṇḍala*. However, the facts that these two names are mentioned as the *pravaras* of the family by the *ĀśŚS*[10] and that Śunahotra was traditionally regarded as the father of Gṛtsamada would go against **Weber's** suggestion. Moreover, in the hymns, as they are arranged in the *maṇḍala* at present, the names Gṛtsamadāḥ and Śunahotrāḥ are mixed up together.[11] It would, therefore, become difficult to divide the *maṇḍala* as suggested by **Weber.**

Perhaps the most striking fact of great sociohistorical significance, concerning Gṛtsamada, which has been preserved by tradition, is his change of family. Sāyaṇa,[12] in his introduction to the second *maṇḍala*, follows the lead

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(4) *ṚV* II. 4. 9; 39. 8.   (5) *ṚV* II. 19. 8, 41. 18.

(6) *ṚV* II.18.6; 41.14,17 Sāyaṇa, however, is not consistent in explaining the word. In his *bhāṣya* (*ṚV*, VSM) on II.18.6 he says, "*sukhena hūyate somo yaiḥ iti śunahotrāḥ pātraviśeṣāḥ*" while in his *bhāṣya* on II. 41.14 and 17 he says, "*śunahotreṣu gṛtsamadeṣu asmāsu*".

(7) It is interesting to note that they are never referred to as Gārtsamadas or Śaunahotras.

(8) **Chapekar**, 'Gṛtsamada', *Prasāda* January, 1951.

(9) **Weber,** *SPAW*, 1900, p. 603.

(10) *ĀśŚS*, 12.10.13 : शुनकानां गृत्समदेति, त्रिप्रवरं वा भार्गवशौनहोत्रगार्त्समदेति ।

(11) See Foot-notes (4), (5), (6).

(12) *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya* (*ṚV* VSM. Vol. II p. 1) मण्डलद्रष्टा गृत्समद ऋषिः ।
स च पूर्वमाङ्गिरसकुले शुनहोत्रस्य पुत्रः सन् यज्ञकाले असुरैर्गृहीत इन्द्रेण मोचितः ।

of the *Anukramaṇī* and says that Gṛtsamada was the son of Śunahotra of the Āṅgirasa family. He was arrested by the Asuras while he was performing a sacrifice. He was, however, released by Indra at whose bidding he became Gṛtsamada, the son of Śunaka of the Bhṛgu family. This change of *Gotra* seems to be corroborated also by the *ĀśŚS*, as seen above, which gives the alternative *pravara* '*bhārgava-śaunahotra-gārtsamadeti* '.

Attention may be drawn, in this connection, to two or three important points. Firstly, such a change of family, for one reason or another, seems to have been a duly recognised social custom in those days.[13] Again, the fact that Gṛtsamada who had belonged to the family of the Aṅgirasas later became a member of the Bhṛgu-family would suggest that such a change was originally restricted perhaps to families which were closely related to one another.[14] Sāyaṇa mentions that Gṛtsamada who was originally Śaunaka Āṅgirasa was taken prisoner by the *asuras*, that he was later released by Indra, and that, on the recommendation of Indra himself, he was admitted to the family of the Bhṛgus. Does this imply that, on account of the social contamination, occasioned by his imprisonment by the *asuras*, that is, the non-Brahmanical tribes, Gṛtsamada lost his membership of the Āṅgirasa family but that subsequently he was restored, owing to Indra's recommendation,[15] to another family.[16]

It would be convenient at this stage to discuss, at some length, the problem of Gṛtsamada's genealogy, on the basis of the information supplied by various sources. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*,[17] for instance, gives the genealogy as follows:

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(13) It is in this social custom that the germs of the later practice of adoption—*Dattakaputra*—have to be traced. **Kane** in his *Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 448, quotes from Anantadeva's *Smṛtikaustubha* the rules about the *gotras* of the adopted boy as follows :

"When the ceremony of *Caula* and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the *gotra* of the adopter, but where *upanayana* alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after the *upanayana* the boy belongs to both the *gotras*."

In the *ṚV*, Vasiṣṭha expresses views against adoption (VII. 4.7-8). For further details see Ch. on 'Vasiṣṭha and the Vasiṣṭhas in the *ṚV* '.

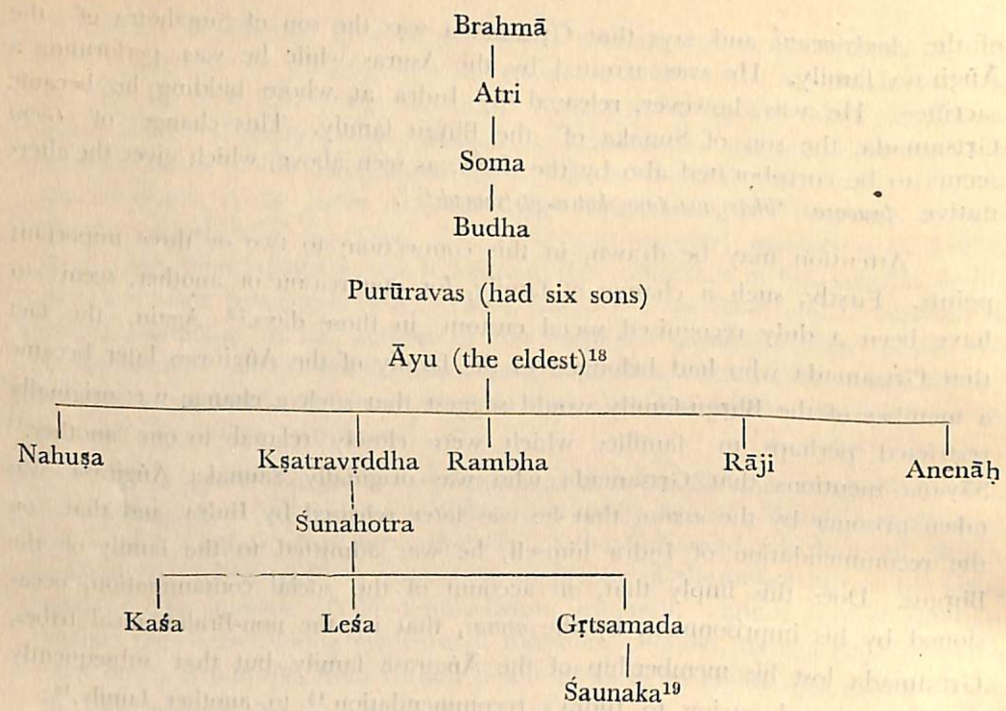
In the *AB* (VII. 13—18) mention is made of Viśvāmitra's adoption of Śunaḥśepa.

(14) The close relationship between the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirasas is amply evidenced by vedic and post-vedic literature. The tradition regarding the authorship of the *AV.* is particularly noteworthy in this connection.

(15) Indra, as will be shown later, was the special God of the Gṛtsamadas. It is not unlikely that Indra's recommendation symbolically means the intervention of the tribal leader. **Dandekar** characterises Indra as the apotheosis of the Āryan battle-leader (*ABORI*, XXXI, 'Vṛtrahā Indra' p. 44).

(16) The Brahmanic legend of Sunaḥśepa's adoption (*AB*. VII. 13—18) by Viśvāmitra is very suggestive in this context. Śunaḥśepa, also, in a sense, suffered from a kind of social degradation by his having been assigned as a victim in the human sacrifice performed by king Hariścandra.

(17) *Viṣṇu* P. 4. 8. 1.



The other *Purānas*, like the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Vāyu* and the *Bhāgavata*, also give the same genealogy. It would thus seem that the Gṛtsamada who is described in the *Purāṇas* as belonging to the lineage of Purūravas is the same as the reputed *ṛṣi* of a number of hymns in the second *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV*.

The *MBh*[20] states in the Anuśāsana-parvan that Gṛtsamada whose appearance was like that of Indra was assaulted by the *daityas*, who mistook him to be Indra himself. It further adds that his compositions, preserved in the *ṚV*, were reckoned among the best (*agryā śrutiḥ*)[21]. Here, however, a different account of the parentage of Gṛtsamada is given. Gṛtsamada is described as the son of Vītahavya Bhārgava. The *Mahābhārata* further tells us that Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa, defeated this Vītahavya. The latter is said to have embraced Brahminism in the hermitage of Bhṛgu. Here a son was born to him, whom he called Gṛtsamada. According to the *MBh.*, Gṛtsamada

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(18) He is referred to in the *ṚV* II. 14.7 and here Sāyaṇa says that he is the son of king Purūravas.

(19) The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* states that this Śaunaka first started to distinguish the four *varṇas* in the society. cf. गृत्समदस्य पुत्रः शौनकश्चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रवर्तयिताभूत् । (4.8.1) But the *ṚV* does not contain any such suggestion. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa* also state that the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras were born from Śaunaka.

(20) The *MBh.* (Anuśāsana *parvan* 8)

तस्य गृत्समदः पुत्रः रूपेणेन्द्र इवापरः । शक्रस्त्वमिति यो दैत्यैर्निगृहीतः किलाभवत् ।।
ऋग्वेदे दृश्यते चाग्र्या श्रुतिर्यस्य महात्मनः । यत्र गृत्समदो ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणैः स महीयते ।।
स ब्रह्मचारी विप्रर्षिः श्रीमान् गृत्समदोऽभवत् ।

(21) It is suggested that the word '*agryā*' means 'first in the nucleus of the *ṚV* viz. *maṇḍalas* II to VII.'

thus comes only two generations after Divodāsa Ātithigva. In the second *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV.* also we find a reference to Divodāsa[22] for whom Indra is said to have demolished ninetynine cities of Śambara.

There appears, however, some slight discrepancy between the accounts regarding Gṛtsamada's genealogy given by Sāyaṇa and the *Anukramaṇī* on the one hand, and by the *Purāṇas* on the other. The *purāṇas* describe Gṛtsamada as the son of Śunahotra and the father of Śunaka or Śaunaka while the *Anukramaṇī* describes him as having been originally the son of Śunahotra of the family of Aṅgiras, who later became the son of Śunaka of the family of Bhṛgu. This discrepancy may be explained away by pointing out that the *Purāṇas*, not infrequently, represent contemporary persons and events as successive. The *Purāṇa* account can also be regarded as an attempt to simplify Gṛtsamada's rather complex connections with the families of Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu.[23]

A comparative study of the genealogies, as set forth above, provides us with three facts of historical significance about Gṛtsamada. Firstly, he seems to have been genealogically connected with Purūravas i. e. with a non-priestly family. Secondly, he was intimately connected both with the Śaunahotras and the Śunakas. And thirdly he appears to be a younger contemporary of Divodāsa.

It is suggested,[24] on the evidence of the *ṚV* (II. 11. 19), that Trita is the ancestor of Gṛtsamada. Sāyaṇa, while explaining the stanza, points out that Trita is the name of a great sage for whom Indra killed the demon Viśvarūpa. But this does not seem to be corroborated by the nearly forty passages in the *ṚV*, which refer to Trita Āptya. If these passages are closely scrutinised, they would seem to indicate, though vaguely, that Trita was originally a rain-god.[25] Theetymological consideration of the name Āptya suggests its connection with *āp* (= water). Trita sometimes appears in the special capacity of a preparer of Soma. This must have been the extension of his primary character. Though, in some passages, Trita appears identical with Indra, there appears to be no doubt that Indra and Trita were distinct personalities. Even though Indra is also called Āptya, Trita must have been the original Āptya. The earlier occurrence in the *Avesta* of the ancient Iranian counterpart of Trita as Thrita than that of Indra is indeed very significant in this connection. Later on, however, Indra superseded Trita as the rain-god. There are unmistakable indications in the *ṚV* which show that Indra was gradually superseding Trita. Whenever Trita appears with Indra the former is clearly

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(22) *ṚV* II. 19. 6.

(23) **Karandikar,** in his *Dāśarājña Yuddha*, pp. 30—31, explains the *bhṛguisation* of Āṅgrasa Gṛtsamada in a different way. According to him, Gṛtsamada who originally belonged to the Indra-cult must have been persecuted by the Zarthushtrian religious reformers Cumuri and Dhuni and in order to save himself Gṛtsamada must have taken refuge with the Bhṛgus. Unless, however, Cumuri and Dhuni are proved to be Iranians it is difficult to believe in Karandikar's hypothesis.

(24) **Ketkar,** *Jñānakośa*, II, p. 265.

(25) **Dandekar**, 'Vṛtrahā Indra,' *ABORI* XXXI pp. 9—11.

represented as the subordinate of the latter.[26] It is suggested that Trita's final subordination may be lurking in II. 34. 10 where Trita is said to have been given over to the derision of the worshipper.

It can now be realised that Trita referred to in II. 11. 19, which is quoted by **Ketkar** in his support, has nothing to do with Gṛtsamada from the genealogical point of view. This reference is more rhetorical than historical. Trita, as pointed out above, was originally a rain-god of the Āryans. From the manner in which he is referred to in various passages he appears to have already become a mythical figure. Moreover, Trita is not mentioned in the genealogy of Gṛtsamada as given in later epic and purāṇic literature. So the hypothesis that Trita was some ancestor of Gṛtsamada is not substantiated either by Vedic or by post-Vedic evidence.

Attempts have also been made, on the basis of the purāṇic accounts, to fix up the date of Gṛtsamada. It has, for instance, been pointed out[27] that, according to the Purāṇic tradition, Gṛtsamada flourished about fifteen generations[28] or roughly 1275 years before the Bhārata war, the date of which has been fixed at 1125 B. .C. According to this calculation, the date of Gṛtsamada would be *cir.* 2700 B. C. The majority of the hymns of the second *maṇḍala* will have, therefore, to be assumed to have been composed between 2700 and 2500 B. C. Attempt has also been made, on the basis of astronomical evidence, to fix up the date of Atri, the seer of the fifth *maṇḍala*, to be 3928 B. C.[29] We have seen that, according to Viṣṇupurāṇa, Gṛtsamada is separated from Atri by six generations. This would give Gṛtsamada a date much earlier than the one suggested above. Whatever it is, one thing seems to be more or less distinctly suggested by the *ṚV*, namely, that Gṛtsamada was a *Ṛṣi* who belonged to a fairly high antiquity. It is significant, in this connection, that there is no direct mention in the *ṚV* of the individual *ṛṣi*, Gṛtsamada, though, as seen above, the Gṛtsamadas, that is, his successors or the members of his family, are frequently referred to. The hymn, II. 12, which, on account of the refrain, *sa janāsa indraḥ*, which occurs in the fourth quarter of each of its stanzas, is traditionally known as the *Sajanīya Sūkta*, and, more particularly, the legendary background of that hymn would also, in a sense, seem to confirm Gṛtsamada's antiquity. For, according to the tradition in that connection, Gṛtsamada is to be regarded, as a contemporary of Indra.[30]

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(26) Cf. RV II. 11. 19—20, VIII. 12.16; X.8 7—8; 99. 6. On a close scrutiny of such passages it would be realised that there is a conscious attempt to connect the gods artificially. **Kosambi** suggests ("Origin of Brahmin Gotras". *JBBRAS*, 26, p. 64) : 'Knowing what we now do of the Āryan invasion, it seems plausible that Trita is Indra or one of the invading Aryan Chiefs, later collectively deified under the title of Indra'.

(27) **Altekar,** *PIHC* III "Can we reconstruct Pre-Bharata war history ?" p. 56.

(28) **Pradhan,** *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 60, represents these as follows : Gṛtsamada —Savetas—Varcas—Vihavya—Vitathya—Satya—Śivasta—Śravas—Tamas—Prakāśa—-Vāgīndra—Pramiti—Ruru (A contemporary of Arjuna).

(29) See for further details in this connection the Chapter on 'Atri and the Atris in the *ṚV.*'

(30) As indicated elsewhere, though the family—hymn as such is absent in the second *maṇḍala*, this *sūkta* with its legendary background, may, indirectly serve the purpose of a family-hymn.

In his introduction to the commentary on that *sūkta*, Sāyaṇa mentions as many as three different versions of the legend. The legend from the *BD*, as given by Sāyaṇa,[31] informs us that the *ṛṣi* Gṛtsamada, through the power derived from austerities, disguised himself as Indra and wandered as such in the three worlds. The demons Cumuri and Dhuni, who were in a deadly opposition to Indra, mistook him for Indra and assaulted him with weapons. The sage realising their evil intention described in detail the exploits of Indra in this *sūkta* beginning with the words *Yo jāta eva prathamo mansvān*. The *BD* further tells us that Indra killed the demons and asked Gṛtsamada to choose boons. Thereupon he asked for various blessings[32] like the security of body (*tanūnam ariṣṭiḥ*), speech that stirred the heart (*hṛdayaṅgamā vāk*), abundance of wealth (*poṣam rayīṇām*), and heroes (*suvīrāḥ*).[33]

The second legend given by Sāyaṇa[34] tells us that Indra once attended the sacrificial session of Vainya.[35] The demons, who were always on the watch for Indra, came there to assassinate him. On knowing this, Indra slipped away from the pandal disguising himself as Gṛtsamada. The real Gṛtsamada however, began to go away after being duly honoured by Vainya. The demons mistook him for Indra and surrounded him when he exclaimed, "How can I an insignificant person be Indra ? Indra is he, who performed various miraculous expolits." Thus saying he described in the famous *sūkta* the exploits of Indra.

The third legened given by Sāyaṇa[36] explains the occasion of the composition of the *Sajanīya Sūkta* in much the same manner as the second. Indra attended the sacrifice of Gṛtsamada. Seeing him alone without any escort the demons surrounded him. Indra, however, slipped away to heaven in the disguise of Gṛtsamada. The demons who were waiting for Indra to come out could brook no delay, entered the pandal, and arrested real Gṛtsamada under the impression that Indra, being afraid, must have disguised himself.[37] Gṛtsamada explained to them through this *sūkta* that he was not Indra and that Indra was one who performed those famous exploits. This account closely resembles that given in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the *MBh*.

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(31) अत्रेतिहासः बृहद्देवतायामुक्तः । (4.66—68)
संयुज्य तपसात्मानमैन्द्रं .... कर्माण्यैन्द्राण्यकीर्तयत् ॥

(32) *BD*. IV. 72—73.

(33) The expression *suvīrāḥ* and *vāk ca astu hṛdayañgamā* seem to be suggested respectively by the last pāda of the *ṚV* II. 12. 15 and by II. 21. 6 cd which run as

सु॒वीरा॑सो वि॒दथ॒मा व॑देम ।

RV II. 12. 15; पोषं॑ र॒यीणामरि॑ष्टिं त॒नूनां॑ स्वा॒द्मानं॑ वा॒चः सु॑दिन॒त्वमह्ना॑म् । *ṚV* II.21.6.

(34) अन्ये तु अन्यथा वर्णयन्ति .... अनेन सूक्तेन तान् प्रत्युवाच ।

(35) Vainya is mentioned as belonging to the Bhṛgugaṇa (see **Ketkar,** *Jñānakośa*, III, p 503).

(36) अपरे त्वेवं कथयन्ति ... ... अयमेवार्थः महाभारते प्रपञ्चितः ।

(37) The second and the third legends remind us of a similar incident which took place in the modern history of Mahārāṣṭra. When Shivājī was treacherously imprisoned by Aurangzeb at Agra he effected his release under the disguise of his faithful servant Hiroji Farjanda.

Leaving aside the obviously mythical elements in these legends, it may be possible to draw certain conclusions from them. These legends would show that the antagonists of the victorious Āryans, who are referred to as *asuras* or *daityas*, were trying, by all possible means, to get hold of the valiant Āryan leader, Indra. They also would show that Gṛtsamada was, in one way or another, responsible for foiling these their evil attempts. All in all, Gṛtsamada seems to have been politically an active participant in Indra's campaign of conquest and colonization and religiously a devout sponsor of the Indra-cult. It may also be incidentally pointed out, in this connection, that many of the exploits of Indra have been so described by Gṛtsamada as to suggest that he had been an eye-witness of those exploits. Several of Indra's enemies such as Nārmara and Sahavasu;[38] Jātūṣṭhira[39]; Uraṇa and Arbuda;[40] Dṛbhīka and Vala;[41] Aśna, Śuṣṇa, Vyaṁsa, Pipru, Namuci, Dadhikrā, Śambara, Varcī,[42] Arśasāna,[43] Cumuri and Dhuni,[44] Śandika[45] have been referred to in the second *maṇḍala* and the Āryan hero's conflicts with them have been very graphically described.

Unlike the other *maṇḍalas* the second *maṇḍala* does not contain any *dānastuti*. Nor is it possible to derive from any of the references in this *maṇḍala* any information about the patrons of the Gṛtsamadas. The historical background of this family, therefore, cannot be presented with any substantial details. Moreover, only two individual seers, apart from Gṛtsamada himself are traditionally mentioned as having been responsible for the *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala*. Out of the fortythree *sūktas* thirtyfive are traditionally ascribed to Gṛtsamada. Hymns four to seven belong to Somāhuti Bhārgava. The name of this *ṛṣi* does not occur anywhere else in the *ṚV* or the post–Vedic literature. It can be presumed that Somāhuti was connected with the Bhṛgu family in which Gṛtsamada was, later, in a sense, adopted. This would account for the inclusion of his *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala*. Hymns twenty–seven to thirty belong to Kūrma Gṛtsamada, who, according to tradition, was the son of Gṛtsamada. He also cannot be traced anywhere else in the *ṚV* or the post–Vedic literature. The Purāṇic genealogy also nowhere mentions him as the son of Gṛtsamada. It may, therefore, be conjectured that Kūrma was just one of the members of the Gṛtsamada family and not necessarily his son.

In the *Sūtra* literature, Gṛtsamada is mentioned as a *gotrarṣi* and his *pravaras* are cited alternatively as *Śunakānāṁ gṛtsamadeti* or *bhārgava–śaunahotra–gārtsamadeti*[46]. According to the *gotra–pravara* lists the Gṛtsamadas belong to the *Śuddha* Bhṛgu stock.[47] They are also said to have originally belonged to the Kśatriya or non–priestly rank.[48] It may also be incidentally mentioned that Gṛtsamada is not included among the *Saptarṣis*. The fact may be accounted for by saying that an ancestor of the Gṛtsamadas, namely Atri, has already found

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(38) *ṚV* II. 13. 9.

(39) *ṚV* II. 13. 11.

(40) *ṚV* II. 13. 14.

(41) *ṚV* II. 14. 3.

(42) *ṚV* II. 14. 5—6.

(43) *ṚV* II. 20. 6.

(44) *ṚV* II. 15. 9.

(45) *ṚV* II. 31. 8.

(46) *ĀśŚS* 12.10.13.

(47) **C. V. Vaidya,** 'Gotra and Pravara', *PAIOC*, Vol. I, pp. 34—45.

(48) Is this fact to be traced back to the close relationship between Gṛtsamada and Indra ? The purāṇic genealogy of Gṛtsamada also would suggest this fact.

a place in the galaxy of the Saptarṣis and so Gṛtsamada of the same family did not come to be included among them.

It may incidentally be noted that various explanations have been given of the name Gṛtsamada. Yāska,[49] for instance, explains the word as *gṛtsaḥ medhāvī madanaḥ harṣāluḥ*. According to him, thus, the name signifies wisdom and hilariousness. Sāyaṇa,[50] while commenting on the *ṚV*–passages, explains the word *gṛtsaḥ* as *dhīmān*. The word *mada* occurs frequently in the ninth *maṇḍala* where it generally means *ānandayitā*.[51] It has also been suggested[52] that '*mada*' denotes a descendant of the Mada family hailing especially from Iran (Media). The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[53] points out that *gṛtsa* here stands for *prāṇa* and *mada* for *apāna* and the word thus means 'a receptacle of *prāṇa* and *apāna*.' The *BD*[54] explains the word, through Indra's speech, as 'one who delights the gods with his songs'. Out of the explanations, suggested above, those given by Yāska and Sāyaṇa appear to be genuine etymologies. The explanation of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* is obviously an after-thought while that given by the *BD* seems to have been based on the fact of the intimate relations between Indra and Gṛtsamada.

As for the habitat of the Gṛtsamadas, no clear evidence is available in this *maṇḍala*. However, from the fact that the Gṛtsamadas make special reference to the river Sarasvatī[55] it may be assumed that they were associated with that river particularly closely. They address her in glowing epithets as *ambitamā* (the best of mothers), *nadītamā* (the best of the rivers) and *devitamā* (the best of the goddesses) and implore her for the gift of wealth, food, progeny to Śunahotras and the Gṛtsamadas[56] This Sarasvatī is often identified[57] with the modern Sarasvatī which loses itself in the sands of Patiala at Vinaśana. With the Dṛśadvatī, it is said to have formed the western boundary of Brahmāvarta.

Considering, however, the antiquity of the Gṛtsamadas, it would seem improbable that the river Sarasvatī referred to in the second *maṇḍala* was the river mentioned in the later Vedic texts, as the frequent scene of great sacrificial sessions. As will be shown elsewhere, the Bharadvājas also lived in the region of the river

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(49) *Nirukta* 2. 4.

(50) *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM. on III. 1. 2; 19.1; 48.2; IV. 5.2; VII. 86. 7; 87.5; X. 25. 5; 28.5.

(51) Cf. *ṚV* IX. 50.4; 53.4; 86.35.

(52) **Karandikar,** *Dāśarājña Yuddha*, p. 8. His expalanation, however, does not seem to be corroborated by the Rgvedic evidence.

(53) *AĀr*. II. 2. 1. cf. also Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* on it.

(54) सखित्वाच्च पुनश्चैनमुवाच हरिवाहनः ।
गृणन् मादयसे यस्मात् त्वमस्मानृषिसत्तम ।
तस्माद् गृत्समदो नाम शौनहोत्रो भविष्यसि ।। The *BD* IV. 77–78.

(55) The river Sarasvatī is glorified in the *Ṛksaṁhitā* in three independent hymns (VI. 61; VII. 95 and 96). The importance of this river as a place of Vedic sacrificial activity is emphasized according to some Vedists, in several Vedic passages like *TS* (VII. 2. 1. 4)· *PB* (XXV. 10. 1), *KB* (XII. 2. 3), *ŚB* (I. 4. 1. 14), *AB* (I.19,I.2).

(56) *ṚV* II. 42. 16—18; cf. also II. 30. 8; 32. 8.

(57) **Lassen,** *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I.118 and **Max Müller,** *Sacred Books of the East*, 32. 60.

Sarasvatī. These Bharadvājas were originally the priests of Divodāsa, who was an ancestor of Sudās. The close connection between the Bharadvājas and Divodāsa would show that the river Sarasvatī, which is celebrated by the Bharadvājas, could not have been the Sarasvatī of the later ritual texts. For, it is most unlikely that, in the times of Divodāsa, the Vedic Aryans had spread as far as Vinaśana. As has been already pointed out, tradition mentions Divodāsa as an elder contemporary of Gṛtsamada. All this would suggest that the Gṛtsamadas also were associated with the river Sarasvatī with which the Bharadvājas were associated. This river is usually identified with Haraquaiti.(58)

By means of a critical study of the various Vedic gods who have been glorified in the second *maṇḍala*, it is possible to draw certain conclusions regarding the religious inclinations of the Gṛtsamadas. As indicated above, the Gṛtsamadas seem to have been enthusiastic sponsors of the Indra-cult in the Vedic religion. It would appear that Gṛtsamadas have taken special pains to celebrate the manifold exploits of the Aryan war-god, Indra, and to establish the supremacy of that god. There is a suggestion in one of the hymns that some people were becoming sceptical about Indra's powers. There were also people who flatly denied the existence of Indra.(59) By pointing to the various exploits of that god, Gṛtsamada emphatically admonished such people to have faith in that god.(60) The legendary background of that hymn would also suggest the same thing.

The Gṛtsamadas also seem to be inclined towards the worship of Brahmaṇaspati or Bṛhaspati,(61) who is the lord of the magic power of prayer.(62) A critical study of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which celebrate Brahmaṇaspati would clearly show that the god is a conscious priestly creation. The priestly community must have originally thought of glorifying the magic power of prayer through this god. It must have been the anxiety of Vedic poets to impress upon the people that the valour of Indra must be aided by the magic power of prayer and that this combination alone led them to victory. It has been rightly pointed out that the attachment of the Gṛtsamadas both to Indra-worship and the Bṛhaspati-worship can thus be satisfactorily accounted for on the basis of evolutionary mythology.(63)

The fact that one of the few hymns addressed to Rudra in the *ṚV* occurs in the second *maṇḍala*(64) is also perhaps significant. This may suggest that living on the western borders of the later Aryan settlements,[65] the Gṛtsamadas were among those who first adopted the pre-Āryan god Rudra-Śiva in their fold.

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(58) *Vedic Index*, II, p. 434.
Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 5—10. **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, 1.60,2.90 etc. and **Ludwig,** *Translation of the ṚV*, 3.201–202 identify it with Sindhu on account of the epithet '*nadītamā*.'

(59) *ṚV* II. 12. 5.

(60) श्रद॑स्मै धत्त॒ स ज॑नास॒ इन्द्रः॑ । II.12.5.

(61) *ṚV* III. 23—25.

(62) According to the normal arrangement of the *Devatā*-groups, within a *maṇḍala*, the Agni group comes first, then comes the Indra group, and then the group of *Sūktas* addressed to the *devatā* to whom the *ṛṣis* of that particular *maṇḍala* are specially devoted. From this point of view, Bṛhaspati seems to be a special god of the Gṛtsamadas.

(63) **Dandekar,** 'Vṛtrahā Indra', *ABORI*, XXXI, pp. 52—53.

(64) *ṚV* II. 33.

It will be proper, at this juncture, to refer also to the ritualistic contribution of the Gṛtsamadas. It is significant that the family has a separate Āprī hymn.[66] This itself suggests that the family must have had to its credit some definite ritualistic peculiarities. The *AB*[67] speaks of a *gārtsamada sāma* by the composition of which Gṛtsamada is said to have reached the dear abode of Indra.

We come across a few passages in the second *maṇḍala*, which may give us on inkling into the attitude towards life of the Gṛtsamadas. Kūrma Gṛtsamada implores Varuṇa that he might not suffer from his own sins or from those committed by others,[68] and that he may lead a long and happy life. Living a long, healthy and a pious life in the company of brave progeny, in a fertile land having abundance of water is the desire expressed by one of the Gṛtsamadas.[69]

A few facts regarding the social conditions in the Vedic age may be gleaned from the hymns of the Gṛtsamadas. From the words *gaṇa* and *gaṇapati*, in the Brahmaṇaspati *Sūkta*[70] it is suggested[71] that republican forms of government were not unknown in those days. But, from the context, it would become clear that the word *gaṇa*, here, indicates the groups of the Aṅgirasas. As has been already noticed, this *maṇḍala* contains an unusually large number of references to the enemies of Indra and his contests with them. A rather unusual reference, in this connection, is to the conflict between the Āryans and the Śaṇḍikas.[72] The words, *dāsam varṇam*, occurring in II·12·4, also are culture-historically quite important. The word *varṇa*, of course, does not imply the existence of caste-system in those days. It does, however, imply that the Vedic Āryans distinguished themselves from the Dāsas in point of colour of the skin.[73] In other words, the Āryans regarded themselves as racially distinct from the Dāsas. In another passage, *stena* and *vṛka* are said to be two sources of fear of the Āryans.[74] The word *amājūḥ*, which occurs in II·17·7, means a spinster or a girl of an advanced age. She is referred to here as living in the house of the father. This suggests that the maidens in those days were married generally before they were advanced in age and a few of them, it

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(65) **Dandekar**, 'Rudra in the Veda' *JUP*, No. 1, pp. 94—148.

(66) II. 3. For further details about the Āprī hymns and their connection with the *gotra-pravara* system see the sequel. The Āprī *sūkta* of the Gṛtsamadas contains the usual eleven concepts e. g. (1) Idhma (2) Tanūnapāt or Narāśaṁsa (3) Iḷā (4) Barhis (5) devīḥ dvāraḥ (6) uṣāsānaktau (7) devyau hotārau (8) Sarasvatī, Bhāratī and Ilā (9) Tvaṣṭā (10) Vanaspatī (11) Viśvedevāḥ. The sūkta is of the *narāśaṁsa* category.

(67) *AB* V. 2. 4.

(68) *ṚV* II. 28.9.

(69) *ṚV* II. 27. 13.

(70) *ṚV* II. 23. 1.

(71) **Jayaswal,** 'Hindu Polity,' p. 25. **Jayaswal** suggests that the hymns of the *ṚV* and the *AV* point to the fact that the republican form of government in India came after the early Vedic age which knew only monarchy. The republican form appears in the later Vedic literature like the *AB*, the *YV*, the *TS* etc.

(72) *ṚV* II. 30. 8.

(73) The Dāsas are described as *kṛṣṇayonīḥ* (*ṚV* II. 20. 7), while, from the descriptions of Indra, the Vedic Āryans may be presumed to have been blond.

(74) *ṚV* II. 28. 10.

seems, remained unmarried for one reason or the other. The simile of a *rahasū*[75] suggests that there were occasional lapses though the institution of marriage was quite rigid.

Among the occupations, reference is made to medicine[76] weaving,[77] sewing,[78] navigation,[79] and hunting (II·12·4). Agriculture is referred to in greater details. Plants that blossom and bear seed are mentioned.[80] Indra is described as the lord of the ground rich with crops.[81] Granaries seem to have qeen referred to by the word *Urdara.*[82]

Indra is described as a *nṛtū*[83] while *bhṛmi* and *karkari*,[84] appear to be two musical instruments.

Superstitious beliefs of the people are hinted at[85] where it is suggested that the *Kapiñjala* bird[86] twittering in the right direction of a person starting a new work brings good luck to him. Another superstition is referred to in II·28·10, according to which, it seems to have been believed that the narration of a frightening event by a friend in a dream was believed to be a bad omen.

From the literary point of view, the compositions of the Gṛtsamadas would seem to possess special interest. As poets, they rank high among the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis.* One of the Gṛtsamadas asks for 'sweetness of speech'[87] as one of the boons from the god Indra. This boon seems to have been granted by Indra, for, its effect becomes evident in many of the *sūktas* in the second *maṇḍala.*

Quite a few of the hymns of the Gṛtsamadas can be characterised as ballads. And in view of the special relationship in which the Gṛtsamadas stand to the Vedic Indian national war-god, Indra, this fact is quite understandable. The famous *Sajanīya sūkta* is perhaps the finest example of a Vedic ballad. It is a sort of a heroic song where Indra's various exploits are glorified. On the strength of the peculiar rhetorical construction of this *sūkta*, it is possible to assume that a special mode of reciting it was practised in those days. It would appear that the first three quarters and a part of the fourth in each of the stanzas of this hymn were recited by the bard himself, while the refrain, *sa janāsa indrah*

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(75) *ṚV* II. 29. 1. *Rahasū* means 'a woman who delivers in a secret place' and hence 'a debaucherous woman'.

(76) *ṚV* II. 33. 2.

(77) *ṚV* II. 28. 5; II. 3. 6.

(78) *ṚV* II. 32. 4.

(79) *ṚV* II. 39. 4.

(80) *ṚV* II. 13. 7.

(81) *ṚV* II. 21. 1.

(82) *ṚV* II. 14. 11.

(83) *ṚV* II. 22. 4.

(84) *ṚV* II. 43. 3.

(85) *ṚV* II. 42-43.

(86) *Kapiñjala* is the Francoline Partridge or the *Bhāradvāja* bird. The legend of the Kapiñjala bird (II. 42—43) suggests that there was a bond of friendship between Gṛtsamada and Indra. This is further supported by the legend in the *Nirukta* (IX.4). Here we are told that Gṛtsamada was desirous of undertaking some work when a Kapiñjala twittered and suggested that he would be successful. The *BD* (IV. 93—94) supplies more details such as that Indra longed for Gṛtsamada's worship and, disguising as a Kapiñjala, he took up position on the right quarter of the seer as he was about to set out and twittered. Gṛtsamada recognised him to be Indra and praised him. The legend thus suggests the intimacy between the seer and Indra.

(87) *Svādmānam vācaḥ* (II. 21. 6).

was sung in chorus.[88] The fact that the first three quarters and a part of the fourth in each stanza, which were made up of relative clauses and which described the principal exploits of the national war-god, were every time clinched by an emphatic statement in the form of the refrain, " He, O men, is Indra ", must have indeed helped to make the entire ballad very effective.

As a matter of fact the Gṛtsamadas show a peculiar fondness for refrains. There is, of course, the usual family refrain added at the end of many *sūktas*, in most cases, artificially and by way of an afterthought.[89] Then there is a refrain for all stanzas in a sūkta,[90] or only for some stanzas in a *sūkta*.[91] It is interesting to note that most of the hymns with refrains for stanzas relate to Indra and possess an obvious ballad-like character. Indeed such ballad-like songs which are, as it were, the catalogues of Indra's exploits constitute a special feature of the second *maṇḍala*. The narration is so graphic in these *sūktas* that one feels as if the bardic poet actually recited these *sūktas* with proper gesticulation and emphasis.[92]

Generally speaking, conscious use of rhetorical devices may be regarded as a significant trait of the poetry of the Gṛtsamadas. From this point of view, hymns eleventh, sixteenth and twenty-first in the second *mandala* are noteworthy. An attempt at alliteration can be noticed at several places.[93] A tendency to repeat certain words for effect is also evident in many stanzas.[94] The Gṛtsamadas further seem to exhibit a sort of fondness for certain words such as *Kanikradat*, *mandasānaḥ*[95] etc.

Sometimes it is found that the first quarter of a stanza in a hymn is connected with the last quarter of the preceding stanza through the use of the forms of the same word, such as *ukthaiḥ* and *ukthesu*,[96] *śubhrāḥ* and *śubhram*,[97] *harī*,[98] *parvataḥ*[99] *vajrāt* and *vajraḥ*,[100] *rāsi*,[101] *mandasānāḥ* and *mandasānaḥ* [102]etc. Such arrangement reminds one of *Dāmayamaka* of the classical *alaṁkāraśāstra*. There is a good illustration of *Tulyayogitā* in II·16·2 cd where *soma*, *vajra* and *kratu*

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(88) Such mode is practised in the Maratha country even today in the singing of the '*povāḍā*' type of bardic compositions.

(89) बृ॒हद्व॑देम वि॒दथे॑ सु॒वीराः॑ । II. 11 or सु॒वीरा॑सो वि॒दथ॒मा व॑देम । II. 12. 15.
cf. II. 13. 13, II. 15. 10, II. 16. 9. etc.

(90) II. 12. cf. also II.13 where '*Sāsyukthyaḥ*' is repeated at the end of each stanza.

(91) II. 14. 6—7. cf also '*Somasya tā mada indraścakāra*' II. 15. 2—9, II. 37. 1—3. It is also seen that sometimes the whole stanza is used as a refrain e. g. II. 13. 13 and II. 14. 12.

(92) In this connection, attention may be drawn also to the word "*adhvaryavo*' used with a dramatic effect at the beginning of each stanza of II. 14.

(93) *ṚV* II. 12. 2; II. 6. 3.

(94) *ṚV* II. 11. 14 (repetition of *rāsi*), II. 114. (repetition of *śubhram*).

(95) *ṚV* II. 42. 1, 2; 11.3; 15; 17; 30.5.

(96) II.11.2d and II.11.3a.

(97) II. 11. 3d and II. 11.4a.

(98) II. 11. 6d and II. 11. 7a.

(99) II. 11. 7d and II. 11. 8a.

(100) II. 11. 9d and II. 11. 10a.

(101) II. 11. 13d and II. 11. 14a.

(102) II. 11. 14c and II. 11. 15a.

are said to reside respectively in the bowels, hand and the head of Indra. In II·23·19[103] is an epigrammatic proverb meaning, "All that gods regard with favour is blessed."

The poetry of the Gṛtsamadas is chracterised by choice expressions. Similies and metaphors are often appropriate and vivid. The eagerness of the *ṛṣi* to kindle and worship fire, for instance, has been beautifully described in II·2·2, where the poet says, "At night Agni, they have called thee like milch-kine in their stalls lowing to meet their young." At another place[104] the poet describes Agni as '*pṛśnyāḥ pataram*,' the bird of the firmament. Agni is likened to a horse who "darts his tongue forth, like a harnessed courser who shakes his flowing tail among the bushes."[105] At another place Agni is compared with an ox without a herdsman.[106] A life-like and a characteristic description is found at II·11·17,[107] where he is described as 'shaking the *Soma*-drops off the beard'.[108] Rudra is compared with a wild beast by a poet.[109] Another *ṛṣi* likens himself with a girl growing old in the house of her father and coveting for her good fortune.[110] Agni is compared with a young man surrounded by young damsels.[111] The Kapiñjala bird is likened by another poet to a singer of *Sāma*.[112] The fondness for similes of the Gṛtsamadas is amply evidenced by II·39·4–7 where the four stanzas are packed with no less than twenty-three similes.

A mention may be made, at this stage, of some of the peculiarities of the literary style of the Gṛtsamadas. Anakoluthon[113] seems to be quite frequent in the compositions of the Gṛtsamadas. Similarly participle constructions, that is relative clauses, not connected with any principal clause, are not uncommon in the hymns of the Gṛtsamadas.[114]

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(103) विश्वं॒ तद्भ॒द्रं यदव॑न्ति दे॒वाः । II.23.19. (104) II. 2. 4.

(105) II. 4. 4. (106) II. 4. 7.

(107) प्र॒ दोधु॑व॒च्छ्मश्रु॑षु प्रीणा॒नः । II.11.7.

(108) This is how the quarter of the stanza (II. 11. 7) is generally interpreted. Cf. **Dandekar,** 'Vṛtrahā Indra', *ABORI*, XXXI, p. 19. **Velankar,** (*BUJ*. Sept. 1940, p. 71), however, says that the expression is analogous to *Śmaśru dodhuvat* (X. 23. 1) and *Śmaśru dūdhot* (X. 26. 7) and that all the three passages refer to a peculiar characteristic movement of the upper lip which caused the mustaches to move and which indicated a feeling of pleasure on the part of Indra. In (*BUJ*, Sept. 1953) **Velankar** further points out that this action of Indra corresponds to the Marathi phrase 'miśīvara tāva deṇe.'

(109) II. 33. 11. (110) II. 17. 7. (111) II. 35. 4.

(112) II. 43. 1.

(113) Cf. **Velankar**, ('Hymns to Indra by the Gṛtsamadas' *BUJ*, Sept. 1940, p. 70, notes on II. 11. 14.). Here the poet means to say that Indra and the Maruts should bestow a house and a friend on him. So we expect *rātu* in *b*; but under the influence of *a* and also as he meant *tvam* and *marutaḥ* both as the subject, the poet actually uses *rāsi*.

(114) II. 11. 4.

In the use of metres, the Gṛtsamadas show a considerable amount of looseness. The fourth *sūkta* in this *maṇḍala*, for instance, contains an unusual number of such verses.[115] Similarly II·19–20 are metrically defective. Lyrics of Nature are quite few in this *maṇḍala* and *Uṣas-sūktas* which speak of the aesthetic sense of the *ṛṣis* are also conspicuous by their absence in the *maṇḍala*.

It is interesting to note that the Gṛtsamadas whose compositions are placed at the beginning of what is called the nucleus of the *ṚV* and who seem to have played a significant role in the early history of the Vedic Āryans are not referred to with any prominence in the post-Vedic literature.

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(115) e. g. II. 4. la; 2a; 3b; 5d, 6b, 8b, 9c.

CHAPTER II

VIŚVĀMITRA AND THE VIŚVĀMITRAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

Viśvāmitra, who is traditionally regarded as the author of the third *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV*, is one of the most intriguing personalities in the Vedic age. As a matter of fact the influence of Viśvāmitra must be said to have extended far beyond the Vedic age. For, he is one of the few Ṛgvedic seers, who is frequently celebrated in later Vedic, epic, and even classical literature. Viśvāmitra is known from the *ṚV* to have played a particularly significant role in the sociohistorical, religious, and literary fields. As the reputed author of the holiest of the stanzas in the *ṚV*, namely, the *gāyatrī mantra*,[1] he may be said to have left a lasting impression on the traditional Vedic studies. His close association with the events which led to the battle of the ten kings and his feud with another famous family of the Ṛgvedic period, namely, the family of Vasiṣṭha, which seems to have had far-reaching effects on the future course of India's cultural history, also, tend to make him a man of great consequence. A biography of this seer, such as is being attempted in the following pages, would, therefore, constitute a useful contribution to the reconstruction of the cultural history of the Veda.

At the commencement of his commentary on the third *maṇḍala*, Sāyaṇa, quoting from the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, states that Viśvāmitra is the seer of that *maṇḍala*.[2] But this statement, particularly the word *Viśvāmitra*, is, as usual, to be understood in a wider sense to include also the other members of Viśvāmitra's family, such as Ṛṣabha, Utkīla, Devaśravā etc., who are, obviously, the descendants of Viśvāmitra. Apart from the third *maṇḍala*, Viśvāmitra is credited with the authorship also of certain other passages in the *ṚV*[3].

There are three ways in which the name Viśvāmitra is referred to in the *ṚV*. The word occurs in singular at three places, namely, III·53·7; III·53·9; and III·53·12. The first passage suggests that the Saudāsas were the patrons of Viśvāmitra and that they increased the span of their lives by giving wealth to Viśvāmitra. The second one suggests that Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās and that Indra was pleased with the worship of the members of Viśvāmitra's family, who are here referred to as Kuśikas. The third contains Viśvāmitra's boast about the power of his hymn. Applying the criteria discussed in the introduction, it may be generally stated that, in all these three passages, Viśvāmitra, the progenitor of the family, is referred to. The same Viśvāmitra seems to have been referred to in a passage from the tenth *maṇḍala*, where Jamadagni is also referred to.[4] The

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(1) *ṚV* III·62·10.

(2) अस्य मण्डल-द्रष्टा विश्वामित्र ऋषिः । *ṚV, VSM.* Vol. II, p. l. cf. also *Ārṣānukramoṇī*, pub. by Bibl. Ind. p. 246.—

सोमस्य मेत्युपक्रम्य तृतीयं मण्डलं प्रति ।
विश्वामित्र इति ज्ञेयः स च गाधिसुतः स्मृतः ।।

(3) *ṚV* IX·67·13–15, X·137·5 and X·167.

(4) *ṚV* X·167·4. For the discussion regarding the relation between Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni see below.

word *Viśvāmitra* occurs in plural at three places in the third *maṇḍala*(5) and once in the tenth *maṇḍala*.(6) These references in plural clearly show that, as was usual in the *ṚV*, the name Viśvāmitra had already become cognominal. The plural thus denotes the members of the Viśvāmitra-family.

The Viśvāmitras are also referred to as Kuśikas.(7) There is, however, no clear evidence in the *ṚV* to show how Viśvāmitra was actually related to the Kuśikas. The genealogies given by the *Purāṇas*(8) mention Kuśika as the grandfather and Gādhī as the father of Viśvāmitra. That even by the words *Kuśikāḥ* and *Kuśikāsaḥ*, the Viśvāmitras themselves are indicated can be very easily inferred from the common epithets used to describe Viśvāmitra and the *Kuśikas*.(9) It is indeed significant that Madhucchandas, the son of Viśvāmitra invokes Indra with the epithet *Kauśika*.(10) Indra is hereby celebrated as the special divinity of the Kuśika-family.(11) And the fact that a member of the Viśvāmitra-family should celebrate him as such would clearly show that the Viśvāmitras and the Kuśikas formed one single family-unit.

Now there arises this question. Why are the Viśvāmitras and the Kuśikas mentioned separately when they belonged to the same family ? It has been suggested,(12) on the strength of certain words such as *yugeyuge*,(13) *janman-janman*,(14) and *ekaekaḥ*,(15) that the Viśvāmitras and the Kuśikas lived separately in separate houses as distinct family-groups. This hypothesis would seem to be corroborated by the reference in the *Bhāgavata P.*(16) according to which the fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra were called Viśvāmitras and the remaining fifty were called Kuśikas. Such a distinction is, however, nowhere suggested in the *ṚV*. It is more probable that the Kuśikas represented the bigger family while the Viśvāmitras constituted a prominent group within that family.(17)

In some passages, the Viśvāmitras seem to have been referred to also as *bharatasya putrāḥ*.(18) Sāyaṇa,(19) while commenting upon the words *bharatasya putrāḥ*, says *bharatavaṁśyāḥ ime viśvāmitrāḥ*. Śimilarly the persons who accompanied Viśvāmitra when he wished to cross the rivers, Vipāś and Śutudrī, are also indicated by the term *bharatāḥ*.[20] Here Sāyaṇa[21] explains, : *bharatāḥ madīyakulajāḥ sarve*. In another passage[22] it is said by Viśvāmitra that his prayer protects the race of the Bharatas. Viśvāmitra is also alluded to as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas in the AB.[23] All this would suggest that originally the Kuśikas or the Viśvāmitras belonged to the tribe of the Bharatas which included both the warrior-class and the priestly-class, between whom hardly any distinction was made. It seems that the name Bharata, accordingly, indicated both these classes. It may be presumed that when priestly functions became more specialized, some groups from among the Bharatas, such as the Viśvāmitras, formed themselves into separate priestly families. They thus came to be recognised as the Viśvāmitras, though their original tribename, Bharata, still continued to be applied to them. These Viśvāmitras served as the *purohitas* of the Bharatas in the days of their early conquests in India. It would, however, be more reasonable to suppose that, in the *ṚV* passages mentioned above, the word *bharatāḥ* or *bharatasya putrāḥ* does not denote the Viśvāmitras at all. There, the word rather stands for the Bharata-warriors[24] themselves whose priest Viśvāmitra was. Viśvāmitra is there, presumably, speaking on behalf of his patrons, the Bharatas.

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(5) *ṚV* III·53·13; III·18·4; and III·2·21.

(6) *ṚV* X·89·17.

(7) *ṚV* III·26·1,3; III·29·15; III·30·20 and III·42·9, III·53·9–11.

(8) *Bhāgavata* P., X *Skandha*.

(9) *ṚV* III·53·9–10.

(10) *ṚV* I·10·11.

(11) According to **Geldner,** *Der Rigveda*, I·11–12, Indra is here celebrated as the special divinity of the Kuśika-family.

(12) **Chapekar,** 'Visvāmitra and Kusika', *Potdar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 59–62

(13) *ṚV* III·26·3. (14) *ṚV* III·1·21. (15) *ṚV* III·29·15

(16) 9·16·28–37.

(17) It may be pointed out, in this connection, that in later literature the Kuśikas, rather than the Viśvāmitras are most frequently mentioned (cf. *BD* IV·98) (also *Matsya P.* 132·112 and *Viṣṇu P.* 4·7·16). The relation between the Kuśikas and the viśvāmitras, in a sense, corresponds with that between the Tṛtsus and the Vasiṣṭhas. But, in the latter case, the Tṛtsu-family seems to have been overshadowed by the Vasiṣṭhas (vide Ch. on 'Vasiṣṭha and the Vasiṣṭhas').

(18) *ṚV* III·53·24. (19) *ṚV VSM.*, II, p. 440.

The Viśvāmitras are also sometimes referred to as *gāthinaḥ*.[25] But the *ṚV* makes no mention of this epithet. The *Sūktas* nineteenth to twentysecond however,

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(20) *ṚV* III·33·11,12.

(21) *ṚV*, *VSM*., II,pp·353–54. While commenting on the word *bharatāḥ* in (VII·33·6) Sāyaṇa (*VSM*·III,p. 350) identifies the *bharatas* with the Tṛtsus.

(22) *ṚV* III·53·12.

(23) VII·13–18.

(24) According to **Wijesekera,** (" Ṛgvedic Bharata : A survival from Aryan Prehistory ", *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 151–161), of all the terms, designating Aryan tribes during the period of the composition of the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* none is perhaps of greater significance for the later history of Indian civilization than the celebrated name Bharata. The part 'played by the Bharatas in consolidating Aryan rule in Vedic times and in the succeeding centuries till about the rise of Buddhism constituted on any account an important chapter in the social and political history of India.

Wijesekera gives an analysis of the socio-semantic content of the root *bhṛ* and its derivative *bhara* etc., as elucidated from actual occurrences in the *ṚV*. He points out that the word *bharata* clearly indicated the sense of ' carry off, bear away ' hence ' rob, plunder, raid, win in fight or race ' and has a pronounced vogue in the *ṚV* (e. g. II·30·2, V·32·9, II·23·13, IX·79·2). Moreover, the verb *bhar* has, in the *ṚV*, the prominent sense of foraying (foraging) that is to say, finding food or fodder by ravage, plunder, which naturally involved raiding and looting. The most frequent occurrence of *bhara* in the *ṚV* is in the sense of *battle*. Ancient Indian tradition, as preserved by Yāska, ascribes to the terms the very same sense (cf. *Nirukta*, 4·24 : *bhara iti saṅgrāma-nāma, bharater vā harater vā*) and Sāyaṇa accepts this meaning for a large number of contexts (e. g. on I·100·1,2 etc.). cf. the words *bhardvāja*, *vājambhara* and the phrases, *viśvasmin bhare* and *bhare bhare*. There can thus be no doubt that the basic or historical sense of *bhara-ta* (suffix *ta* having an agentsense) in the *ṚV* is 'fighter' or 'warrior', as a cultural development from the more primitive raider. In other words, this use of *bharata* is thus only a faint reminiscence of the evolution of the 'warrior' from the primitive hunter.

(25) *AB*, VII·

are traditionally ascribed to the seer, Gāthin. Introducing III·20, Sāyaṇa[26] says that the *ṛṣi* of the hymn is Gāthī. While commenting on III·22[27] he adds, *ṛṣiḥ Kauśiko gāthī*. In the BD,[28] Viśvāmitra is said to have been the son of Gāthī. The word gāthī occurs as *gāthina* or *gādhina* in the *AB* and later on as *gādhi* in the *Purāṇas*.[29] The *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* of Mādhavabhaṭṭa[30] mentions the name of Viśvāmitra's father as Gādhī and tries to account for the fact that fewer stanzas are ascribed to him than to Viśvāmitra himself, by pointing out that, that Gādhi had the capacity 'to see only a few stanzas (*alpadṛk*)'. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the *AB* (7·18), says that Gāthin was the name of Viśvāmitra's father and mentions Viśvāmitra's son Madhucchandas also as a *gāthina*.[31] On the strength of this evidence, therefore, we may assume that the *sūktas* 19–22 in the third *maṇḍala* were composed by Viśvāmitra's father, or by an ancestor of Viśvāmitra. The *AB* (7·18) further identifies *gāthinaḥ* with *Kuśikāḥ*. As for the relationship of Kuśika, Gāthī and Viśvāmitra, the *Sarvānukramaṇī*[32] gives the following genealogy :

Iṣīratha
|
Kuśika
|
Gāthī
|
Viśvāmitra

In a passage in the *ṚV* (III·58·6) the Viśvāmitras have been described as belonging to the tribe of Jahnu. Jahnu, thus, seems to have been a remote ancestor of the Kuśikas. This assumption is confirmed by the genealogy as given in the *Purāṇas* : [33]

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(26) *ṚV*, VSM. II, p.266.

(27) Op. cit. p. 267. (28) *BD*, IV·95.

(29) The *Matsya P.* 132·112, gives a list of the Kuśikas where Viśvāmitra is mentioned as *gādheya*.

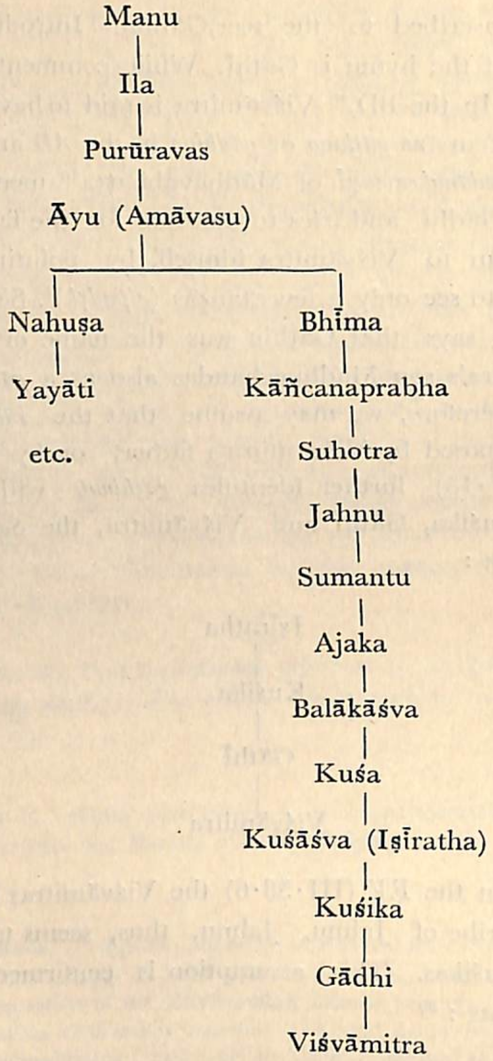
(30) V·8·7.

(31) The *JB* (3·237–8) also says that Viśvāmitra was the son of Gāthin.

(32) कुशिकस्तु ऐषीरथिरिन्द्रतुल्यं पुत्रमिच्छन् ब्रह्मचर्यं चचार ।
तस्य इन्द्र एव गाथी पुत्रो जज्ञे ।

(32) cf. also the *Nirukta* 3·53·5 which tells us that by dint of austere penance not only Viśvāmitra but also his father Gādhi and grandfather Kuśika attained *ṛṣi*hood.

(33) Cf. *Bhāgavata P.*, IX *Skandha*, which gives the genealogy as follows : Nārāyaṇa —Brahmā —Atri —Soma —Budha —Purūravā —Vijaya —Bhīma —Kāñcana — Hotraka —Jahnu —Puru —Balāka —Ajaka —Kuśa —Kuśāmbu —Gādhi —Viśvāmitra.


Manu
Ila
Purūravas
Āyu (Amāvasu)
Nahuṣa
Bhīma
Yayāti
Kāñcanaprabha
etc.
Suhotra
Jahnu
Sumantu
Ajaka
Balākāśva
Kuśa
Kuśāśva (Iṣīratha)
Kuśika
Gādhi
Viśvāmitra

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[34] provides us with an interesting account of Viśvāmitra's hundred sons and his adopted son Śunaḥśepa. The *AB*[35] tells us that Viśvāmitra adopted Śunaḥśepa and named him as Devarāta. He then asked his hundred sons to obey Devarāta as their elder brother. The elder fifty sons of Viśvāmitra did not accept Devarāta's seniority but later on they submitted. Śunaḥśepa, thus, eventually, succeeded to the lordship of the Jahnus as well as to the divine lore of the Gāthins. This account in the *AB* suggests that the Gāthins were a prominent group among the Jahnus, especially, expert in the knowledge of the sacred lore.

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(34) *Viṣṇu P.* 4.7.16.

(35) *AB* 7. 13—18. cf. also

अधीयत देवरातो रिक्थयोरुभयोर्ऋषिः ।
जह्नूनां चाधिपत्ये दैवे वेदे च गाथिनाम् ।। *AB*, VII.18.33.6.

It is significant that in the *PB* XXI. 12.2, Viśvāmitra is styled as '*Jāhnavo rājā*'.

The Jahnus must have been a more comprehensive group within which the Gāthins must have formed a prominent section which was particularly well-versed in the Veda. It can thus be seen that the ancestral names of the Viśvāmitras are corroborated by the post-Vedic literature and the *Purāṇas*.

From the point of view of the personal history of Viśvāmitra, hymns III·33 and III·53 are important. Out of these, the latter may be regarded as a regular family-hymn in the *maṇḍala*. The former, that is III·33, is one of the well-known dialogue-hymns in the *ṚV*. Viśvāmitra is here represented as imploring the rivers Vipāṭ and Śutudrī, which were in spate, to become fordable and thus facilitate his and his men's passage to the other side.[36] The rivers argued that they were flowing along the path ordained by gods. Ultimately, however, the rivers yielded to Viśvāmitra's entreaties and favoured him with a fordable passage.

The hymn III·33 may be generally analysed as follows : In the first three stanzas, Viśvāmitra praises the rivers. In the fourth stanza the rivers point out that they are flowing along the path ordained by gods and ask what the sage desired. In the fifth, Viśvāmitra requests them to stop for a while in the course and thereby do a favour to him, who is Kuśika's son.[37] The rivers then say that they flowed along the courses dug out by Indra and at the behest of Savitṛ, implying, thereby, that they were unable to comply with his request. Viśvāmitra then praises Indra's exploits and the rivers are pleased. Viśvāmitra, further requests them for their favour which the rivers readily give and the Bharatas along with Viśvāmitra easily crossed them.

Oldenberg[38] points out that the thirteenth stanza in this *sūkta*, which is the real magical formula employed for making the rivers fordable, constitutes the essential part of this hymn, while the story of Viśvāmitra and the rivers serves just as a background for this formula. Taking into account the reference to the Bharatas' in this *sūkta*, however, one cannot altogether deny the historicity of the whole situation. The *sūkta* seems to represent one of the several antecedents of Bharatas' famous conflict with the ten kings. As has been pointed out elsewhere, at one time, Viśvāmitra served the Bharatas as their *purohita*. During his tenure as *purohita* he seems to have helped the Bharatas, through the magic power of his prayers, on their onward march by making the rivers fordable.[39]

Much light is thrown on the relationship between Viśvāmitra and Sudās by III·53 which, as pointed out above, is the genuine family-*sūkta*[40] in this *maṇḍala*. According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, Indra is the devatā of stanzas 1–14 and 21–24, *Sasarparī vāk* that of 15–16 and the parts of the chariot are the deities of the remaining ones. The ninth stanza is the most important as it contains the glorification

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(36) *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, *ṚV* VSM, Vol. II p. 346 tells us that Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās and that by the exercise of his office he obtained wealth and went off with it to the rivers, followed by the Bharatas. Yāska's version of the legend (*Nirukta* II. 24) merely seems to mean that king Sudās paid Viśvāmitra to act as his priest.

(37) Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Viśvāmitra's reference to himself as '*Kuśikasya sūnuḥ*', if understood strictly literally, goes against the genealogies given by the *Purāṇas*, but *Kuśikasya sūnuḥ* can also be interpreted as 'a descendant of Kuśika' or a member of the Kuśika–family.

(38) *Ṛgveda Noten*, pp. 245 ff.

(39) To **Griffith** (*The hymns of the ṚV*, Vol. I, p. 353) the hymn appears to be interesting as a relic of the traditions of the Aryans regarding their progress eastward in the land of the five rivers.

(40) Cf. also **Geldner**, *Der Ṛgveda* I, p. 392.

of the progenitor in the usual manner. Here Viśvāmitra is described as a great *ṛṣi*, god-born, god-impelled and a leader of men (*nṛcakṣāḥ*). In the second half of that stanza there is a mention of his having conducted Sudās safely over the waters. This clearly refers to the crossing of the rivers Vipāṭ and Śutudrī by Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas as described in III·33. That Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās is here directly corroborated. Viśvāmitra, on account of his priestly powers, was greatly helpful to Sudās in the eastern expansion of the Bharatas. It is suggested that *ṚV* III·53·11 refers to the horse-sacrifice performed by Sudās, with Viśvāmitra, as his priest, to celebrate his early victories.

The seventh stanza of this hymn gives further details about the patrons of Viśvāmitra. These patrons are here referred to as Bhojas[41] They are compared to the Aṅgirasas in point of liberality.[42] The word *sahasrasāva*, here, means 'a sacrifice with a thousand libations.' The word may mean a sacrifice lasting for a year, there being three *savanas* a day.[43]

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Vasiṣṭha, the traditional seer of the seventh *maṇḍala*, also appears from many verses in that *maṇḍala*[44] to have been the priest of Sudās, the son of Pijavana. Tradition would thus point to the fact that both Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha were the *purohitas* of Sudās. They could not, however, have been the *purohitas* at one and the same time. They must have held that office at different times. Indeed one must have, for some reason or another, been made to supersede the other. Thus in III·33, Viśvāmitra, is imploring the rivers to become fordable and give easy passage to the Bharatas, his master's hosts, while in VII·18 we see him jeered at, for the failure of the great coalition of ten kings which he had brought about against his former master Sudās. We also see that the victory of Sudās was due to the magic of power of Vasiṣṭha's prayers.[45] It would thus seem that Viśvāmitra was the *purohita* of Sudās in the initial stages of the onward march of the Bharatas, that he once helped Sudās and his people to cross the rivers Vipāṭ and Śutudrī, and that he even perhaps officiated at a horse-sacrifice performed by Sudās. Later on, however, Vasiṣṭha was made to supersede Viśvāmitra and was appointed the *purohita* of the Bharatas by Sudās. When Viśvāmitra led the confederation of ten kings against Sudās, Vasiṣṭha helped the latter and secured victory for him. The famous Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud[46] thus seems to

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(41) Bhoja was apparently another designation of the family of Sudās. Or, *bhojāḥ* may simply mean liberal patrons that is Sudās and his people.

(42) The gifts given by the Aṅgirasas to Nābhānediṣṭha are often regarded as the standard for comparison in respect of liberality (cf. *ṚV*. X. 62.7; *AB* 5.14).

(43) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, II. p. 432). however, connects it with the *Aśvamedha* which is believed to have been referred to in III. 53. 11.

(44) Cf. *ṚV*. VII. 18. 4—5, 21—25 and 33. 1—6.

(45) *ṚV* VII. 33. 4—6.

(46) For a detailed treatment of the subject see Chapter on 'Vasiṣṭha and the Vasiṣṭhas in the *ṚV*'.

Hutton, *Caste in India,* (p. 155) points out that the contest between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra may symbolize the amalgamation of the two cultures, and Viśvāmitra's formal renunciation of Kṣatriya ways and the final ascendancy of the Pre-Aryan religion. **Ghurye,** *Caste and Race in India,* p. 45, is of the opinion that the feud between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha is symbolic of a struggle between the Kṣatriya-class and the Brahmin-class. He further points out that on reading the later epic stories one cannot fail to get the idea that in the quarrel of these two individuals is epitomised the history of the rivalry between the first two caste ·

have had its origin mainly in the historical situation involving the change in the office of the *purohita* of the Bharatas, which Sudās had brought about.

Stanzas (15–16) of the hymn III. 53 supply us with some interesting details regarding this feud. The stanzas are traditionally known as the '*Sasarparī formula*'. In his *bhāṣya*, Sāyaṇa prefaces these *mantras* with a quotation from Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's commentary on the *Anukramaṇī*.[47] It is pointed out here that, at a sacrifice of king Sudās, so far as prowess and speech were concerned, Viśvāmitra was completely overwhelmed by Śakti, the son of Vasiṣṭha. Viśvāmitra, being so overcome, became dejected. The Jamadagnis drew, from the abode of the sun, a voice called *Sasarparī*, the daugher of Brahmā or the sun and gave her to Viśvāmitra. This voice is said to have dispelled the disquiet of the Kuśikas. The only point implied by this legend, which is significant in the present context, is the discomfiture caused by a scion of Vasiṣṭha's family to Viśvāmitra in his priestly office. Its connection with *Sasarparī* is presumably an afterthought.

From the point of view of this family-feud, verses 21–24 are again important. They are traditionally known as *Vasiṣṭhadveṣiṇyaḥ*.[48] They constitute Viśvāmitra's imprecations directed against the Vasiṣṭhas and clearly suggest that Viśvāmitra had strong reasons to hold a grudge against Vasiṣṭha. As indicated above, the most important reason was, evidently, Viśvāmitra's being superseded by Vasiṣṭha as the *purohita* of the Bharatas.

Sāyaṇa[49] says that the Vāsiṣṭhas avoid listening to these stanzas. Durga, the commentator on the *Nirukta*, expresses his unwillingness to interpret the word '*lodha*' as it occurred in a *vasiṣṭhadveṣiṇī* stanza; for, he himself was a *Kāpiṣṭhala Vāsiṣṭha*.[50]

Thus, though the feud between these two celebrated Vedic families is nowhere directly mentioned in the *ṚV* it is abundantly testified by indirect references in the *ṚV* and by tradition.

The general impression of the family-*sūkta* in the third *maṇḍala* is not homogeneous. It is a series of reminiscences of several events having no inner

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(47) *Anukramaṇī—bhāṣya*, 3.53. 15—16; *ṚV*, VSM, II, pp. 435—36. **Roth** (as quoted by **Griffith**, Vol. I, p. 374, footnote) thinks that *Sasarparī* may mean a war-trumpet, which inspirits the combatants and dispels their fear of the enemy. **Grassmann** argues that it means the mystic cow *Sabardughā*. Sāyaṇa says that it is the *Vāgdevatā*, which glides everywhere (*sasarparī sarvatra sarpaṇasīla*).

(48) *BD* 4.23.

(49) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, VSM, Vol. II, p. 438 इमा अभिशापरूपा: । ता ऋचो वसिष्ठा न शृण्वन्ति ।

(50) यस्मिन् निगमे एष शब्द: सा वसिष्ठद्वेषिणी ऋक् । अहं च कापिष्ठलो वासिष्ठ: । अतस्तां न निर्ब्रवीमि ।

connection[51]. Interesting in this connection, is the opinion of **Roth**.[52] According to him the hymn consists of fragments composed by Viśvāmitra and his descendants, at different dates, and that verses (9–13) in which that *ṛṣi* represents himself and the Kuśikas as being the priests of Sudās are earlier than the concluding verses (21–24), which consist of curses directed against Vasiṣṭha. These verses, he points out, contain an expression of wounded pride and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed.[53]

It is suggested by **Ghurye** (*Caste and Race in India, p.* 45) that the conflict between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra is symbolic of a more general conflict between the priests (*Brāhmaṇas*) on the one hand, and the kings and warriors (*Kṣatriyas*) on the other. Obviously the *ṚV* does not at all support such a suggestion. Apart from the fact that a hard and a fast demarcation between the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas* is unknown to the early *ṚV*, Viśvāmitra cannot be said to represent the kings or the warrior-class. Indeed, he is frequently represented as having officiated at sacrifices. Though a scion of the Kuśika family, which was not exclusively a priestly family, Viśvāmitra had performed a sacrifice for Sudās[54] and released a horse for that king's horse-sacrifice.[55] There is no trace of his kingship in the *ṚV*. On the other hand he is represented as entertaining a desire for being a ruler, a king and a *ṛṣi* and also for wealth.[56] In fact, as pointed out by **Müir**,[57] if we look to the number of Vedic hymns ascribed to him and to his family and to the apparent improbability that this person, who was himself a king, should afterwards have become a professional priest, it will be found difficult to believe that, although a scion of a royal stock, he had ever himself exercised regal functions. **Roth**[58] also points out that there is nothing either in the *ŚB* or in the hymns of the *ṚV* to show that he had been a king, though the later authorities refer to him actually as a king.

The later tradition of epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *MBh.* suggests that Viśvāmitra's fame rests chiefly on his contest with Vasiṣṭha and his great achievement of elevating himself, a *Kṣatriya*, to the rank of a *Brāhmaṇa*. He gradually increased the rigour of his mortification, through many years, till

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(51) **Geldner**, *Der ṚV*, Vol. I, p. 392ff. divides the *sūkta* into two sections as 1—6 and 7—24 and adds that the various events are not mentioned chronologically. The first six stanzas according to him refer to Indra. Stanzas 1—3 refer to the invocation for a *Śastra* and 4—6 refer to the sending away of the god. Stanzas 7—14 refer to king Sudās and his liberality. In 8—9 Indra's favour at the crossing of rivers is mentioned. In 10 Soma is offered. The eleventh speaks of a horse—sacrifice. In 12—13 Viśvāmitra's *paurohitya* is mentioned. The fourteenth contains a request for a bounty. 15—16 contain a reminiscence of the time of the downfall and revival of Viśvāmitra. In 17—20 blessings are invoked for the protection of the parts of the chariot. Stanzas 21—24 contain imprecations directed against Vasiṣṭha.

(52) Quoted by **Müir**, *OST*, I, pp. 37 ff.

(53) An attempt has also been made to discuss the Vasiṣṭha—Visvāmitra—feud at a greater length in a later chapter on 'Vasiṣṭha and the Visiṣṭhas in the *ṚV*'.

(54) Cf. *ṚV* III. 53.9. (55) Cf. *ṚV* III. 53. 11. (56) *ṚV* III. 43.5.

(57) **Müir**, *OST*, Vol. I, p. 364. (58) **Roth**, *Litt. U. Gesch.*, p. 125.

he successively earned the titles *rājarṣi*, *ṛṣi*, *maharṣi*, and *brahmarṣi*. The *ṚV*, however, does not corroborate this.

We might now turn our attention to another important question, namely, the relation between Viśvāmitra and the Jamadagnis. It has been seen above that the Jamadagnis secured for Viśvāmitra the *sasarparī vāk* from Brahmā or from the sun. This seems to indicate that Viśvāmitra had been a pupil of Jamadagni, who was well-versed in magic–formulas. Jamadagni imparted to Viśvāmitra the knowledge of one such formula, by means of which the latter was expected to overcome his increasing spiritual deficiency (*amati*).[59] The Jamadagnis are, in this context, referred to as *palasti–jamadagnayaḥ*.[60] This seems to suggest that the preceptor who taught the magic–formula to Viśvāmitra was very old. He must have been a senior contemporary of Viśvāmitra. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that there are indeed indications that Jamadagni was actually related to the family of Viśvāmitra. He is traditionally credited with having been the author of a few stanzas included in Viśvāmitra's family–book, namely, III. 62. 16–18. It is also significant that the hymn X. 167 is traditionally said to have been composed jointly by Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni and that, in one of the stanzas in that hymn,[61] they are mentioned together, in a *dvandva* compound, as proteges of Indra. The word *dame* used in that context suggests that Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni belonged to the same big family. In the *AB*[62] Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are mentioned to have officiated as the *hotṛ* and the *adhvaryu* respectively at the sacrifice performed by king Hariścandra of the Ikṣvāku race. In the *TS*[63], Jamadagni is referred to as having been favourable to Viśvāmitra and hostile to Vasiṣṭha. According to the *MBh*[64] Jamadagni's father Ṛcīka was the brother–in–law of Viśvāmitra, because he married Satyavatī who was the daughter of Gādhi and sister of Viśvāmitra. The connection between Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni as indicated in the epic may be demonstrated as follows :

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(59) Cf. the solemn hymn *Vārkāryā* of the Gotamas, who with its influence on the Maruts, could push up the lid of the well and got water to drink (*ṚV* I. 88·4)

(60) *RV* III. 53. 16 **Geldner,** *Der Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 392ff., suggests that Palasti and Jamadagni may be the names of two different clans.

(61) *ṚV* X. 167. 4.

(62) *AB* VII.16.

(63) *TS* 3.1.7.3. In the *TS* 5.2.10.5—6, however, Vasiṣṭha, Visvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Jamadagni and Viśvakarman are represented as having been closely associated with each other. The *GB* (I.2.8) informs us that Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni performed penance at Jāmadgnyatīrtha.

(64) *MBh* Ādi. 67, Vana 115.

Kuśa is synchronous with Bhārgava
Kuśāśva Cyavana
Kuśika Apnavāna
Gādhi Aurva

Viśvāmitra Satyavatī Ṛcīka (married Satyavatī)
Jamadagni

The contemporaneity of Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni can thus be satisfactorily established. In course of time, Jamadagni seems to have been recognised as an authority in respect of magically efficacious *mantras* and the later seers often desired to adopt Jamadagni's 'style' in their own *mantras*.[65]

Attention may now be drawn to some references of historical significance, which occur in the family–hymn of the Viśvāmitras. In III 53. 14, the Kīkaṭas are represented to have been antagonistic to the Vedic Aryans.[66] The word Kīkaṭa apparently denotes both a geographical locality and the people inhabiting that locality. The Kīkaṭas seem to have been the non–Aryan inhabitants of a country usually identified with South Bihar. Through the verse in question, Viśvāmitra asks Indra : "What useful purpose can your cows serve among the Kīkaṭas ? They do not milk them for mixing milk with *Soma* nor do they heat the cauldron with that milk." In other words cows cannot be said to serve the purpose unless their milk is used for sacrificial rituals. Here,

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(65) Cf. *ṚV* VII. 96. 3, VIII. 101.8, IX. 62.24, IX. 65.25, and IX. 97.51.

(66) Several views have been put forth regarding the identity of Kīkaṭa. According to Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 434) and Yāska (Nirukta VI.32) Kīkaṭa is the country of the non-Aryans. **Pandit**, in his *Vedārthayatna*, identifies it with Nirmala near Bassein while **Rajawade** in his article on Vedic tribes identifies the Kīkaṭas with modern 'Kaikāḍīs'. The *PW* gives Kīkaṭa as a synonym of Magadha. **Zimmer**, (*Alt. Leb.* 31.118) concludes that the Kīkaṭas were a non-Aryan people living in the country later known as Magadha. **Weber** (*Indische Studien*, I. 186) holds that these people were located in Magadha and were Aryans though at variance with other Aryan tribes. According to **Oldenberg** (*Buddha* 402—3) and **Hillebrandt** (*VM*, I. 14—18) the identity is uncertain. According to **H. Heras** ("The Kingdom of Magan", *B. C. Law Comm.* Vol., Calcutta, 1945) the earliest mention of Magadha is found in the *AV* (V. 22.14) where it is indicated that it was inhabited by people of low reputation. He points out that later Vedic texts disclose a clear antipathy to the people of Magadha (*KŚS* XXII. 4.22 VIII. 6.22). The reason for this, he suggests, may be that Magadha was not Aryanised. Kīkaṭa is synonymous with Magadha; in fact Kīkaṭas were a tribe of non-Aryan people in Magadha. According to **Heras**, Magadha (Dravidian '*makadam*' = a powerful country) must have existed round the middle of 3rd millenium B.C. **K. C. Chattopadhyaya,** however, holds a different view ("Kīkaṭa in Ṛksamhitā", *Woolner Comm. Vol.*, Lahore, 1940). He says that Kīkaṭa is Kurukṣetra and that the word Naicāśākha indicates the contact of the expanding Aryans with non-Aryans. According to **Keny** ("Origin of Magadha", V *PIHC*, Hyderabad, 1943) the Magadhas are Dravidians, the original inhabitants of Magadha and having a different dilect.

then, one presumably gets the picture of the eastward progress of the advancing Aryans and their clashes with the non–Aryans.[67]

The mention of Pramaganda[68] and Naicāśākha[69] is also historically very important. Pramaganda was presumably the king of the Kīkaṭas, while the people of Kīkaṭa themselves seem to have been characterised as *Nīcaśākhas*, presumably because they followed a religious cult different from that of the Vedic Aryans, namely the cult of the worship of the *aśvattha* tree with its branches growing below.[70]

There are some more passages referring to the clashes between the Aryans and the non–Aryans. The stanza III. 30. 6, for instance, clearly indicates the mission of the invading Aryans, who were out to propagate their religious cult and oust their enemies. A fine picture of the strong hatred which the Aryans conceived against their antagonists can be noticed in III. 30. 17 where Indra is implored to root out the race of the *rākṣasas* and to crush it and to cast his dart at the antagonists. As missionaries of the Vedic religion the Viśvāmitras, thus, seem to figure prominently in the *ṚV*.

A careful study of the hymns in the third *maṇḍala* reveals some special traits of the Viśvāmitras. It has been seen elswhere how the Viśvāmitras are proud in referring to themselves as Kuśikas. At III. 33. 5, for instance, the poet is pointedly referring to himself as the son of Kuśika. Such references to the Kuśikas in this *maṇḍala* seem to indicate that the family of the Viśvāmitras boasted of an older family-tradition of priestly service. When, however, Viśvāmitra later distinguished himself as a master of magically efficacious formulas, the family must have come to be designated after him. There is another kind of self–consciousness on the part of the Viśvāmitras, which is discernible in this *maṇḍala*. The Viśvāmitras frequently emphasise the fact that Indra became favourably inclined to Sudās on account of their own magic formulas.[71] At III. 53. 12 Viśvāmitra confidently asserts that it was his hymn which protected the Bharata clan. In view of the special role played by the Viśvāmitras

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(67) Taking into account the historical associations of the Viśvāmitras, however, it would appear that Kīkaṭa refers to a more westerly province than Bihar. If it is to be identified with Magadha, one will have to suppose that the scions of the great Viśvāmitra are intended in the present context.

(68) According to **Chattopadhyaya** ("Kīkaṭa in Ṛksamhitā", *Woolner Comm. Vol.*, Lahore, 1940) Pramaganda (Pra + magan + da) means 'the gift of the great Magan'. Yāska (*Nirukta* VI. 32) says that the word Pramaganda means 'a usurer'. It is also suggested that the words Magadha and Pramaganda are linguistically connected with each other.

(69) The word means 'the low-born'. It may also mean the sons and grandsons of a person named Nīcaśākha. Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM II, p. 435) explains the word Nāicāśākha to mean 'of low origin' or as the name of the capital of the Kīkaṭa country (cf. **Geldner,** *DR*, I. 394). It is suggested by **Bohtlingk** (*Berl. Leip.* XLIII 260) that Nāicāṣākha was the surname of Pramaganda. **Hillebrandt**, (*VM*, I. 14—16) thinks that the word refers to the Soma-plant and that the passage refers to a raid against the Kīkaṭas, who were not observers of the milk-cult, with the intention of winning their lands where Soma grew and where there were cows in plenty.

(70) **Charpentier,** "Naicāśākha", *JRAS*, 30,335

(71) Cf. *ṚV*, III. 53.9.

in connection with the expansion of the Bharatas towards the east, such glorification by them of the magical power of their own *mantras* is easily understandable.

As for the patrons of the Viśvāmitras, the only information that we can gather from the third *maṇḍala* is that they were patronised by Sudās and the Bharatas. There is no mention in this *maṇḍala* of any other patron of the family.

The geographical references in this *maṇḍala* seem to suggest that the Viśvāmitras had played a very significant role in the history of the advance of the Vedic Aryans from the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī in the northwest up to the Kīkaṭas in the east. They must have actually helped in the propagation of the Vedic religion and culture in these regions.

An important legend with which Viśvāmitra came to be associated in the later *Brāhmaṇa* literature is hinted at in the *ṚV* not in this *maṇḍala* but in the first[72] and the fifth.[73] The passages refer to Śunaḥśepa's deliverance from the *Yūpa* to which he was tied down. In the *saṁhitās* other than the *ṚV*, also, the story of Śunaḥśepa is referred to.[74]

The most detailed treatment of the Sunaḥśepa–legend, however, one comes across in the *AB*[75]. The story may be summarised as follows :

Hariścandra, the king of the Ikṣvāku race was childless. Nārada advised him to worship Varuṇa and secure a son by his favour stipulating that the son would be sacrificed to Varuṇa. Accordingly, after a son, later named Rohita, was born to the king, Varuṇa reminded the king of his promise. The king tried to put him off by giving one excuse after another. When, at last, the king prepared himself to sacrifice his son, the latter protested and left his father's house. Varuṇa, thereupon, made the king suffer from dropsy. When Rohita came to know of this he wanted to go back and free his father from the tormentations of the disease. But Indra, appearing in human form, dissuaded him from going back and importuned him to wander in the forest. While so wandering in the forest, Rohita came across a Brāhmaṇa, named Ajīgarta, bought from him his middle son Śunaḥśepa by paying him one hundred cows as ransom, returned to his father and asked him to sacrifice Śunaḥśepa to Varuṇa in his own place. Varuṇa agreed to this arrangement. The sacrifice was duly commenced, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vaśiṣṭha and Ayāsya officiating respecively as the Hotṛ, the Adhvaryu, the Brahman, and the Udgātṛ. As no one was willing to bind and immolate Śunaḥśepa, the victim of the sacrifice, Śunaḥśepa's father agreed to do both the jobs on receiving a hundred cows for each. Śunaḥśepa, therefore, prayed to the divinities, Prajāpati, Agni, Savitṛ, Varuṇa, again Agni, Viśvedevas, Indra, Avins and, Uṣas, entreating them to set him free. When the prayer to Uṣas was finished, his bonds became loose and he eventually became free; the belly of Hariscandra likewise became normal.

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(72) *ṚV* I. 24. 12—13.

(73) *ṚV* V. 2.7.

(74) *TS* (5. 2. 1. 3), *Kāthaka Saṁ.* (19·11), *Kāpiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁ* (21.1), and *AV* (6.25;7·83).

(75) *AB*, VIII. 13—18. The story is also supplemented by ŚŚS 15. 20. 1.

The priests, thereupon, honoured Śunaḥśepa by inviting him to participate in the sacrifice as a priest. Śunaḥśepa agreed and completed the sacrifice in the proper manner. Viśvāmitra then adopted Śunaḥśepa as his son. Ajīgarta demanded his son back, but Viśvāmitra told him that the gods had given Śunaḥśepa to him and that he would, in future, be known as Devarāta (given by the gods). Śunaḥśepa, himself, also told his father that it was quite impossible for him to return to the old family. Viśvāmitra then designated Śunaḥśepa the eldest of his sons and endowed him with his divine inheritance.

Out of the hundred and one sons of Viśvāmitra, fifty sons older than Mudhucchandas refused to acknowledge Śunaḥśepa as their eldest brother. Viśvāmitra, therefore, cursed them that their progeny would be living as outcastes. The *AB* tells us that the Andhras, the Puṇḍras, the Śabaras, the Pulindas and the Mūtibas are descended from them. Madhucchandas with the other fifty acknowledged Devarāta's seniority and were blessed by Viśvāmitra to be prosperous in every way. Devarāta, as indicated above, secured the lordship of the Jahnus and the divine learning of the Gāthins.[76]

In the *AB*, we are told that the story of Śunaḥśepa has a hundred verses from the *ṚV* and thirtyone *gāthās*.[77] It is clear, therefore, that the story is intended to be based on the passages in the *ṚV*. But curiously enough, the *ṚV*—passages, referred to, do not at all mention Hariścandra, Ajīgarta, Nārada or even Viśvāmitra. We only know from the *ṚV* (I. 24. 12–13) that Varuṇa is implored to release Śunaḥśepa and in the *ṚV* (V. 2. 7) Agni is addressed in the same connection. In the first passage there is a hint only of Sunaḥśepa having been bound to three pieces of wood (*triṣu drupadeṣu baddhaḥ*). In V. 2. 7 the reference to a *Yūpa* does occur, but the word *sahasrāt* creates some difficulty. Sāyaṇa[78] interprets the word to mean 'from the *Yūpa* of various stakes'. **Griffith**[79] evades this difficulty by interpreting it to mean 'bound for a thousand' as the price, but, apart from the fact that the figure is inaccurate, it is rightly pointed out by **Keith**[80] that the construction has to be rejected by every consideration of probability.

Seven whole hymns[81] are ascribed to Śunaḥśepa in the *ṚV*. These contain, in all ninetyseven stanzas which are dedicated to different deities. It is pointed out that the writer of the *AB* wanted to make capital out of these

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(76) **Hariyappa,** ("Ṛgvedic legends through the ages", *BDCRI*, Vol. XI, p. 230) says : "The story of Śunahśepa is also referred to in later Vedic literature, the epics and the *Purāṇas*. The legend has roused much interest among scholars as revealing the prevalance of human sacrifice in ancient India. Quite early in the history of man counter-action must have expressed itself and Śunaḥśepa's sacrifice seems to be an effective protest aganst such a system." See also the chapter on 'The Śatarcins in the *ṚV*'.

(77) *AB*, VII. 18. तदेतत्परऋक्शतं गाथं शौनःशेपमाख्यानम् ।

(78) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, Vol. II, p. 727 'सहस्रात् अनेकरूपात् यूपात्'. Sāyaṇa is followed by **Wilson, Roth and Grassmann.**

(79) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 467. (80) **Keith,** *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 63.

(81) *ṚV* I. 24—30.

stanzas and so he must have invented the whole story of Śunaḥśepa, successively praying to different deities. Śunaḥśepa is also credited with the authorship of IX. 3 which contains ten stanzas. In scrupulously observing the order of the deities praised in the *ṚV*-hymns, the author makes Śunaḥśepa approach Agni twice without giving any intelligible reason. The *ṚV* likewise makes no reference to the sons of Viśvāmitra and the adoption of Śunaḥśepa. It may, therefore, be safely argued that the story of Śunaḥśepa as given in the *AB* is an absolutely independent story having no real connection with the *ṚV*.[82]

Of all the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha alone seem to have continued to play a particularly prominent role in the epics and the *Purāṇas*. It would, therefore, be helpful for our purpose to briefly review the part played by Viśvāmitra in later literature.

By the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Viśvāmitra had already established himself as a great Brahmarṣi. He is one of the seven sages, who are favourites of Brahmā and whose duty it is to propagate righteousness in the world, to conduct sacrifices for public weal and also to bring about, through proper agencies and timely intervention, the destruction of evil. In the *Bālakāṇḍa*,[83] Viśvāmitra is represented to have approached Daśaratha and asked for his help in protecting the sacrifices which were being performed by him and other sages but which

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(82) The story occurs in the various epics and the *Purāṇas* as follows : (a) *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bālakāṇḍa 61—62. (b) *MBh.* Anuśāsana Parva 3 and *Ś*ānti Parva 294. (c) *Viṣṇu* p. 4. 7. (d) *Devī Bhāgavata* 7. 14—17. (e) *Śrīmadbhāgavata* 9. 7, 16. (f) *Harivaṁśa* 1. 27. (g) *Brahma P.* 10. (h) *ŚŚS* 15. 20—21. **Satawalekar,** *śunaḥśepa ṛṣikā darśana*, p. 23, emphatically asserts that the story in the *AB* is fantastic and imaginary. On the other hand **Narahari,** (in his article, 'The legend of *Ś*unaḥśepa in Vedic and post-Vedic literature', *Kane Comm. Vol.* p. 305) declares that the account given in the *AB* is ratified to a great extent by the *ṚV*.

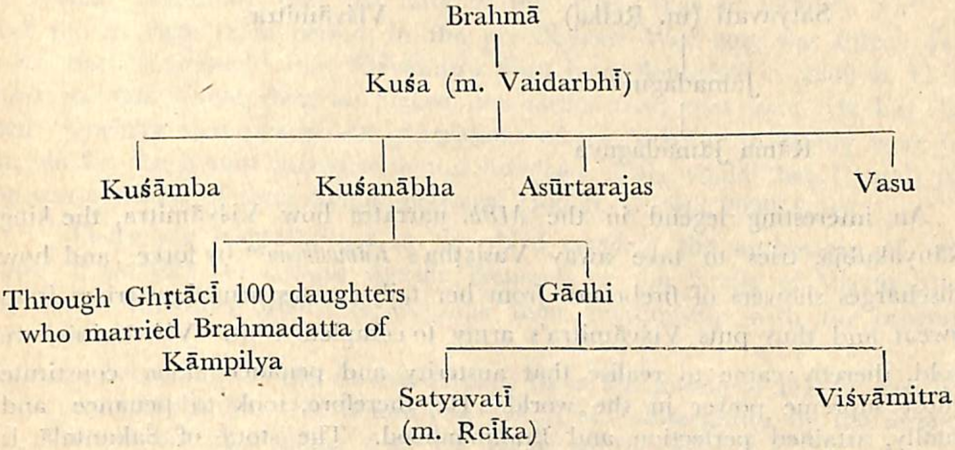
Hillebrandt (*Ritualliteratur,* 144—47) is of the opinion that the story of Hariścandra sacrificing his son refers to the practice of killing the first-born son of a king at his consecration. This seems to be quite probable. Some other points of sociological interest are suggested in this legend. The sale of Śunaḥsepa by his father Ajīgarta would, for instance, show that the father had fullest power of life and death over his sons like the ancient Roman fathers. The adoption of *Ś*unaḥśepa by Viśvāmitra suggests that such a practice was in vogue but it is strange that no definite rites are mentioned to have been performed in that connection. **Max Müller** (*HASL*, p. 213) makes the following observations in connection with this legend :

> "This story is chiefly interesting as revealing to us three distinct elements in the early social life of India. These are represented by the royal or reigning family of the Ikṣvākus, by their priests belonging to several famous Brahmanical races, and by a third class of men, living in the forests, such as Ajīgarta and his three sons. It is true that Ajīgarta is called a *ṛṣi* and one of his sons a Brāhmaṇa. But even if we accept the Aryan origin of Ajīgarta, the seller and butcher of his own son, it is important to remark how great a difference there must have been between the various Aryan settlers in India. .... It does not necessarily follow from this legend that the *ṛṣis* offered human sacrifices. No one would conclude from the willingness of Abrahm to sacrifice his own son in obedience to a supposed command from Jehovah, that the jews had been in the habit of offering their sons as a victim."

(83) *Rāmāyaṇa*, Chapters 18—20.

were being continuously obstructed by the *Rākṣasas*. After some hesitation, Daśaratha agreed to send his sons, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, with Viśvāmitra. The epic then goes on to narrate how the young heroes valiantly defeated the *Rākṣasas* and thus ensured the proper observance of the Aryan ritual. This is symbolic of how the missionary activity of the Brahmanic sages like Viśvāmitra must have been aided by the military power of rulers like Daśaratha. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Viśvāmitra seems to have made his permanent abode on the banks of the river Kauśikī.

Viśvāmitra describes his own genealogy, in I. 32–34, as follows :



Two interesting legends are given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bāla. 57–61) wherein Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha are represented to have been antagonistic to each other. The first is the story of Triśaṅku, which also occurs in the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* (8.97) and the *Harivaṁśa* (1.12). According to the story, Viśvāmitra elevated Triśaṅku, the triple-sinner, whose original name was Satyavrata, to the heaven while he was still alive, in spite of the resistance of gods and the opposition of Vasiṣṭha.

The second legend pertains to Hariścandra, the son of Triśaṅku. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* (7.8), Hariścandra, in order to fulfil a promise which he had given to Viśvāmitra in a dream, gave away his whole kingdom and sold his wife and son and finally himself. The story delineates Viśvāmitra in a rather unfavourable light, as an oppressive assertor of sacerdotal prerogatives, which he had secured for himself, and places him in contrast with the genuine Brāhmaṇa Vasiṣṭha, who expresses strong indignation at the harsh procedure adopted by his rival.

In the *MBh.* Viśvāmitra is mentioned among the great sages. He is often remembered in the epic as a king who, through his austere penance, became a Brahmarṣi.[84] His leneage is traced here as follows :

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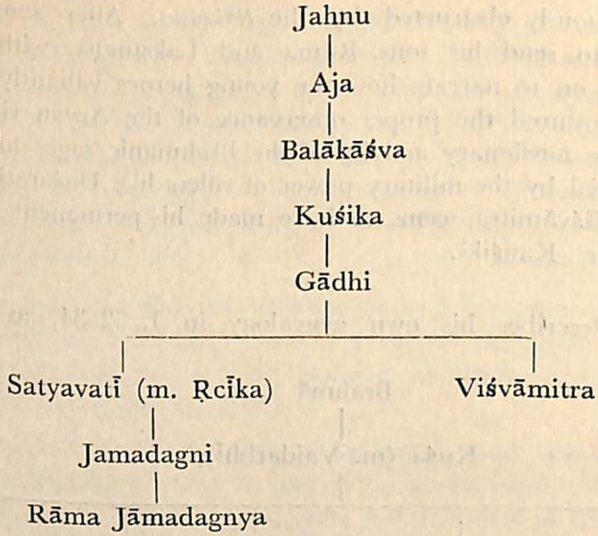
(84) *Kṣatrājātaśca yaḥ pūrvam abhavat brāhmaṇo balāt* I. 71. 29.



An interesting legend in the *MBh.* narrates how Viśvāmitra, the king of Kānyakubja, tries to take away Vasiṣṭha's *Kāmadhenu*[85] by force, and how she discharges showers of firebrands from her tail, creates armed warriors from her sweat and thus puts Viśvāmitra's army to complete rout. Viśvāmitra, we are told, thereby came to realise that austerity and penance alone constitute the most supreme power in the world. He, therefore, took to penance and eventually, attained perfection and Brahmanhood. The story of Śakuntalā is narrated at great length in the Ādiparva[86] where Śakuntalā is said to have been born of Viśvāmitra and Menakā. In the *Udyogaparva*, Vasiṣṭha is represented as testing Viśvāmitra's austerity. The latter successfully stood the test whereupon the former addressed him as Brahmarṣi. Another rather strange legend is narrated in the *MBh.*[87], according to which Viśvāmitra is said to have eaten the flesh of a dog when he was starving.[88]

It will be seen that the conflict between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha is presented in the epics in various forms. Such legends where Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha are represented as rivals are to be regarded as the outcome of the manifold attempts made by the Paurāṇikas to build up mythological superstructures on the basis of a historical event belonging to the Vedic age, the real significa-

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(85) For a further discussion about Vasiṣṭha's *Kāmadhenu* see the Chapter relating to Vasiṣṭha.

(86) *MBh.* I. 89—100.

(87) *MBh.* X. 108.

क्षुधार्तश्चात्तुमभ्यागाद्विश्वामित्रः श्वजाघनीम् ।
चाण्डालहस्तादादाय धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः ।।

(88) There is, however, no trace of such a legend about Viśvāmitra in the *ṚV*. *ṚV* (IV. 18. 13) narrates a similar legend about Vāmadeva.

ance of which, however, must have been more or less been completely forgotten in the meantime.[89]

The *Harivaṁśa*[90] gives us information about Viśvāmitra's lineage, and his adoption of Śunaḥśepa into his family with all rights of primo-geniture. The *Purāṇas*, in general, trace Viśvāmitra's descent to Jahnu, who, in his turn; is said to have descended from Amāvasu, the son of Aila. They, however, differ so far as the details regarding the genealogy are concerned. About one thing they are all unanimous, namely, that Viśvāmitra was born in the line of kings and became a Brahmarṣi through penance.

According to the Puranic genealogies Viśvāmitra flourished about sixty generations before the Bhārata War and thirtynine generations before Dāśarathi Rāma. Assuming that the date of the *MBh.* War is 1400 B. C.[91] and that the average reign-period, in the pre-Bhārata-War age, was fifteen years, it has been suggested[92] that Viśvāmitra must have flourished c. 2300 B. C. The third *maṇḍala* would then be placed not earlier than that date. It has been seen elsewhere that five or six generations of the Viśvāmitra-family were responsible for the hymns included in this *maṇḍala.* This would then roughly place the compositions of these hymns between 2300 B. C. and 2000 B. C.

There are several *sūktas* in the third *maṇḍala*, the authorship of which tradition ascribes to certain specific members of the family of Viśvāmitra. It will be worthwhile, briefly, to examine their relationship with the progenitor of the family.

Kuśika —According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, he is the author of III. 23 and is the son of Iṣīratha. He is also referred to as Sobhariputra by the *Sarvānukramaṇī* but that name does not occur in the *ṚV.*

Gāthī—According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, he is the author of III. 19–22 and is mentioned as the son of Kuśika.

Ṛṣabha—He is said to be the seer of III. 13 and 14 and X. 166 and is described as Viśvāmitra's son. He seems to have been referred to as Ṛṣabha Yājñatura in the *AB.*[93] A reference also seems to be made to his performance of the Aśvamedha.[94]

Reṇu—He is the seer of X. 89 and is described as the son of Viśvāmitra. He is mentioned also in the *AB.*[95]

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(89) It is, however, surprising that the contest between the two Vedic families, the recollection of which has been preserved in the literatures of the succeeding periods, is not supported by any *direct* evidence in the hymns of the *ṚV.* It may be that the hymns directly pertaining to this family-feud were excluded from the *saṁhitā*. According to **Chapekar,** ("Viśvāmitra and the Kuśikas", *Potdar Comm. Vol.*) the hymns mentioning the inveterate enmity must have been lost to us. The *sūktas* like III. 53. 23—24 and the *Sasarparī* stanzas are rather unintelligible if we leave aside the information supplied by the later literature.

(90) *Harivaṁśa,* XXVII.

(91) The dates of the *MBh*—War according to various Indian scholars, are as follows : **Karandikar**—1935 B. C., **Tilak**—1200 B. C., **R. C. Datta**—1300 B. C., **Daptari** —1197 B. C., **Pradhan** —1151 B. C. (as given in the *Prācīnacaritrakośa*).

(92) **Altekar,** III *PIHC,* pp. 57—58.

(93) *AB,* 7. 17.

(94) *ŚB,* 13. 54. 15.

(95) *AB,* 7. 17. 7.

Aṣṭaka—He is the seer of X. 104 and is referred to as Viśvāmitra. The *MBh.*[96] describes him as a son of Viśvāmitra from Mādhavī. His son's name is said to be Lauhi. He is one of the *pravaras* of Viśvāmitra *gotra.*

Kata—He is the author of III. 17 and 18 is called Viśvāmitra.

Madhucchandas[97]—He is the seer of I. 1–10 and IX. 1 and is described as Viśvāmitra.

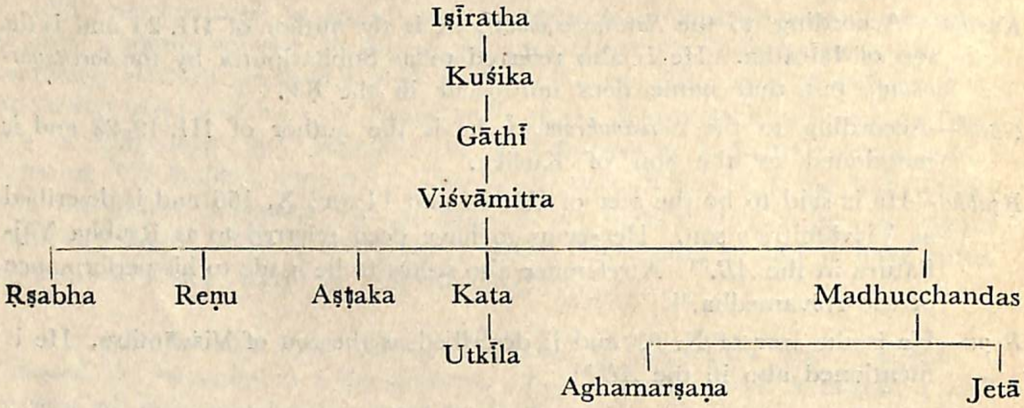
Utkīla—He is the seer of III. 15–16 and is called Kātya (son of Kata).

Aghamarṣaṇa—He is described as the seer of X. 190 and is described as the son of Madhucchandas. He seems to have been referred to as Aghamarṇa also.

Pūraṇa—He is the author of X. 160 and is said to be a *gotrakāra* and *pravara* of the family of Viśvāmitras. The *MBh.*[98] mentions a *ṛṣi* of that name.

Devaśravas and *Devavāta*—The *Anukramaṇī* quoted by Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 276) describes them as the sons of Bharata and the seers of III. 23. Their names are mentioned in this hymn. They refer to the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī. Devaśravas is mentioned as the son of Viśvāmitra (*Harivaṁśa*, 1461).

Relying on the traditional account given by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the entire genealogy may now be stated as follows :



It will be thus seen that the *sūktas* in the third *maṇḍala* are composed by about five generations of the Viśvāmitra-family. According to the later accounts of the *Purāṇas*, as we have seen above, from Viśvāmitra are descended many of the sacerdotal families, which bear the common name Kuśika and to which many *ṛṣis* famous in tradition belong. According to the Śunaḥśepa legend, which has been discussed elsewhere, fifty of Viśvāmitra's sons who did not accept the seniority of the adopted son, Śunaḥśepa, were cursed to be lowborn. The legend thus seems to represent that some of Viśvāmitra's sons

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(96) *MBh., Udyoga Parva,* 119. 18—20.

(97) For further details see Ch. on 'the Śatarcins in the *ṚV*'.

(98) *MBh., Sāntiparva,* 47.

and their descendants accepted the position of priests among these tribes and are in consequence described as accursed.

Viśvāmitra, the progenitor of the family, is invariably listed in all the lists of Saptarṣis. It is, however, significant that he is not mentioned in the original four *gotras* cited by the *MBh.*,[99] according to which he seems to be a '*karmataḥ-samutpanna-gotra*'[100] i. e. he must have been included among the Saptarṣis when he came into eminence by his exploits.[101]

Out of the members of the Viśvāmitra-family, who are traditionally mentioned as the seers of different *sūktas*, some are mentioned as *gotrarṣis* in the later *sūtra*-literature.[102] Aghamarṣaṇa, Utkīla, Kata, Kuśika, Gāthī, Pūraṇa, Madhucchandas, Reṇu, Viśvāmitra who are discussed in the preceding section are, for instance, said to be the *gotrarṣis* of the Viśvāmitra family.[103] The *AB*[104] points out that the Kāpilyas and the Bābhravyas were connected with Śunaḥśepa Devarāta, Viśvāmitra's adopted son. According to the *ĀśŚS* and *ŚŚS* Devarāta and Babhru are subdivisions of the Viśvāmitra *gotra.* The *AB* quotes a *gāthā*,[105] in the story of Śunaḥśepa, which says that *gotra*-relationship was conditioned by birth and which also mentions Madhucchandas, Ṛṣabha, Reṇu and Aṣṭaka as some of the younger sons of Viśvāmitra. All these except Ṛṣabha are either subdivisions of the Viśvāmitra *gotra* or *pravaras* of some of the subdivisions of the Viśvāmitra *gotra.*[106]

A reference may be made, at this stage, to the special contribution of the Viśvāmitras in respect of what may be called religious and ritual cults. The Viśvāmitras have addressed twentynine hymns to Agni, twentythree to Indra, and five to the Viśvedevas. Besides these they seem to have devoted special attention to Mitra.[107] It is, however, not possible to ascertain from these data, whether the Viśvāmitras were specially inclined towards any particular religious cult. Nevertheless, on account of their active participation in the events relating to the *Dāśarājña Yuddha*, the Viśvāmitras seem to have been affiliated particularly closely to the Indra-cult. As has been pointed out above, Viśvāmitra is the author of the Gāyatrī-*mantra*,[108] which is traditionally considered to be the holiest *mantra* in the *ṚV.* Viśvāmitra's reputation is due in some measure to his authorship of this *mantra.* Why this *mantra* should have come to be regarded as the holiest *mantra* in the Veda is, however, not clear. It is also difficult to determine since when this *mantra*

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(99) *MBh., Śāntiparva Ch.* 296.

(100) Ibid, कर्मतोऽन्यानि गोत्राणि समुत्पन्नानि भारत।

(101) Nilakaṇṭha explains it as, "विश्वामित्रमासीद्यदिदं किं च तस्माद्विश्वामित्रमित्याचक्षते एतमेव सन्तमित्यादिश्रुतेः कर्मजान्येव सर्वाणि गोत्राणि।"

(102) **Chitrava,** *Prācīnacaritrakośa,* p. 542.

(103) *Matsya* P. 198. (104) *AB* (VI. 17 = 33. 5). (105) *AB* (VII. 17).

(106) **Chitrava**, *Prācīnacaritrakośa*, p. 542.

(107) For, the only complete hymn addressed to that god occurs in this *maṇḍala* (III. 59).

(108) *ṚV*, III. 62. 10 : The *mantra* means, "We meditate upon that most illuminating lustre of god Savitṛ so that he may stir our intellect."

began to be regarded as the holiest *mantra*.[109] It may be that, as the sun was considered by the Vedic Aryans to be the soul of the animate and the inanimate world,[110] this eulogy of savitṛ in an epigrammatic stanza composed by Viśvāmitra, one of the celebrated seers of the Vedic age, naturally came to be looked upon as being invested with some magical potence. If we take into consideration the role of Viśvāmitra as a leader of the expansion of the Vedic Aryans, the *mantra* would appear, like a slogan given by Viśvāmitra to the advancing Aryans who must have been expanding towards the east i. e. the direction of the sun.

The Viśvāmitra-family has an Āprī-hymn of their own[111] and its seer is Viśvāmitra Gāthī. The occurrence of this Āprī-hymn leaves no doubt that the hymns in this *maṇḍala* definitely belong to the Viśvāmitras. The hymn is of the Tanūnapāt type.

So far as special magic formulas of the Viśvāmitras are concerned, the ṚV itself does not provide any information except for the reference to their having received the *Sasarparī* formulas from the Jamadagnis. In the *TS*,[112] we are told that Viśvāmitra won the abode of Agni by means of a stanza[113] and this stanza is there called '*Viśvāmitrasya sūktam*'. It may, however, be pointed out that *Sarvānukramaṇī* ascribes the hymn to Gāthī, the son of Kuśika.

Viśvāmitra is traditionally regarded also as the seer of a few hymns included in the *AV*. One of his hymns, namely, III. 17, for example, is prescribed to be recited for fruitful agriculture. *AV* V. 15-16 constitute charms to repel sorceries. Among other Atharvanic formulas attributed to Viśvāmitra may be mentioned *AV* VI.44 which is employed in connection with the cessation of disease, VI.141 which is to accompany marking of cattle's ears, and VI.142 which is intended for increase of food-grain. It may be added, in passing , that most of the charms and spells with which Viśvāmitra's name is connected are meant to serve good purpose.[114]

The *AB* (VI. 18) speaks of Viśvāmitra as the seer of *Sampāta* hymns.[115] It is said that Viśvāmitra first saw a few hymns which Vāmadeva quickly appropriated to himself. Viśvāmitra, therefore, saw fresh ones.[116]

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(109) The *mantra* is in the Vedic Gāyatrī metre and consists of three *pādas* of eight syllables each. Before pronouncing the *mantra* the seven *vyāhṛtis bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ. svaḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ, satyam*) are to be recited with the due pronunciation of *Om* preceding it. The initiation of this *mantra* in the *upanayana* ceremony is considered to be of utmost importance. As the *mantra* contains the eulogy of god *Savitṛ*, it is called Sāvitrī also. Later on in the *Gṛhyasūtras* the *mantra* came to be deified. It seems that Viśvāmitra's success came to be attributed to this composition of his in later period.

(110) सूर्य॑ आत्मा जग॑तस्तस्थुष॑श्च । *RV* I. 115. 1. (111) *ṚV* III. 4.

(112) *TS* V. 2. 3. 3. (113) *ṚV* III. 22. 1.

(114) Yāska explains the name '*Viśvāmitra*' as '*Sarvamitraḥ*' while Durgācārya says, " सर्वस्यैव हि स मित्रम् । सर्वमेव वा तस्य मित्रमिति विश्वामित्रः । " *Viśvā* can be explained according to pāniṇi's *Sūtra* '*mitre carṣau*' (*pūrvapadasya dīrghatvam*).

(115) *ṚV* IV. 19, 22, 23. For further details see the next Ch.

(116) *ṚV* III. 21, 30, 34, 36, 38, 49.

The *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*[117] refers to the incident of Viśvāmitra's having received revelation from Indra. It is also borne out by the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II. 2. 4.

The *PB*[118] gives some personal history of Viśvāmitra. Besides being foremost in the priestly ranks, Viśvāmitra is there credited with the authorship of the *Krośa sāman,* which is employed for gaining cattle and the *Rohitakūlīya-sāman* which is employed for winning victory in battle. There is an interesting passage in this *Brāhmaṇa*[119] where Viśvāmitra is represented as a king and a ruler. He is said to have performed a four-day sacrifice, called *Sañjaya* in order to obtain victory. He is there referred to as '*Jāhnavo rājā*'[120] He made his kingdom secure by performing the *Sañjaya* sacrifice and thereby winning victory over the Vṛcīvats.

The *Jaiminīya Brahmaṇa* mentions[121] a *Viśvāmitra uktha*, by means of which Viśvāmitra is said to have gone to the abode of Indra through exertion, penance and observance of vows (*śrameṇa tapasā vratacaryeṇa*). The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[122] tells us that Indra imparted this *uktha* to him.

A few observations may be made, at this stage, about the literary merits of the compositions of the Viśvāmitras. In this connection, one naturally thinks first of the hymn III. 33, which contains a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Vipāṭ and Śutudrī. The diction in the hymn is very well suited to the sentiments expressed and the dialogue appeals to us for its human touch. The two rivers are likened to two mares or two cows licking the calf.[123] It is further interesting to note that the two rivers are, as it were, represented as possessing distinctive personalities—one of them as an old matron and the other as a young maiden.[124] When, for instance, they ultimately conceded to the implorations of Viśvāmitra, one river says that she should bend before him like a mother feeding her child while the other says that she would bow down as if to embrace her lover. This would suggest that one river was bigger than the other. The entire dialogue has got a colloquial touch about it and all the ideas are generally expressed in a simple and straightforward manner.

As for the similes used by the Viśvāmitras, they are quite apt and are generally derived from life and nature. The poet Gāthina Viśvāmitra, at one place says about Agni : " Mātariśvā has brought forth the concealed Agni which was invisible like a child wandering away at its will." [125] Another poet says to Indra that he would pour out *Soma* to him as a waterman pours out water from his waterbag.[126] At another place the poet requests Indra to make wealth shower on him

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(117) *Śāṅkhāyana Ār.* I. 6. (118) *PB* XIII. 5. 14—15.

(119) *PB* XXI. 12. 1—4.

(120) This reference to Viśvāmitra's kingship of the Jahnus would explain why he is sometimes regarded as a *rājanya*. It should be remembered, in this connection, that the four *varṇas* had not then become water-tight compartments.

(121) *JB*. III. 3. 6—13. (122) *Ṣaḍviṁśa* B. I. 5. (123) *ṚV* III. 33. 1.

(124) *ṚV* III. 33. 10. (125) *ṚV* III. 9. 5. (126) *ṚV* III. 32. 15.

like ripe fruits from a tree by means of a hook.[127] In a single stanza in the forty-fifth hymn there are four similes derived from nature.[128] The poet addresses Indra in another *Sūkta* with the following words : ' As the son holds the skirt of the father's garment, so do I catch hold of thee by this sweetest song '.[129] The fire concealed in the *araṇīs* is compared with the faetus in pregnant women.[130]

Hymn fiftyfifth in the third *maṇḍala* is noteworthy for its stylistic peculiarities. Each verse has a powerful refrain : ' *mahad devānām asuratvam ekam.* '

The nature-lyrics of the Viśvāmitras also deserve attention. The Viśvāmitras have to their credit one of the most beautiful *uṣas-sūktas*[131]. The Uṣas is here addressed as ' *purāṇī devī* ', ' *yuvatiḥ* '[132]. She is called ' *candrarathā* ' and *hiraṇyavarṇā*. She is described as flinging away her garment of darkness[133] and is described as being fair to look at[134].

The third *maṇḍala* abounds in short epigrammatic sayings. In the thirtieth *sūkta*, for instance, the poet eulogises the cow with the words : ' All sweetness is stored up in a cow.'[135] At another place the poet seems to lay stress upon the position of a woman as the mistress of the house. He says : " A wife O Maghavan, is home and dwelling."[136] Another poet says that the statutes of the gods are unalterable; they stand fixed for ever like the heaven and the earth and the mountains that can never be moved.[137]

The third *maṇḍala* gives us some glimpses into the contemporary social conditions. At one place, for instance, we come across some important references to the division of the ancestral property. That a daughter is not entitled to any share in the paternal property and that the only thing which she can claim from her father is that she must be married to a worthy husband, is clearly mentioned in the thirtyfirst *sūkta*.[138] According to Sāyaṇa,[139] the first stanza in that hymn contains the following idea : A sonless father stipulates that his daughter's son shall be his son (*putrikāputra*) and, relying on an heir, thus obtained, who can perform his funeral rites, he feels satisfied. The second stanza seems to suggest that a son born of the body does not transfer the paternal wealth to a sister. Though the parents give birth to a son and a daughter the former alone is entitled to perform religious rites while the latter has to be given in marriage with ornaments. It may, incidentally be pointed out, in this connection, that scholars have offered various other interpretations of these stanzas[140].

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(127) *ṚV* III. 45. 4.

(128) *ṚV* III. 45. 3.

(129) *ṚV* III. 53. 2.

(130) *ṚV* III. 29. 2.

(131) *ṚV* III. 61.

(132) *ṚV* III. 61. 1;

(133) *ṚV* III. 61. 4.

(134) *raṇvasaṅdṛk*, *ṚV* III. 61. 5.

(135) *ṚV* III. 30. 14.

(136) *ṚV* III. 53. 4.

(137) *ṚV* III. 56. 1.

(138) *ṚV* III. 31. 1—2.

(139) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM,

(140) e. g. **Wilson,** *Translation of the Ṛgveda.* III. 31. 1—2. **Griffith,** *Hymns of the ṚV*, Vol. I, p. 347.

An author-wise Index of the III *maṇḍala* according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*

Hymns	*The name of the seer*	
(1) 1–12;24–30;32–37; 37;39–53;58–62.	Viśvāmitra (62·16–18 Jamadagni)	The son of Gāthī
(2) 13–14	Ṛṣabha	The son of Viśvāmitra
(3) 15–16	Utkīla	The son of Kata
(4) 17–18	Kata	The son of Viśvāmitra
(5) 19–21	Gāthina	
(6) 22	Gāthin Kauśika	The son of Kuśika
(7) 23	Devaśravā and Devavāta	*Bharata-putrau* Devaśravas is mentioned in the Harivaṁśa (1461) as Viśvāmitra's son.
(8) 38	Viśvāmitra, or Prajāpati of Viśvāmitra-family or prājapati, the son of Vāk	
(9) 54–57	Prajāpati, the son of Viśvāmitra or of Vāk	

CHAPTER III

VĀMADEVA AND THE GOTAMAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

In several respects, the fourth *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* possesses a peculiar interest. For one thing, as pointed out elsewhere, it is believed to be the oldest of the Ṛgvedic *maṇḍalas*. Further, some of the hymns in this *maṇḍala* are unusually mystic and mysterious in character, and accordingly represent a distinctive features of the *saṁhitā*. The authorship of this *maṇḍala* is traditionally assigned to Vāmadeva and the family of the Gotamas[1]. About the history of this seer and his family, however, this *maṇḍala* affords but little information. Only a few proper names occur in it, and, even where they occur, the context is not always clear. In order, therefore, to collect material of any value in this connection one has necessarily to ransack much literature outside the fourth *maṇḍala*.

Vāmadeva is mentioned by name only once in the fourth *maṇḍala*[2]. In another passage he describes himself as the son of Gotama.[3] The *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā*[4] credits him with the authorship of the fourth hymn in this *maṇḍala* which is addressed to *rakṣoghna* Agni. In IV. 30.24,[5] the poet seems to introduce his name, Vāmadeva, in a rather indirect manner.

The Gotamas are mentioned by name at two places[6] in this *maṇḍala*. They are, there, represented as praising Indra. It may be assumed that the name Gotama, occurring in plural, in those passages, refers to the members of the Gotama-family. It would thus appear that the fourth *maṇḍala* generally

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(1) *Ārṣānukramaiṇī*, Bibl. Ind. 1892, p. 248

त्वां ह्यग्ने सदमित्यादि चतुर्थं मण्डलं प्रति ।
गौतमो वामदेवो ऽ यमृषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ।

BD, IV. 127

सोऽग्निं तु पञ्चदशभिरिन्द्रं षोडषभिः परैः ।
ऋषिस्त्वामिति तुष्टाव सूक्तैरेतैस्तु गौतमः ।।

Sāyaṇabhāṣya ṚV, VSM, II, p. 492

(A) वामदेवे चतुर्थे मण्डले पञ्चानुवाकाः ।
(B) मन्त्रद्रष्टा वामदेव ऋषिः ।
(C) In the colophon of the *bhāṣya* on this *maṇḍala*, p. 718
चतुर्थं मण्डलं सम्यग्वामदेवेन वीक्षितम् ।

(2) *ṚV* IV. 16. 18. cf. also I. 62. 13; 78. 2; 79. 10; 85. 11; 88. 5; 183. 5.

(3) *ṚV* IV. 4. 11 तन्मा पितुर्गोतमादन्वियाय । Gotama occurs as one of the authors in the first *maṇḍala*. For more information about him see 'The *Śatarcins* in the *ṚV*'.

(4) *Kāṭhaka saṁ*. X. 5. *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ*., II. 1. 11 and III. 2. 6, corroborates this fact.

(5) Such concealed mention of names is a peculiarity of Vedic diction.

(6) *RV* IV. 32. 9 and 12. cf. also I. 78. 1 and VIII. 88. 4. In I. 60. 5, I. 61. 16 and I. 88. 4, the word occurs as 'gotamāsaḥ'. In I. 63. 9; 77, 5; 92. 7 the word occurs as 'gotamebhiḥ'.

belonged to the family of the Gotamas, and that Gotama was the progenitor of that family. Gotama's son, Vāmadeva, was, presumably the most prominent member of the family, and was, therefore, traditionally credited with the authorship of the majority of *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala*.

The eighteenth *sūkta* of the fourth *maṇḍala* is generally described as the family-hymn of Vāmadeva. As such, it constitutes the most important source-material from our point of view. Indra, Aditi and Vāmadeva are said to be the seers as well as the deities of this hymn, since, it consists of a conversation in which these three take part. Sāyaṇa, quoting from the *Anukramaṇī-bhāṣya*,[7] gives the background of the *sūkta* as follows :

Vāmadeva, while still in the embryo of the mother, was endowed with knowledge. He decided that he would be born not in the usual manner from the womb of the mother but that he would come out through her sides. The mother, on knowing this, worshipped Aditi, Indra's mother, in order to have the evil procedure, contemplated by Vāmadeva prevented. Aditi, along with Indra, went to the pregnant lady in the forest, and there Aditi, Indra and Vāmadeva engaged themselves in a conversation, which is embodied in IV. 18.

A critical study of the hymn would show that it is made up of somewhat incoherent fragments. The commentators are naturally at great variance from one another in the matter of the apportionment of the stanzas to several speakers. According to the interpretation of Sāyaṇa,[8] in the first stanza, Indra asks Vāmadeva to be born in the ancient and accepted manner. But Vāmadeva insists on coming out obliquely, through the mother's sides,[9] blames Indra for his audacity, and challenges him for a fight. Continuing, Vāmadeva refers to Indra's misdeed of drinking a large quantity of Soma at Tvaṣṭṛ's house.[10] Aditi, however, defends her son[11] saying that he is matchless in valour among the gods. She then refers Vāmadeva to the rivers from whom he would come to know of the real greatness of Indra.[12] She also tells Vāmadeva how the waters released by Indra are eulogizing him and pronouncing him to be sinless inspite of his having killed Vṛtra.[13] Vāmadeva, thereupon, accepts the greatness of Indra.[14] In the next stanza, Vāmadeva refers to Indra's killing Vyaṁsa by cutting off his head.[15] Then Indra requests Viṣṇu to help him in his battle with Vṛtra.[16] Thereupon Viṣṇu asks Indra boldly as to who it was who brought widowhood on his mother.[17] In the last stanza, Vāmadeva gives an excuse for having cooked and eaten impure flesh of a dog in his utmost need.[18]

Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Dyā Dviveda[19] agree with Sāyaṇa in assuming that the hymn in question is a conversation between Indra, Aditi and Vāmadeva and that the apportionment of speeches is to be inferred from the context. According to them, the last stanza refers to the pacification of evil (*daurgrahaśānti*) and is spoken by Vāmadeva.

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(7) *Anukramaṇī–bhāṣya* 4. 8.

(8) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV* VSM, II, p. 478

(9) *ṚV* IV. 18. 2.

(10) *ṚV* IV. 18. 3.

(11) *ṚV* IV. 18. 4.

(12) *ṚV* IV. 18. 6.

(13) *ṚV* IV. 18. 7.

(14) *ṚV* IV. 18. 8.

(15) *ṚV*. 18. 9.

(16) *ṚV* IV. 18·11

(17) *ṚV* IV. 18. 12.

(18) *ṚV* IV. 18. 13.

(19) *Nītimañjari*, ed. by **Dhruva,** p. 161.

But the interpretation of the hymn given by Sāyaṇa cannot be said to constitute any consistent or harmonious account of Vāmadeva's mysterious birth. Indeed, there are scholars, who believe that the present hymn does not refer to Vāmadeva's birth at all. **Griffith,**[20] for instance, is of the opinion that the main subject of the hymn is the birth and infancy of Indra and not of Vāmadeva.[21] Assuming that the hymn essentially refers to Indra, **Macdonell**[22] gives a naturalistic interpretation of this myth. According to him, it must have been derived from the notion of lightning breaking from the storm of the cloud.[23] **W. Norman Brown**[24] also believes that the hymn in question refers to Indra's birth but says that there is no necessity of assuming Indra's unnatural birth from his mother's side. He interprets the phrase *pārśvānnirgamāni*, in the sense of 'accompanying'.

Sieg[25] has his own interpretation of this hymn. He thinks that IV.18 does not constitute the praise of Indra. There, we have a sort of calumny (*nindā*) raised to the status of eulogy (*stuti*). Especially in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the evil deeds of Indra often form a favourite theme.[26] **Sieg** believes that the present *sūkta* represents the oldest example of that tendency of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Here, Vāmadeva takes upon himself the odium and Aditi vindicates Indra by praising him. The first stanza of the hymn contains the words originally addressed to Indra by Tvaṣṭṛ.[27] Tvaṣṭṛ was the real lord of the gods. He, therefore, wanted to prevent Indra's birth and so tried to close the *Yoni* of his mother and so Indra had to come through her sides. According to **Sieg,** the contents of the hymn may be analysed as follows :

Stanza

1 Tvaṣṭṛ forbids Indra from being born.

2 Indra says that he would come obliquely through the sides of his mother.

3 Aditi praises her son Indra for following the ancient path, while in the latter half Vāmadeva refers to his abnormal drinking of Soma.

4 Vāmadeva censures Indra for staying for a very long time in Aditi's womb. In the latter half Aditi tells Vāmadeva that Indra was matchless in exploits.

5 Vāmadeva says that Indra was considered to be a sinful child. Aditi retorts by saying that Indra pervaded the heaven and the earth by his greatness.

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(20) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 416, footnote.

(21) **Kuhn,** *Herabkunft des Feurs*, p. 143, suggests that Vāmadeva may perhaps have been an ancient epithet of Indra.

(22) *VM*, p. 56.

(23) **Fateh Singh,** *JBHU*, 5, suggests that the myth refers to the first light of the dawn.

(24) *Siddheshwara Varma Comm. Vol.*, pp. 131–36.

(25) *Sagenstoffe*, pp. 82–86. (26) Cf. *AB*, 7. 28. 1.

(27) **Sieg** (op. cit.) says that Tvaṣṭā was Indra's grandfather while according to **Pischel,** (*Ved. Stud.*, Vol. II) he was Indra's father.

6 Vāmadeva says that the rivers are lamenting. Aditi says that they are praising Indra.

7 Vāmadeva says that the *nivids*[28] blame Indra for his sins of *brahmahatyā* caused by his killing of Vṛtra. Aditi points out that the waters of the rivers wash away that sin in the form of foam (*phenarūpeṇa*).

8 Vāmadeva refers to the demoness Kuṣavā who tried to devour Indra. Aditi replies that the waters helped Indra and he won victory over the demoness.

9 Vāmadeva refers to the attack of Vyaṁsa on Indra. Aditi replies that Vyṁsa's head was cut off by Indra.

10 Aditi says that she gave birth to the brave son as a cow gives birth to a strong bull.

11 Aditi spoke to Indra as to how he was deserted by other gods. Indra then asked for Viṣṇu's help.

12 Vāmadeva asks Indra as to who brought widowhood to his (Indra's) mother and who desired to kill him (Indra) and what other god was helpful to him.

13 Indra replies that he was in great difficulty and the Śyena brought Soma for him.

Thus the main points in the legend are :—

(a) Indra remained in the womb of his mother for a long time.
(b) He broke open the sides of his mother.
(c) He faced the attack of the enemies.
(d) He was in a great predicament (*avarti*).
(e) The *Śyena* brought Soma for him.

Sieg has thus offered a far more consistent and satisfactory interpretation of the hymn than any other scholar. It may now be, accordingly, assumed that the hymn deals with the miraculous birth of Indra.[29] A special reference to such an unusual phenomenon would become meaningless unless there had been in vogue, among the people, some such traditional belief relating to the birth of an actual human hero. As is well known, such miraculous birth is always associated, in popular mind, with a great and unique person.[30] It is further not unlikely that the reference to Indra's having killed his father in order to snatch away Soma from him and thus making his own mother a widow,[31] is the result of popular myth-making based on an ordinary historical fact such as

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(28) They are short, pithy summaries of ancient *stotras.* They were many times used as eulogies in place of the *stotras.*

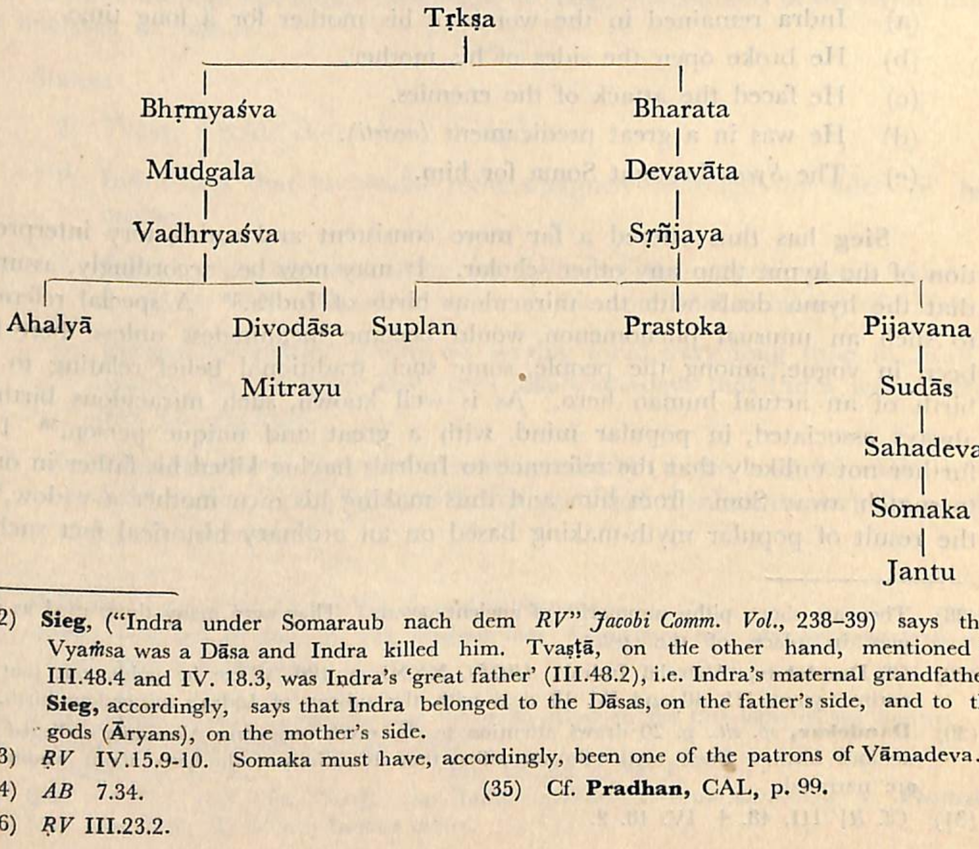
(29) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Vṛtrahā Indra", *ABORI,* XXXI, p. 19ff. where he points out that two entire hymns III. 48 and IV. 18 deal with the subject of Indra's miraculous birth.

(30) **Dandekar,** *op. cit.,* p. 20 draws attention to the myth regarding Alexander's alleged miraculous birth. Such myths do not affect that historicity of the hero about whom they are narrated.

(31) Cf. *ṚV* III. 48. 4 IV. 18. 2.

that Indra's father died suddenly soon after his birth.[32] It will thus be seen that IV. 18 cannot be described, with any propriety, as the family–hymn of Vāmadeva and the Gotamas. For, it does not refer to any aspect of the personal history of the seer and his family. It may, however, be presumed that the hymn reflects a significant change, which seems to have occurred in the religious attitude of Vāmadeva. As a seer belonging to the older tradition, Vāmadeva was, perhaps, not favourably inclined towards the newly–risen Indra–cult. He seems to have entertained great doubts about the character of the human hero who was later elevated to godhead. Nevertheless, as the conclusion of the present hymn indicates, Vāmadeva was won over to the Indra–cult and eventually became its devoted sponsor.

From another hymn it is possible to glean some really historical information about Vāmadeva. In IV. 15. 7–10, Vāmadeva is mentioned as the priest of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, who gave him two bay horses.[33] In the passage, (IV. 15. 9–10) Vāmadeva requests the Asvins to endow his patron with long life. Sahadeva is mentioned as the son of Sṛñjaya in the *AB*.[34] From this passage it would appear that Somaka belonged to the North Pāñcāla dynasty of which Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa, and Sudās are said to have been prominent figures.[35] In IV. 15·4, Sṛñjaya is mentioned as Daivavāta i. e. the son of Devavāta. In the last chapter, we have seen that Devavāta is referred to as a Bhārata and as the brother of Devaśravas.[36] On the strength of all this and allied evidence, the North Pāñcāla dynasty may be reconstructed as follows :



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(32) **Sieg,** ("Indra under Somaraub nach dem *RV*" *Jacobi Comm. Vol.*, 238–39) says that Vyaṁsa was a Dāsa and Indra killed him. Tvaṣṭā, on the other hand, mentioned in III.48.4 and IV. 18.3, was Indra's 'great father' (III.48.2), i.e. Indra's maternal grandfather. **Sieg,** accordingly, says that Indra belonged to the Dāsas, on the father's side, and to the gods (Āryans), on the mother's side.

(33) *ṚV* IV.15.9-10. Somaka must have, accordingly, been one of the patrons of Vāmadeva.

(34) *AB* 7.34.

(35) Cf. **Pradhan,** CAL, p. 99.

(36) *ṚV* III.23.2.

The passage from the *AB*, namely 7·34, tells us that Somaka[37] was contemporaneous with Bhīma Vaidarbha, Babhru Daivāvṛdha and Nagnajit Gāndhāra. Vāmadeva's son Bṛhaduktha is represented to have spoken of *Aindra Mahābhiṣeka* to Durmukha Pāñcāla.[38] The association of the Northern Pāñcalas and the family of Vāmadeva may thus be said to have been well established.

There is another tradition about Vāmadeva's patrons which is mentioned in this *maṇḍala*. Vāmadeva refers to Purukutsa in IV. 38. 1 as a famous patron. The stanzas IV 42. 8–9 are important for determining the relationship between Vāmadeva and Purukutsa. Sāyaṇa[39] tells us that Purukutsānī, the wife of Purukutsa, saw that her husband was put into captivity and that there was anarchy everywhere in his kingdom. So with a desire to have a son, she worshipped the seven sages who happened to come there. They asked her to offer sacrifice to Indra and Varuṇa. After she had done so, the gods, Indra and Varuṇa, granted her a son, who later came to be known as Trasadasyu. This Trasadasyu is also mentioned as a descendant of Girikṣit[40] while Purukutsa is described as a son of Durgaha.[41] The genealogy of this family may, therefore, be reconstructed as follows :

Girikṣit
|
Durgaha
|
Purukutsa
|
Trasadasyu

Trasadasyu's chronological position is determined by the fact that his father, Purukutsa, was a contemporary of Sudās.[42] Trasadasyu has been referred to in several *Brāhmaṇa* texts[43] as a famous sacrificer of ancient times and is mentioned together with Para Āṭṇāra, Vītahavya Śrāyasa, and Kakṣīvanta Auśija. With this background let us try to interpret IV. 42. 8–9. According to the legend given by Sāyaṇa,[44] the author of the stanzas IV. 42. 8–9 is Trasadasyu Paurukutsa. The word *daurgaha* occurring in the second pāda of the eighth stanza is important. It is variously interpreted by scholars. Accord-

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(37) Somaka is also mentioned in the list of kings of high renown in the *MBh* (IV.9.314-16). He is also praised at III. 125. 10422 ahd III.125.10420–22. His descendants are referred to as Somakas. Drupada is also referred to as Saumaki.

Saṁvaraṇa and his son Kuru are said to have conquered Sahadeva or more probably Somaka who is said to have sacrificed on the Jumna (*MBh*.III.125.10420–22). After Sudās, the North Pāñcāla dynasty seems to have thus declined.

It must, however, be remembered that the tradition about the North Pāñcāla dynasty is much confused and one has always to speak about it without any dogmatic assertion.

(38) *AB*, VIII.4.23.

(39) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II.p.672.

(40) *ṚV* V.33.8.

(41) *ṚV* IV.42.8.

(42) *ṚV* V.33.8.

(43) *PB* XXV.16 *Kāṭhaka saṁ*. XXII.13 etc.

(44) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* VSM,II,p.672, The legend cannot be traced in the *BD*.

ing to Sāyaṇa,[45] the word means, 'the son of Durgaha i. e. Purukutsa'. The *ŚB*[46] interprets it to mean, 'a horse'. The *Nighaṇṭu*[47] includes it in *aśvanāmāni.* Devarājayajvan,[48] while commenting on the *Nighaṇṭu*, gives two explanations, namely, *grahītum duṣkaraḥ* (who is difficult to be controlled) and so 'a horse'; and 'that which is difficult to be held is water (*durgaham*); one who is born from it is a horse. For, a horse, verily, is born from water'.

If, however, we were to take into consideration the context, there would remain no doubt that the word, *daurgaha* here means the son of Durgaha. All other explanations appear to be more or less far-fetched. The word *asyāḥ* (IV. 42·9) seems to refer to Purukutsānī, the mother of Trasadasyu.[49] In general, therefore, it can be said that the stanzas IV. 42. 8–9 refer to the birth of Trasadasyu,[50] who, with his father, Purukutsa, appears to have been Vāmadeva's patron.

The other personalities who are referred to in this *maṇḍala* are Śambara[51] (IV. 26·3), Kutsa Ārjuneya[52] (IV. 26·1; 30·4), Divodāsa[53] mentioned as one of the ancient patrons (IV. 30. 20) and as a protege of Indra (IV. 26·3),

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(45) Sāyaṇabhāṣya, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 672.

(46) तेन हि पुरुकुत्सो दौर्गहेणेजे । *ŚB* XXXIII.5.4.5.

(47) I.14.

(१) अश्वहृदयानभिज्ञैः ग्रहीतुमशक्यत्वात् दुर्गहः स एव दौर्गहः ।

(२) दुःखेन गृहीतत्वात् दुर्गहं जलमिति माधवः 'अप्सुजा उ वा अश्वाः'।

(49) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 672.

Ludwig (*Translation of the Ṛgveda*) emphasizes the word 'asyāḥ' in the stanza and points out that it refers to Trasadasyu's mother who was alive at the time. He points out that the history in the stanza does not belong to mythical antiquity. **Sieg** (*Sagenstoffe*) does not agree with this.

(50) The *ṚV.* gives ample information about this Trasadasyu. He appears as a patron in V.27. 2; 33.8 and VIII. 19.36–37 etc. He is mentioned by name in I.112.14, VII. 19.3, VIII. 8. 21, 19–32, 36.37.7, 49.10, X.150.5. According to the *Anukramaṇī*, he is the joint author (with Tryaruṇa) of IX.110. He is referred to as a protege of the Aśvins in I.112.14 and VIII.8.21 and of Agni, with Atri, Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira and Kaṇva, in X. 150.5. It is interesting to note that Agni is called Trāsadasyava in VIII. 19.32 and V. 27. In a majority of passages, Trasadasyu is referred to as a protege of Indra e.g. VII.19.3, VIII.36.7. VIII. 37. 7, VIII.49, 10. Purukutsa is mentioned as his father in V.33.8, VIII.19,36, VII.19.3, and IV.42.9 In V.33.8, he is referred to as the descendant of Girikṣit. He is described as the king of the Purus in VI.38.1 and VII.19.3. Purukutsa is mentioned along with the Purus in I.63.7 and VI.20. 10. He is mentioned by name three times in the fourth *maṇḍala*, viz., IV.38.1, IV.42.8–9.

(51) Śambara is the name of Indra's enemy. In one passage he is referred to as a *Dāsa,* son of Kulitara (VI.26.5.5). His forts are auded to (I.130.7, II.19.6 14.6). His great foe was Divodāsa Atithigva who won victories over him by Indra's aid (cf. IV.26.3 etc.). He was quite possibly an aboriginal enemy of Āryans, living in the mountains (cf. IV. 30. 14 etc.).

(52) Kutsa Ārjuneya is usually associated with Indra in defeating the demon Śuṣṇa. He is several times mentioned as being vanquished by Indra (IV.26.1).

(53) Divodāsa Atithigva was a son of Vadhryaśva. He was a Bharata and an opponent of Turvaśas and Yadus. His great enemy was Śambara, the Dasa. He is closely connected with the Bharadvājas as his priests. (See ch. VI.)

Sṛñjaya Daivavāta[54] (IV. 15·4), Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa[55] (IV. 40·1), Kakṣīvān[56] (IV. 26·1) and Ājamīḷhas[57] i. e. Purumīḷha and Ajamīḷha, the sons of Suhotra (IV. 44. 6), Uśanā (IV. 6·12),[58] Dīrghatamas Māmateya[59] (IV. 4. 13) and Ṛjiśvā Vaidathina[60] (IV. 16. 13–18).

The stanza IV. 31. 8 seems to contain a reference of some historical significance. We are here told that two kings Arṇa and Citraratha were overthrown by Indra on the bank of Śarayū in favour of his devotee. The *Purāṇas* mention a king named Citraratha of Anu dynsty which ruled over the Aṅga country. The *Purāṇas* further state that he flourished about forty generations i. e. about 600 years before the Bhārata War.[61] About his father Dharmaratha, we are told that he had drunk Soma in the company of Indra on the Viṣṇupāda hill near Gayā.[62] Assuming, then, that the date of the Bhārata war is 1400 B. C. Vāmadeva, can be said to have flourished in C. 2000 B. C. Moreover, as seen elsewhere in this chapter, kings Somaka and Sahadeva flourished three or four generations after Divodāsa. So the date of the fourth *maṇḍala* would be Cir. 2000–1800 B. C.[63]

It has already been seen that Vāmadeva refers to his father as Gotama (IV. 4·11). According to the *Purāṇas,*[64] Gotama belongs to the Āṅgirasa family. So the Gotamas appear to be a branch of the Āṅgirasa family. Vāmadeva's father, Gotama, is traditionally said to be the seer of I. 74–93, IX·31 and 67 and X.23. He is said to be the son of Rahūgaṇa. Nodhā and Vāmadeva are his two sons, who are themselves seers. Gotama himself seems to have been a protege of the Aśvins.[65] According to the *ŚB* (14.1.10–18) he seems to have

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(54) Sṛṇjaya Daivavāta is the king of the Sṛñjayas and is celebrated as victorious over the Turvaśas and Vṛcīvantas (Vi.27.7).

(55) Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa is mentioned as the friend of Indra and he helped the latter in destroying Vala. Because of his obliging nature he is referred to as 'pitā' (IV.50.6).

(56) Kakṣīvān is a *ṛṣi* of the *Ṛ*V and appears to have been a descendant of a female slave named Uśij (I.18.1). Svanaya Bhāvya seems to have been his patron (I.126). The *BD* mentions him (IV. 11) as the son of Dīrghatamas. For further details see 'Śatarcins in the *Ṛ*V'.

(57) The Ājamīḷhas are the sons of Suhotra namely Ajamīḷha and Purumīḷha who are the seers (IV.43–44). Suhotra had three sons amongst whom Ajamīḷha was the eldest and Purumīḷha the youngest. **Lüdwig,** III. 123, 135 annd **Oldenberg,** *ZDMG,* (42. 215) point out that Ajamīḷha must have been the seer of (IV.44).

(58) Uśanas Kāvya is an ancient seer who is especially associated with Kutsa and Indra. A variant of his name is Kavi Uśanas (IV. 26.1.). He appears in the Brāhmaṇa-texts (*ṚB* XIV.12.5) as a teacher also.

(59) Dīrghatamas Māmateya (son of Mamata) Aucathya (son of Ucatha). He is said to have reached the tenth decade of his life (IV.4.13). He was the priest of Bharata (AB VIII.23). Kakṣīvān was his son.

(60) Ṛjiśvan is alluded to as a descendant of Vidathin (IV.16.3). He assists Indra in fights against Pipru and others.

(61) **Altekar,** *PIHC-* III, pp. 53–55. According to him the date of the *MBh.*-war is] 1400 B. C. and of the Dāsarājña war is 1900 B.C.

(62) *Vāyu P.* 99.102.

(63) **Pischel,** (*Ved. Stud.,* Vol I, p. 206ff.) points out that Vāmadeva belongs to the older strata because in later literature he seems to have been almost forgotten.

(64) e.g. *Vāyu P.* 59.90.101.

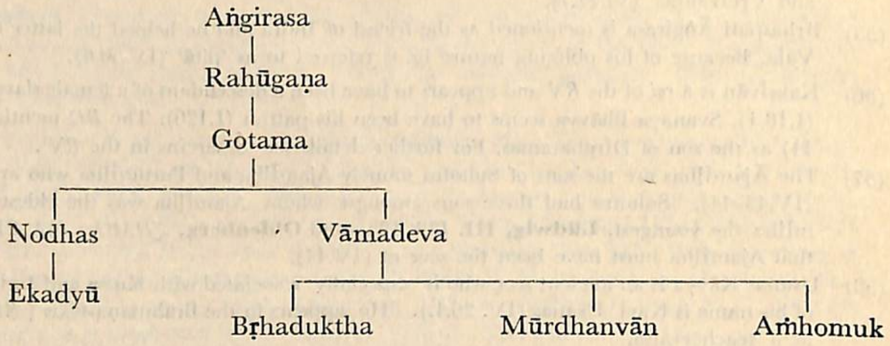
(65) *ṚV* I.85.10–11.

been a contemporary of Videgha Māthava.[66] The story given in that *Brāhmaṇa* clearly relates to the eastern colonisation of the Aryans. From the legend it appears that Gotama's hermitage was situated on the river Sadānīrā in Kosala. The Sarayū, as has been already seen, is mentioned in IV. 31. 8. It can, therefore, be concluded that the field of activity of the Gotamas had been shifting to the east.

Gotama himself refers to Aṅgiras as his ancestor.[67] Rahūgaṇa Āṅigirasa who appears to have been the father of Gotama is the author of IX. 37. 38. Nodhas, the brother of Vāmadeva is the author of three sūktas in the *ṚV*.[68] The *AB* further points out that the stanzas composed by him are to be recited at the royal coronation ceremony. Bṛhaduktha[69] and Mūrdhanvān[70] are said to be the sons of Vāmadeva and the authors of X. 54–56 and X. 88 respectively. Bṛhaduktha is said to have communicated the great inauguration ceremony (*Aindra Mahābhiṣeka*) to Durmukha, the Pāñcāla. Durmukha, who was no king, being possessed of this knowledge, went conquering everywhere over the whole earth up to its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse.[71] Bṛhaduktha is referred to in the *Sarvānukramaṇī*[72] as Vāmadevya. Ekadyū is said to be the son of Nohas and is the author of a hymn in the eigth *maṇḍala*.[73] Aṁhomuk, who is optionally mentioned as the author of X. 127, is also traditionally said to be the son of Vāmadeva.

It can thus be seen that the compositions of about four generations of the Gotama-family are included in the *ṚV*.

We are now in a position to reconstruct Vāmadeva's genealogy on the evidence of the *ṚV* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* as follows :



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(66) For further details see 'Śatarcins in the *ṚV*', a chapter in this Thesis.

(67) *ṚV* I.78.3.

(68) *ṚV*, I.58–64, VIII. 88 IX. 93. Cf. *AB* VI. 18. A Sāma is known as Naudhasa Sāma, probably, through him.

(69) For further details see : 'the seers of the X *Maṇḍala*'.

(70) For further details see : 'the seers of the X *maṇḍala*'.

(71) *AB* VIII.23.

(72) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p. 462. (73) *ṚV* VIII. 80.

(73) *ṚV* VIII.80.

It is, however, significant that among the Saptarṣis of the *ṚV* and of the later texts Vāmadeva[74] is not mentioned at all. Even in the hymn IX. 67, which is said to be a joint composition of the seven seers, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa is mentioned as one of the authors but not Vāmadeva. All this seems to suggest that Vāmadeva became prominent in the family of the Gotamas only at a later stage.

There is no *Āprī-sūkta* in the fourth *maṇḍala.* One *Āpri-sūkta* in the first *maṇḍala,* I. 142, is, however, attributed to Dīrghatamas Aucathya who is the son of Ucathya, a *pravara* of the Gotama family. The *pravaras* of the Gotama family are given by the *ĀśŚS*[75] as follows :

	Family	*pravaras*
(1)	Gotama	Aṅgiras, Ayāsya, Gotama
(2)	Ucathya	Aṅgiras, Ucathya, Gotama
(3)	Rahūgaṇa	Aṅgiras, Rahūgaṇa, Gotama
(4)	Somarāja	Aṅgiras, Somarāja, Gotama
(5)	Vāmadeva	Aṅgiras, Vāmadeva, Gotama
(6)	Bṛhaduktha	Aṅgiras, Bṛhaduktha, Gotama

It will be seen from the above table that except Somarāja nearly all the *pravararṣis* occur as the authors of the hymns in the *ṚV.*

It has already been suggested that the family of the Gotamas had played a prominent role in respect of the composition of the *ṚV*–hymns. In this connection attention may again be drawn to the *AB*[76] which mentions a controversy between Viśvāmitra and Vāmadeva as regards the authorship of the *Sampāta* stanzas.[77] That Brāhmaṇa informs us further that Viśvāmitra 'saw' these stanzas and Vāmadeva quickly claimed them as his own. So the stanzas must have, then, come to be known as *Sampāta* (encountered, concurred) stanzas. Viśvāmitra, being thus deprived of his compositions began to wonder how he would be able to compose new *mantras* as powerful as the previous ones. With this thought in mind, it is said, he saw other hymns[78] which were as powerful as those composed by him formerly and these also came to be known as *Sampāta* stanzas. It is suggested that the legend given by the *AB* about these stanzas is, perhaps, intended as an *arthavāda* for florifying Viśvāmitra.[79] This legend may, however, be taken to indicate Vāmadeva's contemporaneity with Viśvāmitra. Such contemporaneity may be said to be corroborated also by the *AV*[80] where Vāmadeva is invoked as one of the deliverers from distress along with Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri and Kaśyapa.

ṚV IV. 4. 1–5 is traditionally [81] said to be a *rākṣoghna sūkta.* About this *sūkta* an interesting legend is given in the *kāṭhaka saṁ.*[82] and in the *Maitrā-*

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(74) It may be noted, in passing, that one Vāmadeva is mentioned as co-priest, with Vasiṣṭha, of Daśaratha in *Rāmāyaṇa* I.6.4.

(75) *ĀśŚS* 12.12.1.

(76) *AB,* IV.18.

(77) Traditionally, the stanzas in *sūktas,* IV. 19, 22, 23 are known as *Sampāta*-stanzas.

(78) *ṚV* III,21,30,34,36,38,49.

(79) **Sieg,** *Sagenstoffe,* p. 103.

(80) *AV* XVIII.3.15.

(81) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV,* VSM, II, p.519, *kṛṇuṣva pañconā rākṣoghnam iti anukramaṇikā.*

(82) *Kāṭhaka saṁ.* X.5.

yaṇī saṁ.[83] The latter *saṁhitā* (II. 1. 11) tells us that Vāmadeva and Kusidāyī were once engaged in a chariot-race. She began to damage Vāmadeva's chariot by breaking the yoke and other parts and threatened him with more damage. Thereupon Vāmadeva saw this hymn which eulogises Agni, the destroyer of demons (*rakṣohā*). Consequently, the demoness, we are told, came to be schorched all over by fire. She, therefore, took refuge in a tank which came to be called '*Kausītahrada*'. Thus Vāmadeva killed the demons by means of this hymn. In the same *saṁhitā* (III. 2. 6), it is stated that Vāmadeva burnt the head of Kusīdāyī by this hymn. It appears from this legend that Kusidāyī was some wicked woman, perhaps, a sorceress, who had harassed Vāmadeva and impeded his performance of sacrifices. Vāmadeva, through the magical power of this hymn managed to do away with her. The hymn is said by Sayaṇa to be addressed to Agni as a slayer of the Rakṣasas.[84]

The following individual members of the family of the Gotamas are traditionally mentioned as having been the authors of the different hymns or parts of hymns.

(1) *Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa*—He is the author of IX. 37. 38 and is the father of Gotama.

(2) *Gotama*—He is the son of Rahūgaṇa and is the seer of I. 74–93; IX.·31, 67·7–9, X. 137·3. In I.78, the Gotamas are frequently mentioned. In the fifth stanza of that hymn, Gotama refers to his men as *Rahūgaṇāḥ* which fact seems to prove that Rahūgaṇa was an ancient ancestor of the Gotama-family. As we have already seen, according to the *ŚB*, he was the priest of Videgha Māthava.

(3) *Nodhas*—He is the seer of I.58–64. From the *Anukramaṇī*,[85] it would appear that he was the son of Gotama. He is mentioned by name in several stanzas.[86] He refers to his men as Gotamāsaḥ[87] which proves his relation with the Gotama–family.

(4) *Ekadyū*—He is the seer of VIII. 69 and Sāyana, quoting from the *Anukramaṇī*, says that he is the son of Nodhas. He is referred to by name in VIII. 69. 8.

(5) *Vāmadeva*—He is regarded as the seer of the fourth *maṇḍala* as a whole. According to the Anukramaṇī he is the son of Gotama and the poet himself says that his father was Gotama.[88] He is mentioned by name only once in the *ṚV*[89].

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(83) *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ.* II.1.11 and III.2.6.

(84) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, p. 519.

It may be assumed that with this *rakṣohā* fire, the immigrant Aryans burnt the jungles, drove back the hostile aborigines and cleared the ground for encampment or permanent settlement. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as was seen in the last chapter Viśvāmitra is represented as taking the aid of the Kṣatriya princes, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, to defend his performance of sacrifices and to root out the tyranny of the Rākṣasas.

(85) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p.399.

(86) *ṚV*, I.61.14.14 62.13 64.1.

(87) *ṚV*, I.60,5; 61.16; 62.13.

(88) *ṚV*, IV.4.11.

(89) *ṚV*, IV,16.18.

(6) *Bṛhaduktha*—He is the seer of X. 54–56 and is mentioned by name in those *sūktas*.

(7) *Aṁhomuk*—He is said to be the son of Vāmadeva and is the author of X.126.

(8) *Mūrdhanvān*—He is traditionally said to be the son of Vāmadeva and the author of X.[88].

It will thus be seen that, apart from the fact that the family of the Gotamas have a separate *maṇḍala* of their own, several compositions of the members of that family have been included in other *maṇḍalas* also such as the first, the third, the ninth and the tenth *maṇḍalas*. Gotama, as we have seen, occupies a prominent place among the Saptarṣis. Vāmadeva who is the illustrious scion of the family, a staunch devotee of Indra, a prominent figure in many queer legends (as we shall see later on), and a chief contributor to Vedic mysticism, (which will be discussed later), naturally came to be associated with the fourth *maṇḍala*.[90]

It would now be interesting to examine some peculiar legends about Vāmadeva which occur in the fourth *maṇḍala*. There are three such legends: (1) Vāmadeva's having been endowed with knowledge even while he was still in his mother's womb; (2) His having cooked the dog's entrails; (3) and his having put Indra on sale. We may begin with stanzas IV. 26. 1–3, which are very important in so far as they have been either referred to or commented upon frequently in later literature. The translation of the stanzas as given by **Griffith**[91] is as follows :

(1) I was aforetime Manu, I was Sūrya : I am the sage Kakṣīvān, holy singer, Kutsa, the son of Arjunī. I am the sapient Uśanā : behold me.

(2) I have bestowed the earth upon the Ārya and rain upon the man who brings oblation. I guided forth the loud roaring waters and the gods moved according to my pleasures.

(3) In the wild joy of soma I demolished ninetynine forts of Śambara and also the hundredth habitation when helping Divodāsa Atithigva.

Sāyaṇa,[92] while commenting on these stanzas, does not seem to be quite sure as to who the speaker of these stanzas is. He suggests that in the first three stanzas the *ṛṣi* is glorifying himself, believing himself to be Indra. Eventually,

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(90) Incidentally it may be pointed out, in this connection, that the epithet Gautama, of the Great Buddha is in no way connected with the eminence of the Gotama-family. **Kosambi,** (*JAOS*, " *Brahmin Gotras* " 73, 1953, pp.205–6) points out that Gotama was the baptismal name of the Buddha and quotes from the *Therī-gāthā*, (*bahūṇaṁ bata atthāya Māyā janayi Gotamam :*) and says that it is no more a clan-name as suggested by **Brough,** *Gotrapravaramañjarī of Puruṣottama Paṇḍita*, (1953) (Introduction). **Kosambi** further points to Buddha's own words from the *Sutta Nipāta* (*ādiccā nāma gottena, Sakiyā nāama jātiya*). Though the Buddha is called Āṅgirasa, it means 'sun' in Pālī, just as it means 'lightgod',so often in the *ṚV* (IV.2.15, V.45.8 cf. '*aggilos*' which means a messenger.). He further states that the first intterpretation o Gotama as the *gotra* of Buddha is in the *Mahāpadānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, obviously a late formation under Brahmin influence, one could even say, influence of Kaśyapa Brahmins, as is the Jain Mahāvīra's supposed *gotra* and birth story.

(91) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 428.

(92) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, pp. 613-14.

however, he seems to hold the view that Vāmadeva himself is the speaker and explains the situation as follows : While still in the mother's womb, Vāmadeva acquired true philosophical knowledge and being desirous of expressing his experience as regard the oneness of the soul, in the form "I was Manu", etc., says "From the ultimate point of view, I, that is, the soul in me, is indeed all."

Griffith[93] is of the opinion that Indra is the speaker of the first three stanzas; but it is not clear how that scholar would explain Indra's statement that he was Kakṣivān and Uśanā, unless Indra intends here to identify himself with all existence.

It may be helpful to see how this passage is interpreted in later literature. According to the *BĀU* (1·4·10) Vāmadeva is speaking of himself in these words :

"Therefore, whomsoever among the gods Vāmadeva knew, he became that as also the *ṛṣis* and the human beings. With such knowledge, therefore, the sage Vāmadeva says, *aham manur abhavam sūryaś ca* etc."

Narahari[94] tries to bring out the peculiar significance of these stanzas as interpreted by the *BĀU.* The Primordial Brahman alone existed at the beginning of creation. It realised itself and thus realised all. Gods, seers, and men followed the example of the primordial macrocosm. Among the seers who did so was the Ṛgvedic seer Vāmadeva, who said, "I was Manu and the Sun". **Narahari** further points out that the intention of the *Upaniṣad,* here, is, obviously, to emphasize the fact that Vāmadeva has realised himself in the traditional manner started by Brahman and followed by numerous gods and in support of this the *Upaniṣad* adduces the authority of the Vedic stanza *aham manurabhavam* etc.[95]

Dyā Dviveda, the author of the *Nītimañjarī*, says that in IV. 26. 1–3 Vāmadeva eulogises himself as if thinking that he was Indra incarnate, but, he was put to shame. The *Nītimañjarī*, therefore, concludes that one should never praise oneself.[96]

The stanzas in question can, however, be perhaps best interpreted if Indra is taken to be its speaker. Presumably Indra is glorifying his magical miraculous power by means of which he was able to assume any form he liked.[97]

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(93) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda,* I, p. 428. **Pischel** (*Ved. Stud.*, vol.I.p.206) says that IV.26 is an *Indra-sūkta* and that the first three stanzas are spoken by Indra. **Sieg** (*Sagenstoffe der Ṛgveda*) is of the opinion that in the first three stanzas Indra praises himself. **Kuhn** (*Herabkunft der Feures,* p. 143) conjectures that Vāmadeva may perhaps be an ancient epithet of Indra.

(94) **Narahari,** " The doctrine of tansmigration in the *ṚV* ", *Kunhan Raja Comm. Vol.,* p. 336.

(95) Śaṅkarācārya (according to his *bhāṣya* on the *BĀU,* I.4.10) sees in the Vedic stanzas under consideration an allusion to the former birth of Vāmadeva. It is not clear whether Bādarāyaṇa also has the same Vedic verse in view in his two allusions to Vāmadeva in the *Brahma-sūtras* I.1.30 and III.4.51.

(96) *Nītimañjarī*, 75.

(97) Cf. *ṚV*, VI. 47. 18. इन्द्रो॑ मा॒याभि॑ः पुरु॒रूप॑ ईयते ।

The Vāmadeva-family forms one of the major groups of priestly singers in the *ṚV* and is known for its special devotion to Indra. On an analysis of the fourth *maṇḍala*, it will be seen, that, though other gods, like Agni and Varuna, receive their share of worship from Vāmadeva and his family, the god who claimed their adoration to the greatest extent, was Indra. Through IV. 26·1–3, therefore, Vāmadeva seems to be indirectly glorifying quite a unique aspect of Indra's personality. Moreover, the statement, 'I gave land to the Aryans'; would be proper in the mouth of Indra alone who, as the national war-god of the Aryans' assured them a smooth career of conquest and colonization.[98] Incidentally, it may be pointed out, that in several passages, in the fourth *maṇḍala*, the historical aspect of the personality of Indra, is specially emphasized.[99] In the sixteenth *sūkta* of this *maṇḍala*, for instance, Indra is eulogised as dispersing 50,000 black-skinned foes and destroying their citadels.[100] He is also described as killing those who did not recognise him as the national hero.[101] Indra is described as being invincible[102] and exceedingly generous.[103] He is called a war–lord[104] and is constantly invoked for help.[105] Do these references suggest that Vāmadeva and his family were particularly close to, what may be called, Indra's historical exploits, so that the memories of these exploits were still fresh in their minds ?

According to the *AU*,[106] another passage in the fourth *maṇḍala*,[107] also, seems to refer to the fact that Vāmadeva was endowed with the highest philosophical knowledge while he was still in the mother's womb. In his commentary on that passage, namely IV. 27. 1, Sāyaṇa,[108] quoting from another source,[109] suggests that Vāmadeva is the speaker of the stanza in question. The stanza is translated by **Griffith**[110] as follows : "As I lay within the womb, I knew all generations of these gods in order. A hundred iron–fortresses protected me. Forth I came up with rapid speed as a falcon". Sāyaṇa, in his *bhāṣya*, suggests that by the practice of *Yoga* Vāmadeva came out disguised as a *Śyena*.

It would, however, appear that, as in the case of IV. 26. 1–3, so too in the present case, the speaker is not Vāmadeva. The hymn, IV. 27, rather constitutes a continuation of IV. 26 and can be best interpreted as a dialogue between the Śyena and the Soma.[111] The speaker of the first stanza is accord-

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(98) अहं भूमिमददामार्याय । *ṚV*, IV. 26.2.
According to **Dās**, *Ṛgvedic India*, p. 48, this stanza seems to suggest that the Aryans originally belonged to India. **Dās** interprets the word, *bhūmi*, here, to mean 'saptasindhu' without giving any reason.

(99) **Dandekar,** " Vṛtrahā Indra ", *ABORI*, XXXI, p. 29.
(100) *ṚV*, IV.16.13. (101) *ṚV*, IV.23.7.
(102) *ṚV*, IV.17.19 30.3,5. (103) *ṚV*, IV.31.7.
(104) *ṚV*, IV.26.3. (105) *ṚV*, IV.24.3.
(106) *ṚU*, II.4.4.–5. fi .. ..(107) IV, *ṚV*, 27.1.
(108) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II p. 616.
(109) Op. cit. p. 616. अत्रैष: श्लोक: पठ्यते – श्येनभावं समास्थाय गर्भाद्योगेन नि:सृत: ।
ऋषिर्गर्भेशयानः सन् ब्रूते गर्भे नु सन्निति ॥

(110) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 429.
(111) **Geldner,** *Der Ṛgveda*, I, 455.

ingly the Syena,[112] who here confirms Indra's view expressed in IV. 26. 4 that he is a special kind of bird, a wonder-child.[113]

Another interesting legend, which is referred to in IV. 18. 13, pertains to the cooking of dog's entrails by Vāmadeva. The stanza has been translated as follows :

"In deep distress, I cooked a dog's entrails, for, among the gods I did not find any one to comfort. I beheld my consort in degradation. The falcon then brought me the mead." In his commentary, Sāyaṇa[114] suggests that in this stanza Vāmadeva speaks of his indigence and glorifies the greatness of Indra. Vāmadeva mourns his lot whereby, in order to maintain himself, he was required to act like a *śvapāka*. Indra was touched by the seer's strained condition, went there disguised as a falcon, and helped him. **Griffith**[115] states that, in this stanza, Vāmadeva seems to be giving an excuse, for having in his utmost need, cooked and eaten, or desired to eat, impure flesh. The *BD*,[116] however, says that Vāmadeva cooked the dog's entrails for honouring the gods, the *ṛṣis* and the manes and that Indra, in the form of an eagle, brought the mead for him. The *Nītimañjarī*[117] of Dyā Dviveda refers to this story and draws a moral from it that one should not transgress the limits of Dharma even in adversity. The same legend also seems to have been referred to in the Manusmṛti.[118] According to the *Manusmrti*, Vāmadeva, who could discriminate between right and wrong, remained free from sin, even though he sought to eat the flesh of a dog, for, he did so in order to preserve his life.

Though as indicated above, later literary tradition seems to regard IV. 18.13 as referring to some unfortunate circumstance, in which Vāmadeva was involved, a critical study of the hymn, as a whole, would seem to indicate quite a different situation. An analysis of this whole hymn has been given elsewhere. It will be seen, from that analysis that the words in the thirteenth stanza are uttered by Indra and not by Vāmadeva.[119] That stanza clearly refers to the legend, in which Indra, Śyena and Soma figure prominently and has nothing to do with any situation in Vāmadeva's personal life.

There is one more interesting legend about Vāmadeva mentioned in the fourth *maṇḍala*. It occurs in IV.24.10 where we are told that on one occasion Vām-

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(112) The fact was already recognised by **Oldenberg.**

(113) The opinions of some other scholars also, may, incidentally be noted here. **Pischel** (*Ved. Stud.*, p. 206ff.) says that IV. 27.1. is spoken by Indra and the remaining stanzas deal with soma. According to **Sieg,** *Sagenstoffe des ṚV*, IV. 27. 1–3 are spoken by the *ṛṣi* and in 4–7 there is a reference to the Śyena who freed Indra.

Dyā Dviveda, referring to IV. 27, in his *Nītimañjarī* says :

आत्मबुद्धिर्न कर्तव्या देहादावात्मवेत्तृभिः ।
वामदेव इति प्राह भिन्नो नीडाच्छकुन्तवत् ।। 76

(114) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 584.

(115) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 418.

(116) *BD* IV. 126.

(117) *Nītimañjarī*, 71.

(118) *Manusmṛti*, X. 106.

(119) Cf. **Griffith,** (*Hymns of the Ṛigveda*, I; p. 418) who indicates that **Ludwig, Bergaigne** and **Hillebrandt** are also of the same view.

adeva carried out the sale of Indra himself. The stanza is usually translated as follows :[120]

> " Who for ten milch-kine purchaseth from me this Indra who is mine ? When he hath slain the Vṛtras let the buyer give him back to me. "

As a preface to his commentary on IV. 24.9-10, Sāyaṇa[121] quotes certain stanzas from the knowers of ancient tradition. These stanzas may be translated literally as follows :

A certain seller received insufficient price for the sale he made. He, therefore, approached the purchaser again and said. " The transaction regarding the sale is not as yet complete. The price you paid is insufficient. So pay the full price." The purchaser was, however, not prepared to accept this. Generally the price is to be fixed according to the terms arrived at by both the parties. If the terms are arrived at by fixing certain conditions as also the price, then only are those conditions to be fulfilled and only that much price is to be paid, not otherwise. Thus the sale becomes complete. Therefore, Vāmadeva thought : " I must first make a contract. He then praised Indra with a long eulogy and before selling Indra declared his terms in the words, "who, for ten cows" etc."

The *BD*[122] , however, gives quite a different version of the legend. We are told that as soon as Indra was born he challenged Vāmadeva to a fight. The seer engaged him for ten days and nights and eventually overpowered him. He then, tried to sell Indra in the assembly of seers with the stanza, *ka imam daśabhir mama* etc.

It has been suggested by some scholars that the two stanzas (IV.24.9-10) have no connection with the remaining stanzas of the *sūkta*. **Grassmann,**[123] for instance, has banished these stanzas to an appendix as not belonging to the hymn. **Sieg**[124] however, seems to be quite certain about the homogeneous character of the hymn. He connects the first five stanzas of the *sūkta* with the ninth and the tenth saying that the seller, who has noticed his cheap sale, goes to the purchaser to invalidate the transaction. The purchaser, however, holds him down to the original deal.

It will be helpful to analyse this whole *sūkta* into its component parts. The first three stanzas are introductory in character and state that Indra is the most adorable god, that he is invoked at various places, and that he bestows wealth on his devotees. Stanzas 4-5 glorify Indra saying that he is invoked for victory in battle with the offerings of Soma and *puroḍāśa*. The sixth tells us as to which party Indra favours and the seventh gives details about the same. In the eighth, it is stated that though Indra's wife calls him away, her efforts prove fruitless. The ninth stanza contains a reply of Indra to his wife. He, as it were, says to her,

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(120) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛigveda,* Vol. I, p. 427.

(121) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV,* VSM, II, pp. 608–9.

(122) *BD,* IV. 131—133.

(123) Cf. **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda,* I, p. 426, footnote.

(124) *Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda,* pp. 90–96.

" The devotee has already purchased me from you. You cannot demand me back now". The tenth stanza seems to suggest that when once Indra is purchased (won over) by the devotee, he is purchased for ever. The devotee would not be foolish to return Indra who obliges him by killing his enemies. The last stanza is the usual refrain of the Indra-hymns in this *maṇḍala*, such as IV. 16.21, 17.21, 19. 11, 20. 11, 21.11, 22.11 and 23.11 .

The whole hymn is, thus, homogeneous in contents. It would appear that the actual sale of Indra is a fiction. It is only metaphorically that Indra's purchase and sale are referred to.[124a]. The winning over of Indra by the devotee is his purchase by the devotee and his unwillingness to part with Indra is his unwillingness to sell Indra.[125]

It is suggested by some scholars that we have, in this stanza, a reference to an actual sale of an idol of Indra.[126] Apart from the fact that this hymn, considered as a whole, does not warrant any such assumption, it may be pointed out that idolatry was undnown to Vedic religion. As a matter of fact, the absence of idolatry distinguishes the Vedic religion from the proto-Indian religion on the one hand and the later Hindu religion on the other.[127] It is because of the misinterpretation of IV. 24.10 as actually referring to the sale of Indra that scholars try to find in it a reference to Vedic idolatry. This is, perhaps, due to the wrong lead given by the *BD*.[128]

We may now briefly consider what is generally referred to as Vāmadeva's contribution to mysticism. It has already been noted that Vāmadeva is invariably connected with the socalled mystic hymns like IV.18 and IV.27 which, as we have seen, are, as a matter of fact, Indra-hymns. The fact that the seer Vāmadeva

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(124a) Cf. **Velankar,** *Ṛgvedāntīla bhaktimārga,*, Kauśika Lecture Series, 4, pp. 76–82. Here he points out that the words *krīṇāti, avikrītaḥ* etc. in IV. 18. 9–10 do not refer to an actual sale. Vāmadeva, here, seems to warn the *Yajamāna* that, after securing victory in battle, both he (= Vāmadeva) and Indra will not be, in any way, responsible to the *Yajamāna*.

(125) There is another stanza of a similar import in the *ṚV*, namely, VIII. 1. 5. It is usually translated as follows : I would not sell you even for the highest price, nay, not for a thousand, ten thousand or for innumerable wealth." Here, too, only a metaphorical and not a real sale is referred to.

(126) **Bollenson,** *ZDMG*, 22, 587; **Kirste**, *ZDMG*, 74. 271.

(127) **Dandekar,** "Rudra in the Veda", *JUP*, I, p. 33, points out that the religion of the Vedic Indians, as represented in the Vedic literature, is essentially uniconic. Similarly, the Vedic people do not seem to have been familiar with public places of worship like temples **Arbman** (*Rudra : Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus*, 82ff.), however, thinks that the Vedic Indians were familiar with temples and idol-worship. But there is hardly any evidence in support of such a supposition. It may be pointed out that the earliest literary reference to idols is to be found in Pāṇini—*jīvikārthe ca paṇye* (V. 3. 99). Idol–worship must, therefore, have come into vogue among the followers of Brahmanism not very long before Pāṇini's times. It may be suggested, that, with the beginning of the movement for popularizing Brahmanism, several elements of the popular proto—Indian religion came to be assimilated into the Brahmanic religion—idol–worship, being, perhaps, one of such elements. **Velankar** (*op. cit.*) also says that there were no idols in the Vedic days. This absence of idolatry, according to him, is one of the reasons for the difference in forms of the Vedic *bhakti*–cult and post-Vedic *bhakti*–cult.

(128) It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Dyā Dviveda, in his *Nītimañjarī* (72) also is not in favour of this purchase–sale–interpretation of IV. 24.10.

came to be associated with them suggests that Vāmadeva must have had some mystic experience which must have raised him above the level of the masses in those days. There are some other passages also in this *maṇḍala* which seem to refer to his being endowed with supernatural knowledge. The fifth hymn of the fourth *maṇḍala*[129], for instance, seems to refer to the revelation of knowledge to Vāmadeva. The third stanza of this hymn may be translated as follows : " Agni who is sharp-pointed, powerful, strong, of boundless vigour, and the knower of the lofty hymn which is kept secret as the lost milch-cow's track, has declared to me this hidden knowledge". **Roth**[130] rightly observes, in regard to this hymn, that the author Vāmadeva professes to make known a mysterious and recondite wisdom which had been revealed to him by Agni. In IV.5.2, the seer says : " Do not reproach this self-reliant god who vouchsafed this bounty (*rāti*) unto me, a mortal." The *rāti*, here referred to appears to be the gift of mysterious knowledge. Vāmadeva speaks of the *Pṛṣṭha Sāma*[131] received by him from Agni in the following words :"To me, weak, innocent, thou luminous Agni hast boldly given, as it were, a heavy burthen, this *Pṛṣṭha*-hymn, profound and strong and mighty, of seven elements and with offered dainties." Vāmadeva seems to refer to the divine milk stored up in secret (*guhā hitam*) in IV. 5.8. in the following words : " What do you think of these words of mine ? The wise declare that the divine milk of the cow has been kept in secret by the Vaiśvānara."

All such passages seem to show that Vāmadeva was an inspired seer gifted by the gods[132] with the mysterious knowledge. It may be because of this favour of the gods that he came to be associated with legends which describe him as having been endowed with knowledge, while he was still in the mother's womb.

Turning to the study of the compositions of the Gotamas, from the literary point of view, it may be pointed out, at the outset, that, except at two places (I.116,1, 183.5), where Gotama is referred to as a protege of the Aśvins, the name of that seer used either in singular or plural is associated with the composition of hymns. The Gotamas, for instance, claim to be authors of several hymns.[133] Hymns belonging to them are often referred to.[134] Vāmadeva, the author of IV. 4, refers to Gotama as his father, from whom he inherited the tradition of some efficacious compositions. The same thing is suggested also by Nodhas who is said to have composed a fresh hymn for Indra.[135] The Gotamas are also, referred to as compo-

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(129) *Ṛ V*, IV. 5.3. (130) **Roth,** *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 85.

(131) *Ṛ V*, IV. 5. 6. The *Pṛṣṭha* is the name of a particular arrangement of *Sāmans* employed at the mid–day oblation. Sāyaṇa, in his *bhāṣya Ṛ V*, VSM, II, p. 530, interprets the word, *pṛṣṭham*, to mean *spraṣṭum yogyam* as an adjective of *manma* (wealth). In that case the word '*saptadhātu* cannot' be properly explained. The *Sāma* is mentioned as *Vāmadevyam pṛṣṭham*' in the *ĀśŚS* 10. 2. 7.

(132) Interesting, in this connection, is the etymology of the name Vāmadeva given by the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 2. 1—

तं देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै नः सर्वेषां वाम इति तस्माद्वामदेव इत्याचक्षते ।

"The gods, indeed, declared—he is the best of all (*vāmaḥ*) and hence he came to be called Vāmadeva". The *sūkta* IV. 58, also, is traditionally interpreted as containing a reference to some mystic knowledge.

(133) *Ṛ V* I. 61. 6 63. 9. (134) Cf. *Ṛ V* I. 78. 1, IV. 32.9 (135) *Ṛ V* I. 62.13.

sers of hymns[136] and as bearers of hymns.[137] The hymns to Agni by the Rāhugaṇas have been specifically mentioned at one place.[138] As poets, therefore, the Gotamas seem to have established a distinct tradition of their own.

There are some striking similes employed by the Gotamas in their compositions. At one place, for instance, the poet says, "We have made ready this shrine for thy coming, O Agni, as the fond dame attires herself for her husband".[139] If we regard the occurrence of figures of speech as a ctriterion of artificial poetry, we shall have to trace the beginnings of such poetry in the Vedic period itself.[140] There is in the fourth *maṇḍala* a well-known stanza beginning with '*catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādāḥ*'.[141] Two different interpretations of this stanza have been traditionally given, one by Yāska in his *Nirukta*[142] and the other by Patañjali,[143] at the commencement of his *Mahābhāṣya*. According to both these interpretations the figure of speech here is *atiśayokti*. A third and a very interesting explanation is given by **H. Lommel**[144] who sees in it a Vedic symbol of a two-headed cow.

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(136) *ṚV* I. 88. 4. (137) *ṚV* IV. 32. 12. (138) *ṚV* I. 78. 5.

(139) *ṚV* IV. 3. 2.

(140) **D. R. Bhandarkar,** "The development of the figure of speech in the Ṛgveda hymnology", *Kane Comm. Vol.* pp. 70–72. Cf. also **Bergaigne** "Quelques observationssur les figures de rhetorique dans le *Ṛgveda*" translated by **Venkatasubbiah,** *ABORI,* XVII, pp. 61–83.

(141) *ṚV* IV. 8. 3.

च॒त्वारि॒ शृङ्गा॒ त्रयो॑ अस्य॒ पादा॒ द्वे शी॒र्षे स॒ हस्ता॑सो अस्य ।
त्रिधा॑ ब॒द्धो वृ॑ष॒भो रो॑रवीति म॒हो दे॒वो मर्त्या॒ँ आ वि॑वेश ॥

The stanza occurs also in the *TS* (X. 10. 2), the *GB* (I. 2. 16), the *Kāthaka saṁ.* (XL.7), the *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ* (I. 6. 2), the *Vājasaneyī saṁ.* (XVII. 91) and in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (X. 1).

(142) *Nirukta,* XIII. 8. Yāska interprets the passage as follows : "The sacrifice is the steer. He has got four Vedas as four horns. The three *savanas* in a day are his three feet. *Brahmaūdana* and *Pravargya* are its two heads. The seven metres are the seven hands. The steer is bound thrice by *mantra, kalpasūtra* and *brāhmaṇa.* This steer, in the form of sacrifice, always roars and the pervades all the worlds."

According to some others the steer is the sun. The four quarters are its four horns. The three Vedas are its feet. The day and the night are the two heads. He is tied in the earth, the sky, and the world beyond. He roars and pervades all the worlds.

(143) Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya.* According to Patañjali, the word is the steer; *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga* and *nipāta* are its horns. The past, the present and the future are its three feet. The *siddha* and the *sādhita* are its two heads. Seven cases are its hands. This word—steer is tied at the breast, the throat and the head and roars. It pervades the whole world.

(144) **H. Lommel,** "Again : The two-headed celestial cow" (translated from the German by **B. Lommel**), *Jackson Memorial Volume,* 1954, pp. 86–94.

Lommel points out that the two-headed buffalo mentioned in IV. 58 is a more important example of the Vedic conception of the celestial cow with two bodies. The poet here has metamorphosed the mythical image into something enigmatical, inconceivable, in order to intimate the inherent inscrutability of the divine. The evidence in other Vedic passages of similar import (III. 38.7) and of IV.58 suggests the ancient image of the heaven's cow with the double body which is indigenous in Asia from Mohenjo Daro to Susā. The Vedic evidence could be used, thus, to explain archaeological records which did not originate in Aryan–Indian culture.

Accepting the third explanation also we can say that the figure of speech is either metaphor or *atiśayokti*.

As is usual in the Veda, the Gotamas compare the sinner to a calf or a cow that is 'tied down'.[145] It is indeed interesting to see a poet speaking of Agni as one who makes the smile of all sacrifices.[146] Indra is compared to a wheel that rolls towards the sacrificer. The poet further adds[147] that it is the teams of horse yoked by men that make him roll. These teams are evidently the prayers. Sometimes we find that the subject of the *Upamāna* is removed beyond the object of the *Upameya*. This phenomena is technically called *amphigouri*. In IV. 16. 13,[148] for instance, *jarimā* (old age) which is the *Upamāna* is removed beyond the object of the *Upameya*, namely *atkam* (a garment of youth).

There are, in this *maṇḍala*, certain similes[149] in which a participle or an adjective, that is employed as common attribute, agrees in number also with the word used in the *Upamāna*. The simile, of a wheel (*cakram*), for instance, corresponds in respect of the meaning but does not correspond in respect of the concord,[150] and construction.

The remarkable fancy of the poet is discernible in such descriptions as that of sūrya in IV,13.5. The stanza may be translated as follows : " How is it, that, unbound and unsupported he does not fall, although directed downward ? By what self-power does he move ? Who has seen it ? He guards the vault of heaven, a close-set pillar ".

There are some epigrammatic or proverbial sayings which appear as if containing the figure of speech *arthāntaranyāsa*, e. g. "May we not enjoy the wealth (*dakṣam dhanam*–Sāyaṇa) either of a friend or an enemy".[151] Another stanza seems to echo a universal sentiment when it says, "Gods do not befriend those who do not toil hard".[152] At another place, *ṛṣi* requests god to remove away from him all want, sin and ill–will.[153] In very clear words a poet speaks of Indra as helping the pressers of Soma and destroying the niggardly.[154]

As poets, therefore, it can be said, that the Gotamas do not fare badly. Their compositions, as seen above, are replete with appropriate similes, metaphors and fanciful descriptions. The compositions of Vāmadeva himself are peculiar, in a sense, in so far as they are tinged with mysticism. We always find him speaking of divine inspiration.[155] The stanza IV. 58·3, as we have seen above, contains a mystical and riddle–like description of Agni by Vāmadeva.[156]

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(145) *ṚV* IV. 12.6. (146) *ṚV* IV. 7.10. (147) *ṚV* IV. 31.4.

(148) *ṚV* IV. 16.13 पञ्चाशत्कृष्णा नि वपः सहास्रात्कं न पुरो जरिमा वि दर्दः । **Griffith** *Hymns of the Ṛigveda*, I, p. 412 translates it as follows : "Thou smotest down the swarthy fifty thousand and rentest forts as age consumes a garment."

(149) Cf. *ṚV*. 40.3, 41.8, 38.8., 45.4.

(150) The words '*arvataḥ*' and '*niyudbhiḥ*' are in different cases.

(151) *ṚV*, IV. 3.13. (152) *ṚV*, IV. 33.11. (153) *ṚV*, IV. 11.6.

(154) *ṚV*, IV. 25.7. (155) *ṚV*, IV. 5.2, 3, 6 and 8.

(156) In the later *upaniṣads* (*Varāha Upaniṣat*, 34 *The Yoga Upaniṣats*, 1920, ed. by **A. M. Shastre** Vāmadeva figures as a *ṛṣi* endowed with the highest knowledge. He is associated heri with the *Pipīlikā–mārga* or the *Kramamukti–mārga*.

The Vāmadeva-*maṇḍala* provides us with some glimpses into the society in those days. The fiftyseventh hymn, for instance, is traditionally named as the *Kṛṣīvala-sūkta*. In the first two stanzas the *Kṣetrapati*, that is the lord of the cultivated land is said to provide the devotees with crops, with fodder for the cattle, with timely rain, and with abundant pleasure. He also endows everything with sweetness. Different agricultural utensils are mentioned in this sūkta[157] e. g., the steers (*vāhāḥ*), the plough-furrow (*lāṅgalam*), the reins (*varatra*) and the whip (*aṣṭrā*). The deity of the first three stanzas is Kṣetrapati of the fourth, Śuna, of the fifth and the eighth, Śunāsīra and of the sixth and the seventh, Sītā (the furrowed ground). It is said in the *ĀśGS*[158] that each stanza in this hymn is to be silently recited while offering oblations into fire, at the commencement of ploughing.

There seems to be a reference to *paryagnīkaraṇa*[159] in IV.6.4. In the fifth hymn[160]. Vāmadeva speaks of an abysmal station created by the sinful ones. **Griffith**[161] translates the stanza as follows :

"Like youthful women without brothers, straying like dames of evil conduct who hate their lords, they, who are full of sin, untrue, unfaithful, they have engendered this abysmal station."

Here it is suggested that the sinful alone are the cause of the existence of the place of punishemnt for them. Sāyaṇa[162] suggests that the place is nothing but *narakasthāna*. "Toiling with devotion to the gods wins their friendship" says Vāmadeva. An active and industrious life with devotion towards god seems to have been the chief aim of worldly existence as viewed by Vāmadeva.

Index to authors of the fourth *maṇḍala* according to the *Anukramaṇī*

(1) Vāmadeva	*Sūktas* 1–41 ; 45–58
(2) Trasadasyu Paurukutsa	42
(3) Purumīḷha and Ajamīḷha, the sons of Suhotra	43–44

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(157) *ṚV* IV. 57.4. (158) *ĀśGS*, II. 10.4.

(159) In later sacrificial system, *paryagnīkaraṇa* became a common rite. Before offering anything as oblation, it is first to be sanctified by means of a firebrand being carried round it three times. This process is called the *paryagnīkaraṇa*. It is interesting to see how certain observances continue for thousands of years and persist in the sacrificial rituals

(160) *ṚV* IV. 5.5. (161) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 401.

(162) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 530. (163) *ṚV*, IV. 33.11—

न॒ ऋ॒ते श्रान्तस्य॑ स॒ख्याय॑ दे॒वाः ।

CHAPTER IV

ATRI AND THE ATRIS IN THE ṚGVEDA

The authorship of the fifth *maṇḍala* is traditionally attributed to the Atri-family. Sāyaṇa, who in the preface to his commentary on this *maṇḍala*,[1] quotes from the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, says as follows : "In the fifth *maṇḍala* belonging to Atri there are six *anuvākas*. " The *BD*[2] also refers to the fifth *maṇḍala* as the Atri-*maṇḍala*. The tradition in respect to the authorship of this *maṇḍala* seems to receive ample corroboration from the frequent occurrences in it of the name, Atri, used either in singular or plural.

To begin with, it is necessary to scrutinise all the references to Atri and the Atris in the whole of the *ṚV–saṁhitā*. The word occurs, in singular or in plural, about fifty times in *ṚV*. Out of these passages about fifteen are from the fifth *maṇḍala*. The following tabular statement will make the whole position clear.

The word	*Place of occurrence*
(1) Ariḥ	I.139.9, 183.5; V.7.10; 40.6.8.; 73.6,7; 74.1; 78.4 VIII.42.5.
(2) Atrayaḥ	V.22.4; 39.5; 40.5.
(3) Atrim	I.116.8, 117.3; II.8.5; V.15.5; VI.50.10; VII. 71.5; VIII.5.25; X.80.3; X.143.1,2; 150.5.
(4) Atraye	I.51.3; 112.7, 16; 118.7; 119.6; 180.4; VII 68.5; VIII. 73.3,7,8; X.39.9.; 143.3.
(5) Atribhyaḥ	V.67.5.
(6) Atreḥ	V.2.6; VIII.35.19; 36.7; 37.7.
(7) Atrīṇām	VIII.36.6; 38.8.
(8) Atre	V.40.7.
(9) Atrivat	I.45.3; V.4.9; 7.8,22.1, 51.8–10, 72.1.

Now, these passages must be carefully analysed so as to find out whether they refer

(1) to Atri as the progenitor or the eponymous sage, or
(2) to a member of the Atri family, or
(3) to the Atri–family as a whole.

The word, *atrivat*, which occurs in several passages as mentioned above, is very important in so far as it clearly denotes the ancient eponymous sage. It seems that the purpose of the use of the names of ancient *ṛṣis* with the termination *vat* was to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, the particular seer, who was praying, was a fit and a proper person to do the act he was performing.[3] The examples of this type of usage[4] from the *ṚV* are more nearly related in form to the ritual *pravara*.[5]

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(1) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 719.

(2) *BD* V. 12ff.

The *Ārṣānukramaṇī* published by *Bibl. Ind.* 1892, p. 249 says :

अबोध्यग्निरुपक्रम्य पञ्चमं मण्डलं प्रति ।
पुत्राद्यैः सह भौमोऽत्रिर्मुनिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥१॥
अत्र त्वनुक्तगोत्रा ये ज्ञेयास्त्वत्रिसुता इति ।

In Vedic sacrifices, Agni is regarded as the carrier of libations and, therefore, when the sacred fire is to be consecrated he must be formally invoked. After the consecration of the sacred fire, the *Hotṛ* and the *Adhvaryu* declare that the *Yajamāna* or the sacrificer is as worthy as his famous *ṛṣi*-ancestors to offer sacrifices to gods and thus they invite Agni or *Havyavāhana* to carry his libations just as he did those of his great *ṛṣi*-ancestors. This invocation eventually came to be called *pravara*[6].

In all such cases in the *ṚV* where forms like *atrivat*, *bhṛguvat*, etc. are used, the comparison with the ancient seers lends dignity and efficacy to the present actions. Thus, there seems to be no doubt that the word *atrivat* refers to the ancestor, progenitor and the eponym Atri. In fact, the nearest approach to the *pravara* type of usage[7] seems to be a special peculiarity of the Atri-family. Exactly similar is the case of the phrase *atrer iva*, used ny Śyāvāśva in the *ṚV* VIII.35.19. The line of reasoning in the minds of the seers in using expressions like *atrivat* and *atrer iva* must have been something like this :

The famous ancient seer Atri must have been very powerful and his prayers magically very potent because they are said to have been heard by the Aśvins who rescued him from his pitiable plight. Even his name came, in course of time, to be invested with that magical potency. Gods have, in fact, no alternative but to make effective such prayers as are either associated with Atri's name or are composed according to the pattern evolved by Atri. So these passages, where Atri is referred to as a model, point to the progenitor Atri.[8]

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(3) **Max Müller**, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 386, writes :
"When, therefore, a Brahmin has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices and he invites Agni to carry his oblatious to the gods as he did for his ancestors."

(4) Cf. *ṚV* I. 62. 1; IV. 37. 3; IX. 97. 51; VIII. 40. 12 etc.

(5) J. **Brough**, *The Gotra–Pravara–Mañjarī*, 1953, p. 19.

(6) Thus it seems that the names of the ancestors were supposed to be invested with some magic power which facilitated the acquisition of the favour of gods. The conception of *pravara*, again, is based upon the importance attached to the continuation of the family, to the 'identity' in other words, of the ancestors and the descendants. According to **Brough** (op. cit.), the use of *pravaras* became apparent during the formation period of the *YV*.

(7) According to the *Sūtrakāras* the method of reciting the names of the *ṛṣi*–ancestors (which is technically called *pravaroccara*) is different for the *Hotṛ* and for the *Adhvaryu*. The *Adhvaryu* goes backwards from the descendant to the ancestor, while the *Hotṛ* recites from the ancestor down to the descendant, e. g. भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वजामदग्न्येति होता
जमदग्निवदूर्ववदप्नवानवच्च्यवनवद् भृगुवदिति अध्वर्युः ।

(8) The word *atreḥ* in VIII. 36. 7, also refers to the ancient seer because the word is preceded by '*yathā* (cf. śyāvāśvasya tathā śṛṇu.........yathā aśṛṇoḥ atreḥ).

The word *Atriḥ*, which occurs in I.139.9, 183.5, VIII. 42.5, again presumably denotes the progenitor Atri, because there he is mentioned as an ancient seer with Gotama, Purumīḷha, Dadhyañ, Angiras and Kaṇva. The words *Atriḥ* and *Atre* seem to denote the same ancient eponym, because in the passages in which they occur Atri is connected with a specific event concerning the solar eclipse and Svarbhānu. According to the criteria discussed elsewhere, therefore, it can be said that these passages point to the eponym Atri.

Next in importance, in this connection, are the passages which refer to Atri as a protege of the Asvins. In such caśes the word *Atri* is invariably found to be either in the dative (*atraye*) or in the accusative (*atrim*). In all these passages Atri is said to have been rescued by the Asvins from out of a burning abyss (*ṛbīsa*)[9].

There are, however, a few passages, which contain the word *Atri* in singular, but the word denotes, in those contexts, rather a member of the Atri family. In X.143.1–3, for instance, the words *atrim*, *atraye* etc. are used by Atri Sāṁkhya in this sense. In VIII.73.8, Gopavana Ātreya says, *varethe agnimātapo vadate valgu atraye.* In these passages there is no specific event mentioned, nor is there a reference to the poet being a protege of any specific god, nor again is Atri mentioned as a model. So these passages, probably denote a member of the Atri-family.

The word Atri used in plural, such as *atrayaḥ*,[10] *atribhyaḥ*[11] and *atrīṇām*[12] clearly refers to the members of the Atri-family or to the Atri-family or to the family as a whole as in the case of V.67.9 (*atrayas tam anvavindan na hi anye aśaknuvan*). It may be incidentally pointed out, in this connection, that the word, *ātreya*, is nowhere used in the ṚV to denote a member of the Atri-family. That word is, however, frequently used in that sense in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the later literature.

The passages containing the words *Atri*, whether in singular or in plural, can be examined from another point of view also. It would for instance, be interesting to find out which of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* refer to Atri and in which contexts. Praskaṇva Kānva (I.45.3.), Savya Āṅgirasa (I.51.3), Kutsa Āṅgirasa (I.112.7, 16), Kakṣīvān (I.116.8, 119.6), Parucchepa (I.139,9), Agastya (I.183.5), Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī and Saucīka Vaiśvānara (X. 80.3), Mṛḷīka Vāsiṣṭha (X.150.5), Ṛjiśvan (VI.50.10), and Vasiṣṭha (VII.68.5; 71.5) mention Atri along with other ancient sages as a protege of the Aśvins. This would indicate that, among the families of vedic *ṛṣis*, the Atri-family had more intimate connections with the members of other families.

The fortieth hymn in the fifth *maṇḍala* is generally considered to be the family hymn[13] of the Atris. As such a detailed study of that hymn would prove very helpful for our purpose. This hymn is the concluding hymn of the Indra-group. Traditionally, Indra (1–4), Sūrya (5), and Atri (6–9) are mentioned as the deities of that *sūkta*. The hymn can be broadly divided into two parts. The first part

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(9) For a fuller discussion of this legend see the sequel.

(10) *ṚV* V. 22·4, 39·5, and 40·5.

(11) *ṚV* V. 67. 5.

(12) *ṚV* VIII. 36. 6, 38. 8.

(13) **Geldner,** *Der Ṛgveda,* II, 38, observes that this hymn, which deals with the magic-freeing of the eclipsed sun by Atri, constitutes the family–hymn of the Atris.

consisting of stanzas (1–4) contains an invocation to Indra, where he is addressed with the words, *vṛṣan indra vrsabhir vṛṣrahantama* and is entreated to drink Soma. In the fourth stanza, various epithets such as *ṛjiṣī*, *vajrī*, *vṛṣabhaḥ*, *turāṣāṭ*, *śuṣmī*, *rājā*, *vṛtrahā*, and *somapāvā* are employed in respect of that god, who is incited to exult in the mid-day *savana*. The second part consists of stanzas five to nine, and is partly in a dialogue-form. It describes the wondrous exploit of Atri, namely, his rescuing of the sun from the demon Svarbhānu. Sāyaṇa[14] accordingly, remarks, in his commentary to the fifth stanza as follows : *idamadicaturbhir mantrair atrīnam karma kīrtyate*. It will be thus seen that the two parts of this hymn are not organically connected with each other. In other words, the hymn as a whole does not constitute a homogenous unit. For our purpose, however, it is the second part, where the exploit of Atri is mentioned, that is particularly important. The stanzas in question[15] may be translated as follows :

(5) When Svarbhānu[16] of the Asura race pierced thee, O sun, with darkness, all worlds appear like a man who is bewildered in a region with which he is not familiar (*akṣetravid*).[17]

(6) When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical wiles of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered (rather recovered) by the fourth text (*turīyeṇa brahmaṇā*) the sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness.

The phrase *turiyeṇa brahmaṇā* is very important. It means 'the fourth sacred prayer'. Great magic power was usually attributed by the seers to their hymns and prayers. The very names, *brahman* and *mantra*, by which the compositions are known would amply confirm such assumption. It has been seen, in a previous chapter, how the god Brahmaṇaspati was a conscious priestly creation and how, through that god, the priestly community glorified the magic power of prayer.[18] Vedic priests, must have indeed been anxious generally to impress upon the people the fact that it was not merely the valour of Indra or warriors, which helped them towards victory. In order to be truly effective, that valour had to be necessarily aided by the magic power of prayer. Sāyaṇa interprets the phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* as 'through the fourth stanza', that is to say, through the eighth stanza in this hymn (*grāvṇo brahmā* etc.), which is the fourth stanza with reference to the stanza preceding the present one.[19] **Sengupta**[20] who believes that the second part of this hymn clearly refers to the phenomena of solar eclipse, takes the words to mean, "the fourth prayer of the day, most

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(14) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p. 836. (15) *ṚV* V. 40. 5–9.

(16) It may be pointed out that the word Svarbhānu later on became a synonym of Rāhu. Cf.

तुल्येऽपराधे स्वर्भानुर्भानुमन्तं चिरेण यत् ।
हिमांशुमाशु ग्रसते तन्म्रदिम्नः स्फुटं फलम् ।। *Śiśupālavadha* 2.49

Amarakośa (*digvarga*) enumerates Svarbhānu among the five synonyms of Rāhu.

(17) The word, *akṣetravid* has been translated by **Geldner** (op. cit.) as 'confused regarding the location'. He also points out that the word also occurs in *AV* 7·1· *TS* 2·1·2·2; *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ* 2·48·11; 4·111·1; *KS* 12·13· and *ŚB* 5·3·2·2.

(18) **Dandekar**, 'Vṛtrahā Indra', ABORI, XXXI. p. 52.

(19) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 837. (20) *JASBL*, Vol. VII, p. 92.

likely belonging to the fourth part of the day". According to him, the solar eclipse, in question, thus came to an end in the fourth part of the day. He goes a step further and says that the word *brahman* here means 'a summer-solstice-day'. In support of this he quotes the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (I. 2) where the 'Mahāvarta day' is said to be *brahman* and the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 409–10), which says : *madhyataḥ saṁvatsarasya viṣuvati mahāvratam upayanti.* In short, according to **Sengupta**, *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* means *turīyeṇa kālena brahma-divasena.* This interpretation suggested by **Sengupta** cannot, however, be accepted. For, it would be difficult to find any other passage in the *ṚV*, where the word, *brahman*, is used in this sense. **Ludwig**[21] interprets the phrase to mean, 'the fourth prayer of the day in addition to the usual liturgy of three prayers against an eclipse'.

If we investigate the word, *turīya*, and its meaning in the *ṚV*, we find that the word occurs in the *ṚV* ten times[22] and everywhere Sāyaṇa has interpreted it to mean *caturtha*, except at VIII. 3. 24, where he interprets it to mean 'destroying' (turīyam śatrūṇām tūrvakam himsitāram). But the first interpretation is obviously perferable. The phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* would thus mean: as the result of the fourth magical formula.[23]

The next stanza contains the words of Sūrya. He says—

(7) Let not the violator, (0 Atri,) swallow me through hunger with fearful darkness, for, I am thine (*tava santam*). Thou art Mitra[24] whose wealth is truth (*satyāradhāḥ*); do thou and the royal Varuṇa both protect me."

(8) Applying the Soma–crushing stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest (*Brahmā*) Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of Svarbhānu.

(9) The Atris discovered the sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could.

Let us see what exactly is suggested by stanzas 5–9. Even a superficial reading of these stanzas will lead one to the conclusion that they refer to the solar eclipse, which the seer Atri must have witnessed.

The fifth stanza describes, in a vivid manner, the confusion caused among the people when the sun was enveloped in darkness. They did not know what had happened to the sun, all of a sudden. So naturally they attributed the

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(21) **Ludwig**, quoted by **Griffith**, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 502, footnote.

(22) *ṚV* I·15·10 164·45 II·37·4 IV·45·1 VIII. 3·24 52·7 80·9 IX. 96. 19 X. 67·1 and 85.40.

(23) **Charpentier**, *Brahman*, Untersuchung I–II, also expresses the same opinion. "Brahman —Baresman (bundle of grass)—magic—hymn on the one hand and Upaniṣadic Brahman on the other."

Gonda, *Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature*, p·3, points out that the Vedic repetitions and figures of speech possess a very real and essential expressive value, they intensify the magic power or religious value of the text, have a hallowing effect, and render the text solemn. **Bergaigne** (quoted by **Lanman** in *Festgruss Roth*, p·190) suggests that the '*turīyam brahma*' is no more than the "One ! two ! three ! and Pesto !" of the thimble-riggers.

(24) Evidently a pun on this word is here intended.

authorship of the mischief to Svarbhānu.[25] The sixth stanza tells us that Atri rescued the sun by means of his 'fourth sacred prayer'. The seventh stanza, which is the speech of Sūrya, suggests that the eclipse was feared to be total but that it was not so at the place where Atri observed it. Sūrya requests Atri and Varuṇa to protect him from the sorcerer who eclipses him with darkness. The eighth stanza clearly mentions that Atri placed the eye of Sūrya in the sky. This indicates that the eclipse had come to an end and that Atri was ultimately successful in defeating Svarbhānu and freeing the sun. The last stanza glorifies this achievement of the Atris—an achievement which it was impossible for others to accomplish.

It would be helpful to examine, at this stage, the views expressed by different scholars in connection with this hymn. **Lanman**[26] remarks that the hymn is not homogeneous and contains the substance of two separate hymns. He draws attention to a parallel to this Vedic *itihāsa*-hymn occurring in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*,[27] II. 1. 10, where Buddha figures as the rescuer. He has also pointed out that the latter may be a mere imitation of what is represented in the *Brāhmaṇas*. **Oldenberg**[28] also says that the first four stanzas belong to the original and stanzas 5–9 are an appendix, a sort of *ākhyāna* relating to the magic about solar eclipse. **Bergaigne**,[29] on the other hand, is unique in his view about this hymn. He points to a sort of analogy between V. 40 and V. 78,[30] because both the hymns begin with three stanzas in *Uṣṇik* metre with a refrain and a fourth in *Triṣṭubh*. Both the hymns, again, have an appearance of a magical formula. It is, however, more likely that, in V. 40, two independent fragments have been brought together, at a later stage, with a view to artificially associating Indra with an exploit with which, presumably, he was not originally connected. Such a tendency to connect the national god, Indra, with every important event is often noticeable in *ṚV*.

Svarbhānu is not mentioned at any other place in the *ṚV*. He is also not mentioned in the *AV*. The *AV* mentions some exploits of Atri in connection with the sun[31] but there is nowhere any clear reference to an eclipse. The *Brāhmaṇas*,[32] on the other hand, contain frequent allusions to Svarbhānu's evil doing and to Atri's beneficent exploit.[33]

In the *MBh.*[34] we are told of an exploit of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods from distress and restore light to the celestial luminaries.

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(25) **Lanman**, *Festgruss Roth*, p·190, interprets the word, *Svarbhānu* to mean 'having i. e. keeping or withholding the sun's beams (svar + bhanu)'.

(26) **Lanman**, op.cit., p·187. (27) Ed. by **Feer**, p. 51. (28) *Noten*, p·334 ff.

(29) Quoted by **Lanman** in *Festgruss Roth*, p·190.

(30) The hymn is discussed later on in this chapter.

(31) *AV* XIII·2·4, 12, 36. (32) Cf. *TMB*, VI·6·8, *SB* V·3·2.

(33) The *Kauṣītaki Br.* (24·3·24) seems to provide us with a clue as regards the time, when the eclipse must have occurred. It tells us that the Atris performed a three-day rite before and after the *Viṣuvanta* and drove away the darkness of Svarbhānu. This would indicate the day on which the eclipse occurred. According to the *AB* (18·18) and the *KB* (19·3) *Viṣuvanta* is the summer–solstice day. The *TS* (VII·4·8), the *TB* (V. 9) and the *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa* (23) also suggest the same thing.

(34) *MB*h., XIII. 157. 1–14.

Here, Svarbhānu, who fought on behalf of the demons, is said to have covered the sun and the moon with his arrows. The gods then approached Atri and requested him to defeat the demons and Atri did accordingly. The story thus coincides in many details with that in the *ŚB* (V. 3. 2. 2)and seems to represent the middle link in the chain of development and growth of the later Rāhu—Ketu legend out of the Vedic Svarbhānu legend.

Among the individual members of the Atri-family, who appear as seers in the *ṚV*, Śyāvāśva is perhaps the most important. He is the seer of a series of ten hymns addressed to the Maruts,[35] namely, V. 52–61, out of which a homogeneous legend can be reconstructed. In V. 52. 1; 61. 5, 9, the name of this seer is given as Śyāva, while, in V 81. 5, VIII. 35. 19, VIII. 36. 7, 38·8, the name occurs as Śyāvāśva. The passage V. 52. 10–11 appears to be in the form of a *dānastuti*, wherein the Maruts are to be regarded as patrons. In V. 61 there is a reference to a legend, which, in later literature, occurs in various versions such as those given by the *Anukramaṇī*, Ṣadguruśiṣya, the *BD*, the *Nītimañjarī*, and Sāyaṇa. The basis of the legend is constituted by a kind of double experience of Śyāvāśva. The sixtieth hymn in the fifth *maṇḍala* mentions the vision which Śyāvāśva had, and the same hymn also speaks of the gifts which the seer received from a princess.[36] In stanzas 1–4 of V. 61 we are told that the Maurts appeared before Śyāvāśva suddenly as wonderful riders without vehicles. "Who are you, O heroes," asked Śyāvāśva, "who have come singly, from a remote region ? Where are your horses, where the reins ? How could you come ? How had you the power ? O you bridegrooms with a lovely spouse, may you warm yourself at the fire." The seer, however, recognised the Maruts immediately. In the sixth stanza, Śyāvāśva praises one Śasīyasī, who was most probably the wife of Taranta. She gives him gifts and refers him to her borther-in-law Purumīḷha. In the tenth stanza we are told that the seer is eventually patronised by Taranta and Purumīḷha. Stanzas 11–16 which form a direct continuation of st. 1–4 indicate that Śyāvāśva recognised the gods to be the Maruts. He, therefore, praises them again. According to the seventeenth stanza, the *sūkta* seems to have been dedicated by Śyāvāśva to Rathavīti Dārbhya, his future father-in-law, through Rātrī, the goddess of the night. In stanzas 18–19, he expresses a desire for Rathavīti's daughter and praises Rathavīti.

It seems that the legends given by the *Bṛhaddevatā*[37] and by Sāyaṇa[38] are based on this sixtyfirst hymn. From these sources we get the following information. Śyāvāśva was the son of Arcanānas who was officiating at a sacrifice per-

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(35) **Geldner**, *Der Ṛigveda* II, 57, points out that this group constitutes a small *saṁhitā* by itself. The relation between Śyāvāśva and the Maruts becomes clear from V·61. This close relationship is also referred to in the *JB* I·164. Śyāvāśva is also the author of V. 81–82, VIII. 35–38 and IX. 32. For further information about this seer see the chapter : "The seers of the Pāvamāna *maṇḍala*".

(36) **Sieg**, *Sagenstoffe der Ṛgveda*, p·50, says that the *sūkta* has a romantic tinge and a motif foreign to the *ṚV*, such as Śyāvāśva's love for the princess. Of all the motifs the most striking is the vision of the Maruts which Syāvāsva has.

(37) *BD* V. 49 ff.

(38) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* VSM, II, pp. 926–27.

formed by the king Rathavīti Dārbhya. Arcanānas was anxious to obtain the king's daughter for his son in marriage. But, though Rathavīti was agreeable to Arcanāna's proposal, his wife insisted on her son-in-law being a *ṛṣi.* While, after having been thus repulsed by the queen, Arcanānas and his son were returning home, they met, on the way, their former patrons, Taranta and Purumīḷha. These latter honoured Arcanānas with gifts and Taranta's wife, Śaśīyaśī, presented Syāvāśva with abundant wealth. Śyāvāśva was then fortunate enough to meet the Maruts in the forest, praised them and thus became a *ṛṣi.* As a result of this, king Taranta himself offered his daughter to Śyāvāśva and honoured Arcanānas with gifts.[39] The fact of Śyāvāśva's having received gifts from Taranta and Purumīḷha is referred to in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*[40] In the *PB*[41] there is an *arthavāda* for the *Śyāvāśva–Sāma* where we are told that Śyāvāśva was abandoned in a waste-land by his friends. There he saw this hymn causing or stopping rain and eventually became successful.

Other individual members of the Atri-family who are traditionally mentioned as the composers of hymns but who do not seem to have played any significant role in the cultural history of the Vedic age are : Andhīgu (son of Śyāvāśva IX. 101), Gopavana (VIII. 63), Paura (V. 73–74), Viśvasāman (V. 22), Pratiprabha (V. 49), Sadāpṛṇa (V. 45), Bahuvṛkta (V. 71–72; V. 44. 11), Yajata (V. 67–68), Urucakri (V 69–70), Sasa (V. 21), Svasti (V. 50–51) Viśvavārā (V. 28), Gaya (V. 9–10; X. 63–64), Dvita (V. 18; IX. 103) Apālā (VIII. 80), Pratibhānu (V. 48), Gātu (V. 32), Evayāmarut (V. 87), Budha and Gaviṣṭhira (V. 1), Pūru (V. 16–17), Saptavadhri (V. 78; VIII.62), Rātahavya (V.65–66), Vasuśruta (V. 3–6), Kumāra (V. 2), Iṣa (V. 7–8), Sutambhara (V. 11–14), Vasūyu (V. 25–26), Avasyu (V. 75), Śrutavit (I. 61), Satyaśravas (V. 79–80). No important information is available about these seers except perhaps that they style themselves as the members of the Atri-family or mention the name of Atri, the progenitor, in their *sūktas.*

Apālā and Viśvavārā are the two female seers belonging to the Atri family. Apālā is credited with being the author of VIII. 91 and a very interesting legend about her is narrated by Sāyaṇa in the preface to that hymn. As the result of her great devotion to Indra, she was cured of her skin-disease and was made by that god as bright as the sun.[42] Viśvavārā is the author of V. 28 in which she praises Agni for marital happiness and security of life.[43] The last two *ṛks* in that hymn are recited at the kindling of the sacred fire in the newmoon and the full-moon sacrifices.

As sources of history, the *dānastutis* in the *ṚV* possess an importance of their own. It is true that, from the poetical point of view, they are not of a very high order, but it is possible to glean from them information about some historical tribes and kings together with certain indications about their geographical locations. Some light is also thrown on the history of the families of singers.

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(39) Cf. *BD* V·78. The *Nītimañjarī* of Dyā Dviveda draws some interesting morals (83–87) from the Syāvāśva–Marut–legend, which, however, appear to be rather far fetched.

(40) *Śāṅkhāyana ŚS* 16·11·7–9. The name of Syāvāśva occurs also in the AV (IV·29·4; IV 3–15) with Purumīḷha, Arcanānas and Atri.

(41) *PB* VIII·5·9.

(42) *ṚV* VIII·91·7.

(43) *ṚV* V·28·3.

Generally speaking, the Atris seem to have enjoyed rich royal patronage. The *BD*[44] mentions the names of some prominent patrons of the Atris as follows:

त्रैवृष्णस्त्रसदस्युश्चाश्वमेध ऋणंचयः ।
स्तूयमाना परीक्ष्याः स्युरत्रिष्वेते क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥

Thus here Traivṛṣṇa Tryaruṇa,[45] Trasadasyu, Aśvamadha and Ṛṇancaya are said to have been eulogised by the Atris. The gifts given by them are enumerated in the *BD*[46] as follows :

'King Tryarṇna gave to Atri 10,320 kine and a golden wagon with two oxen and Aśvamedha gave a hundred oxen and Trasadasyu plenty of wealth. Ṛṇancaya chose the seer Babhru, the son of Atri, to officiate as a priest at this Soma-sacrifice, in which sumptuous sacrificial fee of one thousand (cows or coins ?) was paid. So Babhru sacrificed for him.'

In the *ṚV*[47] Atri praises the generosity of Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa for having given him 120 bulls, a pair of horses, and 1000 coins and, in V. 27. 5–6, king Aśvamadha is styled as *Śatadāvā*. Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa is identified by some scholars with Trasadasyu.[48] Sāyaṇa[49] and the *BD*,[50] however, do not agree with this view. Babhru, the son of Atri, praises king Ṛṇañcaya, the king of Ruśamas,[51] a neighbouring people in a successful fight against the enemies and is rewarded by the king with 4000 cows and a golden *mahāvīra* vessel. Śyāvāśva Ātreya praises Purumīḷha and Taranta[52] for having given him cows. Now these two patrons, who are the sons of Vidadaśva, are themselves described to have received gifts from Dhvasra and Puruṣanti. Sāyaṇa in his bhāṣya on IX. 58.3[53] says that Dhvasra and Puruṣanti gave gifts to Taranta and Purumīḷha. We come to know from Sāyaṇa's quotation from the *Śāṭyāyanaka*, given in this context, that Taranta and Purumīḷha regarded themselves as

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(44) *BD* V·24·13.

(45) The *BD* (V. 14. 22 ff.) gives an interesting legend about this king and his chariotere Vṛṣa Jāna.

(47) *ṚV* (V. 27. 1–2).

(46) *BD*, V. 30–34.

(48) Manilal **Patel** in his *Die Dānastuti's* der *Ṛgveda* pp·44–45 conjectures that it might be a title of king Tryaruṇa meaning 'the harasser of the Dasyus (*trasad* + *dasyu*)'.

(49) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, ṚV, VSM, II, p·790.

(50) *BD* V. 14. 22 ff.

(51) Sāyaṇa, while commenting on (*ṚV* V.30. 12) says, '*Ruśamāḥ Ṛṇañcayanāmno rājñaḥ kiṁ-* *karāḥ*'. In the *ṚV* VIII. 3. 12, Ṛsama is mentioned with Syāvaka and Kṛpa. In *ṚV* VIII. 4. 2, one Ruma is mentioned. The Ruśamas are mentioned in VIII·51·9 also. According to **Ludwig**, Syāvaka, Kṛpa, Pavīru (VIII 51.9.), Kauruma (*AV* XX), and Ruma are all Ruśamas.

(52) *ṚV* V. 61.10.

(53) Purumīḷha is referred to as a *ṛṣi* in the ṚV I. 151. 2, 183. 5, VIII. 71. 14 and *AV* IV. 29·4, 18·3·15. According to the *TB* (13·7·12) and the *JB* (I·151) these two kings were the sons of Vidadaśva and Mahī, the daughter of Arcanānas. In the *JB* (I·151), the kings are referred to as Devarṣis and Mantrakṛts. In the *TB* (13·7·12), they are mentioned as receivers of gifts. The names Dhvasra and Puruṣanti which occur in a quotation from the *Śāṭyāyanaka* given in the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on the *ṚV* IX. 58. 3 are both in dual. Perhaps this might have been due to case-attraction and for the sake of metre. This suggests to us that Dhvasra and Puruṣanti must be identical with Dhvasanti and Puruṣanti who are mentioned together in the *ṚV* I. 112·23.

garagira, that is, as drinkers of positon[54] on account of their having received presents from their patrons Dhvasra and Purusanti. We learn from the *ṚV* IX. 58. 3 that Kāśyapa Avatsāra also is one of the receivers of gifts from Dhvasra and Puruṣanti. This establishes the contemporaneity of Syāvāśva Ātreya, Kāśyapa Avatsāra, Taranta and Purumīḷha, and Dhvasra and Puruṣanti. As has been already pointed out, king Aśvamedha is eulogised as a generous king by Atri, for, he had donated to the seer a hundred bulls. "Gladdening are the gifts of Aśvamedha like the Soma" (*ṚV* V.27.5) declares the seer. **Ludwig** (*Mantralitteratur und das Alte Indien*, pp. 126—27), however, points out that king Aśvamedha belongs to the Anus. According to **Oldenberg** (*ZDMG* 42, pp. 212–15), the kings and tribes mentioned in some of the Atri-hymns, such as Trasadasyu (V.27.3), the Pūrus (V.17.1) and the Anus (V.31.4), are generally connected with the party antagonistic to Sudās and the Bharatas. The characterisation of the Atris as *pāñcajanya* (I.117.3) is particularly significant in this context. It would seem that the Atris were the priests of the five Aryan tribes, namely Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa, and Yadu, who were among the first Vedic colonisers of India. The Bharatas who belonged to the later wave of the Aryan migration, aimed at becoming sovereign lords of all the Aryan settlers including the *pañcajanāḥ*. This gave rise to a kind of antagonism between the Bharatas and the *pañcajanāḥ*. As pointed out elsewhere this antagonism eventually resulted in the war of ten kings, by which time, however, Viśvāmitra seems to have become the priest of *pañcajanāḥ*.

Another member of the Atri-family, namely Bhauma Atri mentions Ūrjavya as his patron (V. 41.20). The patrons mentioned in V.79 can be genealogically arranged as follows :

Śucadratha
|
Vaya
|
Sunītha
|
Satyaśravas

In the fifth *maṇḍala* we find that the *ṛṣis* belonging to other families also are mentioned as recipients of gifts. Saṁvaraṇa Prājāpatya, for instance, eulogises Trasadasyu Paurukutsya (V.33.8), Mārutāśva, Cyavatāna, Vidatha (V.33.9), Dhvanya Laxmaṇya (V.33.10) and Śatri, the son of Agniveśi. Prabhūvasu Āṅgi-

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(54) This seems to imply a reference to the Vrātya-sect. **Dandekar,** '*Rudra in the Veda*', *JUP*, I, pp. 8–9, says that the *vrātyas* formed a distinct and an independent religious cult in ancient times and that their religious ideology had a very close affinity with the personality and worship of Rudra. According to the *PB* XVII. 1–4, the *vrātya* community was broadly divided into two classes—the *arhats* and the *Yaudhas*. The same *Brāhmaṇa* further says that the *vrātyas* were divided into four classes namely, *hīna*, *gārāgir*, *śamanīcamedhra*, and *nindita*. Out of these four classes, the *gārāgir* (= swallowers of poison) and the *śamanīcamedhra* (= one whose penis hangs low through control of passion) are of particular interest in so far as they very emphatically underline the close relationship which must have subsisted between Rudra and the religious cult of the *vrātyas*. Like the *gārāgir*, the *munis* also are described as drinking poison in the company of Rudra (X. 136·7).

rasa praises the gifts of king Śrutaratha who is also referred to as a patron of Kakṣīvan (I.127.7).

The *Dānastutis* in the fifth *maṇḍala* are important also from another point of view. We get in them clear indications of the rivers, on which sacrifices were performed by the *ṛṣis*. The river Paruṣṇī, for instance, is mentioned in V.52.9, where it is said that people wearing woollen garments lived on its banks. The river Yamunā is mentioned in V. 52. 17, in which the *ṛṣi* says that he received cows and horses on her banks. There is a mention of several rivers in V. 53. 9. Out of these rivers, the Rasā probably is an affluent of the Sindhu known as Anitabhā. The Krumu, a tributary of the Sindhu, is identified by some scholars with the modern Kurum. The Kubhā is the Kophen or the Kabul river which falls into the Indus near Attock. The Sarayu is probable a river in the Punjab, which gave its name to the Śarayu or Sarju of Oudh. The river Sudughā, which is mentioned in V.31.8, is said to have been made fordable by Indra for Yadu and Turvaśa. The river Gomatī which is referred to in V.61.19 is a tributary of the Sindhu and is probably identified with modern Gomala.

Generally, the Vedic people organised their sacrificial sessions only on the banks of certain rivers. At least the more important of the sacrifices, which gave rise to the *dānastutis*, appear to have been held on the banks of rivers. It is indeed possible to assume that the settlements of the Aryans were mostly situated on the banks of the bigger rivers and their tributaries. The Atris, it would appear from their *dānastutis*, had spread in the delta of the Sindhu and its tributaries, as far as the Kubhā in the West and the Gomatī or the Yamunā in the east.

A few observations may now be made regarding the position of Atri among the Saptarṣis. Even in the *ṚV* itself, we find passages where the *ṛṣis* are typified as belonging to a group of seven. These are mentioned as such four times in that Veda.[55] In his commentary on I.31.5, Sāyaṇa says that the *sapta viprāḥ*, mentioned in that passage, are Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha. In other *saṁhitās*,[56] too, they are mentioned several times. They are also mentioned in the *ŚB*[57] and the *BĀU*.[58] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[59] also gives the same list. From our point of view it is significant that, in all these contexts, Atri is invariably mentioned as one of the Saptarṣis. The *Baudhāyana*[60] and the *Āśvalāyana*[61] *śrauta-sūtras* have mentioned the same seven *ṛṣis* among whom also the name of Atri occurs.

But the case regarding Atri's position as a *gotrarṣi* is different. An important stanza in the *MBh.* states that the *gotras* were originally four only[62]. This

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(55) *ṚV* I. 31·5; IV. 42·8; X. 109·4; 130·7.

(56) *VS* XIV. 24, *AV* XI. 1·1·24, XII. 1·39.

(57) *ŚB*. II. 1·2·4.

(58) *BĀU*. II. 2·6.

(59) *Viṣṇu p.*, 3·1.

(60) *BŚS*, *ṛṣitarpaṇa*. p.31 as quoted by *Ghurye*, *PAIOC*, IX, p.940.

(61) *ĀśŚS*, *ṛṣitarpana*. cf. also *Ramaprasad Chanda*, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p.19.

(62) मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि भारत
अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च।
कर्मतो ऽन्यानि गोत्राणि समुत्पन्नानि भारत
नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं सताम् ।। *Śānti Parvan* 296.

means, historically, that there were originally only four great stocks of Aryan families and that, subsequently, their number increased. If we compare the later eight names of the *gotras* and the ancient four we would find that Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha continue from the old list, Bhṛgu is substituted by his son Jamadagni Aṅgiras is substituted by his two sons or grandsons, Bharadvāja and Gautama, and three are entirely new additions, namely, Viśvāmitra, Atri and Agastya. Possibly these three were newly arrived families, but that they had arrived fairly early during the Vedic period is clear, for, all of them are well-known Vedic *ṛṣis*. As regards the statement, *karmataḥ anyāni gotrāṇi*, it can be said that Viśvāmitra practised penance and became a *ṛṣi*. But what about Atri ? Are we to suppose that the freeing of the sun from darkness by Atri is the *karma* on account of which he came to be a famous *ṛṣi* ?

It may be that the progenitors of the four ancient families mentioned in the *MBh.* were so eminent that their names were adopted as family–names by their descendants. In other words they became the first *gotrarṣis*. In course of time, however, other seers achieved eminence through their penance, glorious exploits etc. and consequently founded their own *gotras*. Thus the number of *gotras* increased. But even this explanation does not make the omission of Atri from the *mūlagotras* easily accountable. For, the *ṚV* describes Atri as the seer of the five original tribes of the Vedic people (*Pāñcajanyaḥ*) and the Brahmanic tradition also' looks upon him as the greatest of the sages who contributed to the development of the sacrificial technique.

The later epic and Purāṇic literature provides some interesting glimpses into the career of Atri and other members of his family. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, mentions Atri as one of the Prajāpatis.[63] In the *Ādiparvan* of the *MBh.*[64], Atri is mentioned as one of the six great *ṛṣis* while in the *Śāntiparvan* he is mentioned as one of the seven sons of Brahmā. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[65] Atri was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma, the moon, whom Brahmā installed as the sovereign of all plants, Brāhmaṇas and stars. He is, thus, according to the *Purāṇas*, connected with the Lunar Dynasty. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[66] tells us that Anasūyā was his wife. Datta, Durvāsa, and Soma are said to be his sons. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* 1.59, Prabhākara is the earliest Ātreya, who is said to have married ten daughters of Bhadrāśva (or Raudrāśva) and Ghṛtācī. Bhadrāśva was an early Paurava kings[67] and the Purāṇic genealogy says that he had ten sons called Svastyātreyas and that from him the important Ātreya *gotras* descended. The chief among these were the two famous *ṛṣis*, Datta Ātreya and Durvāsa.[68] From Datta, four different branches are said to have descended, namely, Śyāvāśva, Mudgala (Pratvasa), Bālārka

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(63) *Rāmāyaṇa* III.14.8.

(64) *Ādīparvan*, 2518.

(65) *Viṣṇu p.* IV.6.2 ff.

(66) *Bhāgavata P.* 3.21–24.

(67) In this connection it has been pointed out by *Ghurye, PAIOC*, IX, p.938, that the Bhṛgus and the Atris, thus, seem to have had more ancient connection with the Aila family as their priests. Apnavāna Bhārgava had married ten daughters of the Aila king Nahuṣa.

(68) *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 17.6–16.

(Vādbhūtaka or Vavalgu) and Gaviṣṭhira. Six Ātreyas are mentioned, by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[69] as hymn-makers namely, Atri, Arcanānas, Gaviṣṭhira, Balgūtaka, Śyāvāśva and Pūrvātithi, but in the the *ṚV* proper Balgūtaka and Pūrvātithi do not appear as hymn-makers.

Puruṣottama Pandita[70] mentions the *pravaras* of Atris as given by the different Sūtrakāras and the *Purāṇas* as follows :

(A)	Baudhāyana	Ātreya, " "	Ārcanānasa, " "	Śyāvāśva Vādbhūtaka Gāviṣṭhira
(B)	Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi	Ātreya, " "	Ārcanānasa, Gāviṣṭhira, Vāmarathya,	Śyāvāśva Paurvātithi Pautrika
(C)	Āpastamba	Ātreya, " "	Ārcanānasa, " "	Śyāvāśva Gāviṣṭhira Ātitha
(D)	Āśvalāyana[71]	Ātreya, " "	Ārcanānasa, " "	Śyāvāśva Gāviṣṭhira Paurvātitha
(E)	Matsya Purāṇa	Śyāvaśva, Atri, Atri,	Atri, Gāviṣṭhira, Vāmarathya,	Arcanānas Pūrvātithi Pautrika

Before discussing the significance of the *pravaras* of the Atris, as given by the different *sūtras*, it will be worthwhile to see what exactly, the concept of *pravara* is. The theory of *pravara*, is closely interwoven with that of *gotra* from ancient times. According to the *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Dharma-sūtras*, the concept of *pravara*[72] entered into several domestic ceremonies like marriage, *mekhalābandhana* in the *Upanayana* ceremony, *Caulakarma* etc. *Pravara* literally means 'choice invocation' (*prakarṣeṇa varaṇāni prārthanāni pravarāḥ*). A sacrificer invokes Agni to carry his offerings to the gods and, while doing so, by way of a kind of recommendation or support for his invocation he recites the names of his illustrious ancestors, who, in former times had successfully invoked Agni. So the word, *pravara*, came to denote one or more illustrious ancestors of a sacrificer. It was laid down that the *pravara* of a *gotra* may be constituted by one, two, three or five *ṛṣis* but not by four[73]. On a closer examination of the *sūtras*, the Ṛgvedic hymns and the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, it appears that the *pravaras* contain the names of prominent *mantrakṛt* seers i. e. the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns.

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[69] *Vāyu P.*, 1.59.104.

[70] The *Gotra-Pravara-Mānjarī* of Purusottama Pandita, ed. by John **Brough,** 1953, pp. 84–85 (translation).

[71] *ĀśŚS* 12.14.1—अत्रीणामात्रेयार्चनानसश्यावाश्वेति ।
गविष्ठिराणामात्रेयगाविष्ठिरपौर्वातिथेति ॥

[72] In his paper 'Gotra and Pravara in the Vedic literature', *PAIOC*, VII pp.317–322, **Kane** has made a detailed study of this question. Also interesting in this connection are the discussions made by **Karandikar** *Hindu exogamy*, **Vaidya** "*Gotra* and Pravara",*PAIOC*,I, pp.34–35; *Rangachari*, " Gotras and Pravaras and their incidence on marriage ", *PAIOC*, III, pp.635 ff.; **Brough,** "The early history of the Gotras", *JRAS*, 1946 and 1947 April, pp.32–45 and 75–90 respectively; **Zimmer,** *Studien Zur Geschichte der Gotras* (Berlin, 1914).

As pointed out in a previous chapter, according to the Sūtrakāras, the order in which the names of the *pravaras* are to be recited is different for the *hotṛ* and the *adhvaryu*. The *adhvaryu* enumerates the names backwards from the descendant to the ancestor while the *hotṛ* recites them from the ancestor down to the descendant.[74] This procedure makes it certain that the *ṛṣis* recited in the *pravaroccāra* are related as ancestors or descendants and even the order of descent can be seen. These facts are very interesting as showing that the Indo–Aryans had kept up the memory of their descent from the Vedic seers through all the years up to the time of the composition of the *sūtras*. The *pravara*–system[75] thus seems to have been dovetailed into the *gotra*–system.

In the light of what has been said above we may now scan the lists of the *pravaras* of the Atris as given by the various Sūtrakāras. It is quite clear from those lists that Atri, Arcanānas, Śyāvāśva, Gaviṣṭhira, Pūrvātithi, Vāmarathya, and Pautrika are the *pravaras* of the Atris. Out of these the first four actually appear as authors of hymns in the *ṚV*.

In his *Gotra–Pravara–Manjarī*,[76] Puruṣottama Pandita points out that no inter–marriage is allowed among these *Atri–gotra–gaṇas*, because of the identity of their *gotra* which results from the fact that the name of Atri, who is one of the seven *ṛṣis*, occurs in all the *pravaras*, and also because two of the three *ṛṣis* in the *pravaras* coincide.[77]

Important from the point of view of the history of the *gotras*, is the *Āprī* hymn in this *maṇḍala*.[78] It is attributed to Vasuśruta Atreya. **Brough**[79] sees in the occurrence of *Āprī* hymns in the *ṚV* strong evidence for a theory that the clandescent was continuous from the Ṛgvedic times. So, it can be said that the

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(73) Cf. *Āpastamba* ŚS, अथैकेषामेकं वृणीते, द्वौ वृणीते, त्रीन् वृणीते, न चतुरो वृणीते ळ प च वृणीते न प चाति वृणीते इति विज्ञायते. 8.

(74) In the case of Atris, for instance, the *Hotṛ* addresses Agni as " Ātreya, Arcanānas, Śyāvāśva " while the *Adhvaryu* says, " *Syāvāśvavad arcanānovad atrivat* ".

(75) As mentioned elsewhere, according to **Brough,** the use of *pravaras* became apparent during the formation period of the *Yajurveda.*

(76) Edited by **Brough,** 1953, pp. 84–85.

(77) **Kane,** *PAIOC*, VII, p.322, remarks : " When the requirement as to differencre of *pravara* in marriage came into vogue, it is difficult to say. But if a guess may be hazarded, it appears that the requirement as to *pravara* was a later requirement than about *gotra* ".

(78) *ṚV* V.5.

(79) " The early history of the Gotras ". *JRAS*, 1947, p.83.

gotra of the Atris, as we know it from the *sūtra*-accounts, is identical with the Atris of the fifth *maṇḍala*. The *Āprī*–hymn of the Atris is of the *narāśaṁsa* type. It may be, incidentally, pointed out that the *Āprī*–hymn, (I. 13) ascribed to Medhātithi Kāṇva, has one stanza common[80] with the *Āprī*–hymn of the Atris. The *Āprī*–hymn of Medhātithi Kāṇva belongs to the *tanūnapāt*–type, which fact implies that the original *Āprī*–ritual of the Kāṇvas was essentially different from that of the Atris. But the fact that one stanza is common in the two *Āprī*–hymns would indicate that, in course of time, a kind of compromise was brought about in the system of ritual sponsored by these two families.[81]

Difference in ritual practices may, thus, be regarded as one of the most important clues for the pre–*sūtra* history of the *gotra*–system. Another clue is the difference in social practices which the later *gotras* preserved. We know, for instance, that, in the *sūtra* period, the major *gotras* were distinguished from one another by their modes of dressing the hair. In the *Pariśiṣṭa* to the *Gobhila-Gṛhya–sūtra*, ascribed to Gobhila's son, the description occurs as follows :

"The Vāsiṣṭhas wear a braid on the right side,[82] the Ātreyas a three-fold braid, the Aṅgirasas a five–fold top–knot, the Bhṛgus are shaven, the rest wear a crest."[83]

It would be very interesting to examine, at this stage, the relationship which the family of the Atris had with the other families of Ṛgvedic seers. From a study of the Vedic passages pertaining to this subject and occurring in the different *maṇḍalas* of the *ṚV*, it would appear that the Atri–family stood in particularly close relationship with the Priyamedhas, the Kaṇvas, the Gotamas, and the Kākṣīvatas.

Atri is, for instance, mentioned in close proximity with Priyamedha in a *sūkta*[84] which is composed by Priyamedha himself. Parucchepa mentions Atri with Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Dadhyañc, and Aṅgiras (I. 139. 9). It is also significant that the Priyamedhas are referred to as priests in the *AB*[85]. Brahmātithi mentions Atri, Priyamedha and Kaṇva together,[86] while Kakṣīvān mentions Atri and Kaṇva as proteges of the Aśvins. Mṛlīka Vāsiṣṭha refers to Atri and Kaṇva along with Bharadvāja and Gaviṣṭhira.[87] Bhauma Atri describes Vāyu as *Kaṇva–hotā*[88]. Significant, again, is the fact that a number of hymns of the

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(80) *ṚV* I.13.9 = V.5.8.

(81) It should, however, be remembered that the *sūtras* are at variance with one another as regards the type of the *Āprī*-hymns of different families. According to the *KŚS* (19.6.8.9), for instance, the *Āprī*-hymn of the Atris belongs to the *narāśaṁsa* type, while according to the *Lāṭyāyana-sūtra* (6.4.13–16), it belongs to the *tanūnapāt*-type.

(82) Cf. also ṚV.VII.33.1 where the Vasiṣṭhas are described as '*dakṣiṇataskapardāḥ*'.

(83) *Gṛhya-saṁgraha* II.40, *ZDMG*, 35, p. 576—

दक्षिणकापर्दा वासिष्ठा आत्रेयास्त्रिकपर्दिनः ।
अग्ङिरसः पञ्चचूडा मुण्डा भृगवः शिखिनोऽन्ये ।।

(84) *ṚV* I.45.3.

(85) *AB* VIII.22.

(86) *ṚV* VIII.5.25.

(87) *ṚV* X.150.5.

(88) *ṚV* V.41.4. Sāyaṇa interprets it as 'one who is invoked by the Kaṇvas'.

seers of the Atri-family appear in the eighth *maṇḍala*, which normally contains the compositions of the Kaṇva-family. The *sūktas* 35–38 in that *maṇḍala*, for instance, belong to Śyāvāśva Ātreya. *Sūkta* 42 belong to Arcanānas Ātreya and 62–63 belong to Gopavana Ātreya while the *sūkta* 80 belongs to Apālā Ātreyī. Not less important is the fact that the Āprī-*sūktas* of the Kaṇvas and the Atris which have been already referred to, namely, I. 13 and V. 5 have one stanza in common. It does not, therefore, appear to be merely a coincidence that the members of these two families are mentioned together. Such an assumption would seem to be corroborated also by the common occurrence of certain names of patrons in the fifth and the eighth *maṇḍalas* e. g. Purumīḷha (V. 61.9; VIII. 71.14), Ruśama (V. 30.12, VIII. 3.12), Babhru (V. 30. 11, 14; VIII. 22. 10), and Aśvamedha (V. 27.4) and Āśvamedha (VIII. 68. 15–16). These two families must have originally formed a common family; and even after having been separated into two distinct families, the Kaṇvas and the Atris must have retained their old family-affiliations. The close relationship between the Atris and the Kaṇvas may also be said to receive confirmation from the Purāṇic accounts. According to the Paurava genealogy, Atri was a son-in-law of Ṛceyu, an early king in the dynasty of the Kaṇvas, who are represented as descendants of a later king Ajamīḍha through his wife Keśinī.[89] Further, the Nāhuṣas seem to have been friendly with both the Kaṇvas and the Atris because both Sadhvaṁsa Kāṇva (VIII. 8. 3) and Sutambhara Ātreya (V.12.6) mention them. So far as the relation between the Atris and the Gotamas are concerned, attention may be drawn to I. 183. 5 where Agastya mentions Gotama and Purumīḷha along with Atri. The fact that a *sūkta* of Nodhā Gautama (VIII. 77) is included in the Kānva-*maṇḍala* is also significant in this connection. As for the Atris and the Kākṣīvatas, Sāṁkhya Atri mentions Atri and Kakṣīvān together as the proteges of the Aśvins[90]. Kakṣīvān also refers to Atri's rescue from the *ṛbīsa*[91] and describes that seer as *Pāñcajanya*[92] and, in another passage,[93] he refers to the succour given to Atri and Kaṇva by the Aśvins. Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī refers to the protection of Atri Saptavadhri by the Aśvins[94]. Significant, in this connection, is the fact that Bhauma Atri has been referred to by Sāyaṇa (V. 41. 5) as the priest of Kakṣīvān, the son of Uśij[95]. Bharadvāja is the uncle of this Kakṣīvān because the former is the borther of Dīrghatamas, who is the father of Kakṣīvān. Most interesting in this connection is the occurrence, in the *aśvādigaṇa* of the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, of two entires *ātreya bharadvāje* and *bharadvāja ātreya*[96]. This implies that the *gotra*-name is Bhāradvā-

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(89) **Altekar**, 'Can we reconstruct Pre-Bharata-war history ?' *PIHC*, III, p. 49

अजमीढस्य केशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ।। *Matsya P.* 49. 16.

(90) *ṚV* X.143.1.

(91) *ṚV* I.116.8.

(92) *ṚV* I.117.3.

(93) *ṚV* I.118.7.

(94) *ṚV* X.39.9. Relation can also be traced between the Kaṇvas and the Kākṣīvatas from the fact that Medhātithi Kāṇva and Śaśakarṇa Kāṇva mention Kakṣīvān in I.18.1 and VIII. 9.10. respectively.

(95) *ṚV* V.41.5.

(96) **Brough**, " The early history of the Gotras ". *JRAS*, 1946, p. 45.

jāyana when an Ātreya is meant; conversely, it is Ātreyāyaṇa when a Bharadvāja is meant. This is duly confirmed by the *pravara* lists, the family of the Bhāradvājāyanas being included under the Atris, and the Ātreyayānas among the Bhardvājas. Thus the relation between the Atris on one hand and the Kākṣīvatas or the Bharadvājas on the other is continuously traceable from the *ṚV* down to the *sūtra* literature.

It will be thus seen that the Atri-family had been one of the most popular among the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣi*–families.[97] The foregoing investigation would bring out another significant fact, namely, that all the families, with which the Atris are closely related, are also related with the Āṅgirasa family. Kaṇva Ghaura was an Āṅgirasa and so all the Kaṇvas can be generally said to have belonged to the Āṅgirasa family. Priyamedha is an Āṅgirasa and so must have been all the Priyamedhas. Kakṣīvān is the son of Dīrghatamas Māmateya, who was the brother of Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati, who again, was the son of Aṅgiras. Gotama is the son of Rahūgaṇa and had two sons Nodhas and Vāmadeva. Now Vāmadeva is clearly declared to be an Āṅgirasa. Thus, all the families which are closely related with the Atri–family can be regarded as having been, in one way or the other, sub-branches of the original Aṅgiras–stock. So the Atri–family also, though not directly mentioned as such, also appears to have been a sub–branch of the Aṅgirasas.[98]

From the sociohistorical point of view, therefore, the Atris must be said to have occupied a prominent position in the *ṚV*. The question would then arise as to why the Atris have been omitted from the list of the original *gotras* by the *MBh*. The *ṚV* itself describes Atri as the seer of five tribes, indicating thereby that he was a *purohita* of an important section of the Vedic people. The Brahmanical tradition looks upon him with particular regard as one of the greatest sages who contributed to the development of the sacrificial technique.[99] This must be the reason why, when the *ṛṣi* of a hymn was not known, that hymn would be ascribed to Atri.[100] That is also why, at a particular rite at the beginning of a sacrifice, an Ātreya is required to come forward for being accorded honour. A pronouncement was made on such occasions with the words : Is there an Ātreya in this assembly ? This suggests that only an Ātreya was considered to be fit for being honoured at the beginning of the sacrificial procedure.[100a] But the non-mention of the Atris in the four *mūlagotras*, inspite of this their great eminence of the Atri–family seems to suggest that they were, for some reason or the other, traditionally regarded as being junior to the Bhṛgus, the Āṅgirasas and the Vasiṣṭhas.

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(97) The Marathi proverb, *atri sarvāśīn maitrī* (Atris are friendly towards all), may be said to have its origin in these circumstances.

(98) Indeed, *Mankad, Date of the Ṛigveda*, p.87, has tried to prove that the Āṅgirasa family is the main stock to which most of the composers of the *ṚV* trace their origin.

(99) Cf. *TS* 7.1.8. The point is treated at a greater length later in this chapter.

(100) **Ghurye**, *PAIOC* IX, p. 942.
Cf. also Sāyaṇa's statement, अनुक्तगोत्रमात्रेयं विद्यात् । in his preface to the fifth *maṇḍala*.

(100a) **kar**, *Jñānakośa*, II, p. 213.

There are narrated in the *ṚV* two very interesting legends in which Atri is believed to figure particularly prominently. Assuming that the Atri mentioned in these legends is the same as the progenitor of the family, which is responsible for the fifth *maṇḍala*, we may here attempt an analysis of these legends. The first of these legends, which is frequently repeated in the *ṚV*, is the one where Atri figures as a protege of the Aśvins. While scrutinizing the various passages wherein Atri was referred to, it was seen that the words *Atraye* and *Atrim* occur about twentytwo times in the *ṚV* and, nearly at all these places, he is described as the protege of the Aśvins. The legend, in short, is as follows : The Asuras threw Atri into a kind of dungeon for harassment and then began to scorch him with fire. The seer, then, invoked the succour of the Aśvins who quenched the fire with snow and water and took Atri safely out of the dungeon.[101] A properly coordinated legend can be reconstructed from the stray references to Atri's having been rescued by the Aśvins. He is said to have been drawn out of a pit (*ṛbīsa*)[102] safely by the Aśvins along with his host (*sarvagaṇam*)[103] by quenching the heat (*ghraṁsam*) with snow–water (*himena*) and by offering him food (I.116.8) The *ṛbīsa* is said to have had hundred doors (*śatadureṣu* I. 51. 3) and the heat (*taptam gharmam*) is said to have been made tolerable and pleasant (*omyāvantam*) by the Aśvins (I. 112. 7). That Atri was saved along with his *gaṇa* and that the *ṛbīsa* was a place of torture has been suggested also in I. 117. 3. Here he is called *Pāñcajanya.* The *ṛbīsa* is described as *taptam* and Atri, who was thrown into the pit, was taken out of it and offered dainty food (*omānam ūrjam*) by the Aśvins (I. 118. 7). He is said to have been saved from scorching heat (*paritaptam gharmam*) by the sprinkling of water (*himena*) by the Aśvins (I. 119. 6). The *gharma* is said to have been made *madhumanta* like water (*kṣodo apo na*) (I.180.4).[104]

Sāyaṇa tries to give an alternative interpretation of this legend in his commentary on I.116. 8, where he identifies Atri with Agni and attributes the growing of plants to the Aśvins. Yāska also, in his *Nirukta*,[105] supports the second interpretation. But this latter interpretation will be found to be unsatisfactory if we take into consideration all the passages in which Atri is described as the protege of the Aśvins who saved him through their timely succour. So,

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(101) Cf. the legend given in the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on I.116.8.

(102) Sāyaṇa, in his *bhāṣya* on I.116.8, says that *ṛbīsa* is a kind of dark dungeon prepared for harassment (*ṛbīse apagataprakāśe pīḍāyantragṛhe*), while Yāska explains it as *apagatabhāsam apacitabhāsam apahṛtabhāsam gatabhāsam vā* (*Nirukta* 6.35), i. e. 'a pit from which light has gone out'—a dark pit. **Suryakanta**, *A Grammatical dictionary of Sanskrit* (*Vedic*). p. 60, says that it means a pit, and suggests that the absence of change of *ṣ* into *s* may indicate that the word is non-Aryan.

(103) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on I.116.8 *ṚV*, VSM, I, p. 917,

सर्वेषामिन्द्रियाणां पुत्रादीनां वा गणेन ।

(104) In his commentary on this stanza Śāyaṇa adds that the demons threw Atri into the *gharma* when he was practising *Pravargya.* He, however, propitiated the Aśvins who protected him.

(105) *Nirukta*, 6.36.

in all these passages Atri, who is referred to, must be the ancient seer who seems to have been saved from the *ṛbīsa* into which he was thrown by the Asuras.[106]

What, it may be asked, must have been the reason of the harassment of Atri by the Asuras ? The Vedic Aryan tribes were ambitious and warlike. From their home in the Balkh region, these adventurers set out on a mission of conquest and colonization towards the south-east. This, however, was not an easy task. On their onward march these people, who were really the ancestors of the Vedic Indians, had to encounter serious opposition from several antagonistic tribes. Atri seems to have been one of the prominent priestly leaders of these Aryan colonisers. As such, he must have been arrested and persecuted by the non-Aryan inhabitants of India. They threw him into a burning pit (*ṛbīsa*)[107] From this disaster the Aśvins[108] seem to have saved him. Atri must

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(106) A reference may be made,in this connection,to two interesting but by no means convincing hypotheses relating to this legend. *Sengupta, JASBL*, VII, pp.92 ff., adduces some Rgvedic passages (I.51.3, 112.7, 116.8, 119.6; V.73. 6, 7; X.39.9) to determine the abode of Atri and the time of the solar eclipse. He interprets the word, *satadura* to mean 'having a hundred openings', the words, *gharma, ghraṁsa, tapta* to mean 'the heat', which Atri felt in his house, and the word, *hima*, to mean 'the thaw of ice' with which the Asvins allayed the scorching heat of Atri. So he conjectures that Atri must have been living at the foot of the Himālayas in a cave of hundred openings. This must have happened at the time perhaps of the rising of Aries in the east at the end of the evening twilight. He further conjectures that this time was quite favourable for the Himālayan thaw of ice. He thus concludes that Atri lived about 4000 B. C. in a cave at the foot of a snow-capped peak either of the Himālayas or of the Karakoram range,and that the eclipse of the sun must have taken place on the 26th July 3 928 B. C., on the summer-solstice day at about 3 p. m., and lasted for two hours and must have finished at the last quarter of the day. Although it was a total eclipse of the sun, at the place of the observer, the totality feared was not reached by it. From this 'disaster' the sun was 'saved' by Atri as the Ṛgvedic passages say. He, therefore, concludes : "The Aryan colonization of India thus began about 3900 B. C. and Atri was one of the first batch of the Aryans who tried and succeeded in settling in the North Punjab. If this last finding be called into question the name Atri should be traceable in the past traditions of the Pārsis and ancient Greeks and also of the 'Elder Race' of Arator and Eudaxus."

Karandikar *Daśarājña Yuddha*, pp.20–30, on the other hand,tries to prove Atri's connections with Iran. According to him, *aira* = *aila* (the Iranian title of kings). The Ailas are the great-grand-sons of Atri. Atri is called *Vṛka* in the *ṚV* and *Vṛka* is the name of a province in Iran. Atrius is mentioned in Greek Mythology as the grandson of Perseus. Atri's connection with astronomy proves the neighbourhood of the Sumerians. There is resemblance between Susā and Sasa Atreya etc.

(107) As mentioned above, *ṛbīsa* is rightly regarded as a word of non-Aryan origin. This fact would thus seem to support the hypothesis suggested here.

(108) The basic element in the evolutionary mythology relating to the Aśvins must have been essentially human-historical. The Aśvins must have originally been human heroes who had distinguished themselves by the miraculous succour which they gave to their fellowmen who found themselves in difficulties. Later on, however, their character came to be institutionalised, as it were, and history came to be transformed into mythology by the superimposition on it of certain naturalistic myths and of the Central Asiatic myths pertaining to the Mother-goddess and her two young cavalier attendants.

have been a very popular leader and a zealous missionary. This is amply borne out by the fact that he is referred to as Pāñcajanya.[109]

In the second legend to be considered here, also, the Aśvins and Atri figure together. That legend pertains to Saptavadhri and is stated in detail in V. 78. In the first three stanzas of that hymn, there is an invocation to the Aśvins who are entreated to come like swans to a lake.[110] In the fourth stanza the poet reminds the Aśvins as to how they saved Atri from the *ṛbīsa*. In the fifth and the sixth stanzas the seer Saptavadhri himself seems to implore the Aśvins to take him out of the wooden box (*vanaspati*). The last three stanzas, however, seem to have no connection with the earlier part of the hymn. Sāyaṇa characterises the last part as *garbhasrāviṇyupaniṣat*. It appears to have been used as a charm for safe delivery.

The question now is whether Saptavadhri mentioned in stanzas 5. 6. of V.78 is identical with Atri. **Oldenberg**[111] points out that the whole *sūkta*, particularly the portion from the fifth stanza onwards, is a later addition to the original *ṚV–saṁhitā*. **Geldner**[112] divides the *sūkta* into three parts. The first three stanzas, according to him, are an invocation to the Aśvins. In stanzas 4–6 two rescues by the Aśvins are referred to, namely, one of Atri from the *ṛbīsa* and the other of Spatavadhri from the tree. The concluding stanzas, according to that scholar, constitute a magical formula for easy birth.

While commenting on V. 78. 5–6,[113] Sāyaṇa gives an interesting legend about Saptavadhri. Here he tells us that the relatives of Saptavadhri shut him up in a wooden box but the Aśvins used to release him everyday. The *ṛṣi* used to return to the box after enjoying with his wife. From this reference, made by Sāyaṇa, it can easily be seen that the legend of Saptavadhri is narrated along with other miraculous deeds in order to praise the Aśvins. **Bounack**[114] thinks that the rescue of the poet's ancestor, Atri, is referred to here. **Geldner**[115] also accepts this view wholly.

From the commentary of Sāyaṇa it would appear that he admits that the hymn can be clearly divided into three parts, and that all the three parts are

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(109) Cf. *ṚV* I.117.3. The same epithet is also applied to Indra (I.100.2, V.32.11) and to Agni (IX.66.20) and to the wealth (VII.72.5, 73.5). **Dandekar,** " The cultural background of the Veda ", *the University of Ceylon Review*, XI, Nos.3–4, pp.10–11. points out that the term, *pañca janāḥ*, must have been of a very general import. In the *saṁhitā* period the Vedic Indians must have grown both in political and social spheres. Their original tribal settlements assumed, in course of time, the form of territorial states and monarchical knigdoms. Prominent among these latter were the kingdoms of the five tribal leaders—Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa, and Yadu. The political prestige of these five kingdoms indeed became so great that the entire Vedic Indian community—as against the original inhabitants of Saptasindhu—came to be characterised as *pañca janāḥ*—the five peoples — that is to say, the peoples coming under the political domination of the abovementioned five States. Sāyaṇa interprets the phrase to mean, ' one who acts for the welfare of five tribes '.

(110) *ṚV* V.78.1–3.

(111) *Noten*, I, p. 364.

(112) *Geldner, Der Ṛigveda*, II, pp. 82 ff.

(113) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II p. 971.

(114) *ZDMG*, 50, pp. 285 ff.

(115) *Kommentar*, p. 87.

composed by Saptavadhri himself, but on different occasions and for different purposes. Stanzas, 4–5, for instance, were composed by the poet for his own release from a wooden box, while, the next three stanzas were composed by the author, perhaps, for the safe delivery of his own wife.[116] **Velankar**[117] is inclined to see a kind of homogeneity in the entire hymn. According to him, stanzas 1–3 constitute poet Saptavadhri's request to the Aśvins to come to the Soma-sacrifice. In stanzas 4–6, the poet recounts the help which he received from them, comparing himself, in this respect, with his wife Vadhrimatī who had received similar help from them at the time of the difficult delivery. Stanzas 7–8[118] are Aśvins' words of command to the *mūḍha garbha* of Vadhrimatī.

As regards the identity of Atri with Sapatavadhri, **Velankar** entirely agrees with **Bounack**[119] and **Geldner.** According to him, Saptavadhri himself was the famous Atri, who was saved by the Aśvins from the *ṛbīsa* where he was tormented by heat and darkness. **Keith**[120] also identifies him with Atri.

A closer examination of the various passages relating, directly or indirectly, to this legend would, however, seem to show that Atri is not the same as Saptavadhri. In VIII. 73. 9, for instance, only Saptavadhri is mentioned, while Atri is referred to separately from him in the same *sūkta* in stanzas 7–8. Similarly in X. 39. 9, the words, Atri and Saptavadhri, occur in such a manner as to show that they were two different proteges of the Aśvins. In *khilas* I. 5. 9–10, Saptavadhri is described by the phrases, *vṛkṣā samiddham* and *dṛṇi baddhaḥ*. Here he clearly appears to be other than Atri. Moreover, Vadhri and Atri are mentioned as the proteges of the Aśvins in two separate stanzas in the *khila* I.12.2 and I. 12. 6. Here, though Vadhri is said to have been taken out of a *ṛbīsa* and not out of a *vanaspati*, still Vadhri appears to denote Saptavadhri. In the *AV*[121] Atri and Saptavadhri are mentioned separately as the proteges of the Aśvins. It is also significant that in the same hymn of the *AV*, there is a separate mention of Atri.[122] Thus, Saptavadhri may be said to have been a member of the Atri

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(116) **Oldenberg,** *Noten*, I, p.335, as we have seen above, assumes the unity of the hymn and considers it to be a charm for safe-delivery which is introduced by a Soma-hymn consisting of the first four stanzas. The view is probably based on the following statement in the *Ṛgvidhāna*—

विजिहीष्व वनस्पते तदिदं च्यावनं स्मृतम् ।
यं च्यावयितुकामः स्याच्च्यावयेत्तमिदं जपन् ॥

(117) " *The story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī* ", *Kane Comm. Vol.*, pp. 547 ff.

(118) **Geldner,** *Der Ṛgveda, Glossar*, 190 interprets these stanzas to have been a kind of blessing and **Bounack,** ZDMG, 50.268, says that it is 'a prayer'. **Velankar,** *op. cit.*, further suggests that the imperative form in the eighth stanza shows that the stanzas are an appeal to the *garbha* alone and not to the Aśvins.

(119) ZDMG, 50, 266 ff. **Bounack,** here, regards Atri and Saptavadhri to be the same. In *khila*, I.12.2, Vadhri stands for Saptavadhri and Vadhri also stands for Atri.

(120) *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p.227 : " With Atri Saptavadhri seems to be identical : he is only named in immediate juxtaposition with Atri and the same rescue seems to have been performed for him as for Atri".

(121) *AV* 4.29.4.

(122) *AV* 4.29.3.

family but not Atri himself. The *Anukramaṇī*,[123] it may be noted, refers to Saptavadhri as Ātreya and not as Atri.

What could be the meaning of the word, Saptavadhri ? **Bounack** tries to explain it as 'one who is bound with seven straps' but this interpretation is not corroborated by the context. The *Bṛhaddevatā*[124] explains it as 'seven times weak', but this explanation also seems to be an afterthought. Vadhrimatī is said to have been helped by the Aśvins for a safe delivery.[125] The word, *vadhri*, according to **Velankar,** seems to have been used in a figurative sense, namely, 'forceless'. His suggestion that the name denotes 'a man who had suffered a number of reverses of fortune' is certainly more acceptable than the other interpretations.

Various attempts have been made to determine the date of Atri. It is, for instance, suggested that the Svarbhānu-legend owes its origin to Atri's skill in anticipating the occurrence and duration of a solar eclipse. **Sengupta** has accordingly suggested 4000 B. C. as the probable date of the Atri–family.[126] **Altekar,**[127] on the other hand, adduces the evidence of the *Purāṇas*, where Atri is mentioned as the son–in–law of king Ṛceyu of the Paurava dynasty, who flourished about five generations later than Gṛtsamada. The date of Gṛtsamada is tentatively fixed at 2700 B. C. So Atri must have flourished, according to **Altekar**, in about 2600 B. C. The early hymns of the fifth *maṇḍala* are thus assumed to have been composed between 2600 B. C. and 2400 B. C.

In V. 61. 17–19, we get references to Śyāvāśva, the son of Arcanānas, who must have been the priest of king Rathavīti Dārbhya. From Sāyaṇa's preface to his commentary on that hymn, we learn that Rathavīti gave his daughter, along with dowry, to Śyāvāśva, on his attainment of *ṛṣī*-hood. Sāyaṇa also tells us that king Purumīḷha, king Taranta, and his queen Śaśīyasī also gave Śyāvāśva abundant wealth. It can thus be seen that all these personalities are contemporaneous with Arcanānas Ātreya, and his son Śyāvāśva. Now Śyāvāśva mentions Trasadasyu at two places in the eighth *maṇḍala*.[128] All this would fix the position of the father and the son who must have flourished soon after Trasadasyu. In **Pargiter's** chronological table of *ṛṣis*,[129] Arcanānas Ātreya is shown to be a contemporary of Vadhryaśva and Divodāsa, while Śyāvāśva and Andhīgu are said to be contemporaries of Vasiṣṭha (Daśaratha's priest), Parucchepa Daivodāsi and Pratardana Daivodāsi. This leads us to the conclusion that the Atris must have flourished between 4000 B. C. and 2250 B. C. One cannot, however, afford to be too dogmatic about these dates.

We may now turn to the consideration of the special contributions of the Atris in the field of Vedic religion and ritual. Atri is said to have been referred

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(123) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, on V.78.1, p. 969.

(124) *BD*, V.80–86.

(125) Cf. *ṚV* I.116.13, I.117.24, VI.62.7, and X.39.7.

(126) See foot-note 106.

(127) See foot-note 89.

128) *ṚV*, VIII.36.7; 37.7.

(129) **Pargiter**, *AIHT*, pp.191–92.

to as the pioneer of the *Catūrātra Yāga.*[130] It seems that when the sacrifices were being performed collectively, some individual seers, who, presumably officiated as *adhvaryus*, invented some new *yāgas.*[131] These *yāgas*, then, came to be known after those seers. The ritualistic purpose of the *catūrātra yāga* was to secure *brahmavarcas*, which was useful to increase progeny. In this *yāga*, the *Soma*–juice was to be offered as oblation for four days continuously. On each day, at the three *savanas*, different number of *stomas* were to be sung for securing respectively, *tejas*, *indriyadārḍhya*, *brahmavarcas* and *annādyatva.* Atri performed this *yāga* and secured the desired fruit. As the *yāga* became popular because of Atri, it came to be known as *Ātreya Catūrātra Yāga.*

Significant in this connection is also the fact that, in the *ŚB* and *Āpastamba,*[132] it is enjoined that gold must be given to a priest of the Atri-family as sacrificial fee, with a view to saving the sacrifice from the evil consequences the solar eclipse. Atri, as we have seen, freed the sun from the harassment of Svarbhānu. This may, therefore, explain why an Ātreya was chosen for being granted gold as the sacrificial fee. Stray references to the part played by the Atris in ritual can be found also in the *Brāhmaṇa*–texts and the *sūtra*–literature. Udamaya, the son of Atri, for instance, is mentioned as the priest at king Aṅga's[133] inauguration of the *Aindra Mahābhiṣeka.* The *Śāñkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[134] mentions a *Sāma*, which has come to be ascribed to Śyāvāśva and hence called the *Śyāvāśva Sāma*, which is the third to be recited at the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[135]

The Atris seem to have made a significant contribution to the worship of Agni, which had come into disrepute, possibly at the hands of the worshippers of the other deities or the non-sacrificers. In V.2.6, for instance, the hymns of Atri are said to have released Agni and laid him down, indicationg Atri's service to this worship. The stanza appears to refer to some contention between the descendants of Atri and some other priestly family regarding the worship of Agni. 'The godless mortal men' referred to here, seem to denote the non-sacrificing original inhabitants of India. The prayers of Atri are said to have saved Agni, who was concealed, and the slanderers are cursed. The partiality of Atri for the Agni-worship is further suggested by his being referred to as the standared of comparison in connection with that worship.[136] In V.7.8, the keen and bright Agni is referred to as having made himself manifest to the ancient sage Atri. The fact that the family of Atri has 28 Agni–hymns to their credit would further seem to indicate that family's

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(130) *TS* 7.1.8.

(131) The *yāgas* or the *kratus* are bigger than *Agniṣṭomas* and smaller than the *satras.* They are of two types : *ahīna* and *vyūḍha.*

(132) *Āpastamba* ŚS, 13.6.12 : अथवा त्रिविधा ह्यात्रेयाः यदाह आपस्तम्बः, आत्रेयाय प्रथमाय हिरण्यं ददाति द्वितीयाय तृतीयाय वा ।

(133) This Aṅga is Aṅga Vairocana. Cf. *AB* 8.22.

(134) *Śāñkhāyana ŚS* 16.11.7–9.

(135) Viśvavārā's hymn, V.28, is included, in the *Sāmidhānī* stanzas which are to be recited in kindling of the sacred fire, in the new and full-moon sacrifices.

(136) *ṚV* V.4.9.

special devotion to the worship of Agni. This worship is said to have led them to prosperity.[137]

The Atris seem to have actively promoted the Soma-ritual as pointed out in V.40.8 where *Brahman* Atri, we are told, set the press-stones ansd served the gods with praise and adoration and thus established in the heaven, the eye of Sūrya, having first caused Svarbhānu's magic arts to vanish, Indeed, in this respect they are said to be incomparable.[138]

Among other gods whom the Atris seem to have specially glorified may be mentioned the Maruts, the Aśvins and Mitrā-varuṇā to whom they have addressed ten, eleven and six hymns respectively.

It is possible to collect together stray references, occurring in the *ṚV*, to the various entreaties made by the Atris and thus see what their general outlook on life was. The frequent request of the Atris to various gods is that they may dwell-in free untroubled bliss (*urau devā anibādhe syāma*).[139] The Atris, in general, seem to cherish a desire for the acquisition of wealth from the gods. Atri, for instance, requests Indra to offer him wealth with two hands (ubhayāhasti),[140] while Śyāvāśva makes entreaties for being granted never-vanishing wealth in the following words : Give us wealth which never vanishes like *tiṣya* in the sky.[141] The attitude of the Vedic *ṛṣis* towards other's wealth is well reflected in Urucakri Ātreya's following request to the Maruts : "O miracle-performers, let us not feed on other's food, nay, not even our sons, relatives and descendants."[142] A peculiar request of the Atris to the gods is for *svarājya*. In V.66.6,[143] for instance, Rātahavya Ātreya implores Mitrāvaruṇau for the same. The word, *svarājya*, here, means the domain of Mitrāvaruṇau and, therefore, perhaps, denotes a kind of life in entire consonance with the cosmic and moral law. On a close scrutiny of the hymns of the Atri-*maṇḍala*, we find that there are no hymns in this *maṇḍala* which can be said to contain any metaphysical or cosmogonical thoughts.[144]

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(137) *ṚV* V.16.5.

(138) Cf. *ṚV* V.40.9 : अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन्नह्य१न्ये अशक्नुवन्

In general, it can be said that the Atris seem to be strong advocates of Soma-worship because they seem to be comparatively more prolific in its praise. Cf. *ṚV* V.43.3 and V.37.1, 4, 5.

(139) *ṚV* V.42.17.

(140) *ṚV* V.39.1.

(141) *ṚV* V.54.13.

(142) *ṚV* V.71.4.

(143) *ṚV* V.66.6 : व्यचिष्ठे बहुपाय्ये यतेमहि स्वराज्ये ।

Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, p. where he says :

व्यचिष्ठे अत्यन्तविस्तृते बहुपाय्ये बहुभिर्गन्तव्ये बहुभिः रक्षितव्ये वा
स्वराज्ये स्वराट्त्वाय एवंविधराज्यार्थं यतेमहि गच्छेम ।

Cf. also, in this connection, *ṚV.* V.82.2.

(144) In the later literature, however, we find that two *smṛtis* have been assigned to the authorship of Atri namely the *Atri-saṁhitā*, the *Atri-smṛti*, the *Laghwatri-smṛti* and the *Bṛhadātreyasmṛti*. The *Matsyapurāṇa* mentions a book on *Vāstuśāstra* ascribed to Atri.

Turning now to the literary aspect of the compositions of the Atris we find that the Atris are no mean poets and that many of the hymns in the fifth *maṇḍala* make a very impressive reading. The principle literary contribution of the Atris is in the form of what may be called lyrics of Nature. In these, the Atris have dealt with the two aspects of nature, namely, the *saumya* (i.e. the serene) and the *ghora* (i. e. the terrible or awe-inspiring). The Uṣas-hymns[145] for instance, belong to the former type. These are, indeed, the pearls of lyric poetry which appeal to us as greatly through their fine comprehension of the beauties of Nature, as through their flowery language. The Vedic *ṛṣi*-poets seem to vie with eachother, as it were, in magnificent metaphors which are intended to depict the splendour of the rising Uṣas. Gleaming, she approaches like a maiden who had just taken her bath and is proud of her beauty.[146] Clothed in light the maiden appears in the east and unveils her charms like a beautiful woman.[147] She is always described as blithe and hilarious. The imagery by means of which her person is brought out in full relief, the epithets characterising her personality, namely, *sujāte, aśvasūnṛte, divo duhitā,*[148] her activities for the benefit of men,[149] all these make her appear as a figure that would satisfy the artistic as well as the realistic sense of the warring but nature-admiring Aryans. The frequent references to her effulgence in pearless beauty, to her royal splendour, to her unfailing regularity,[150] to her unhindered progress, and to her pleasant physical effects, convince one that the Vedic poet approaches the ideal of beauty through these hymns. In contrast to the hymns devoted to other divinities, what strikes us particularly about the Uṣas-hymns is that the brightness of her form has not been obscured by priestly speculations, nor has the imagery, as a rule, been marred by references to sacrifice.

The Parjanya-*sūkta*, [151] on the other hand, exemplifies very well Atris' impressive treatment of the *ghora* aspect of nature. In this *sūkta*, the Parjanya is described as 'a loud-roaring bull' (*kanikradat vṛṣabhaḥ*).[152] The dreadful aspect of rain is described graphically in this *sūkta*: " He smites the trees apart and slays the demons. All life fears him who wields the mighty weapon. From him even the strongest and the guiltless fly away when the thundering Parjanya smites the wicked ".[153] Parjanya is likened, in this *sūkta*, to a charioteer whipping his colud-horses.[154] The poet, here, delineates a realistic picture of the excited atmosphere associated with rain. In the fourth stanza of this hymn the poet gives a vivid description of rain: "The winds burst forth, the lightning flashes come down, the plants shoot up, the realm of light is streaming and food springs abundant for all living creatures". The words used in the *sūkta* are often onomotopoetic[155] and they help to create before our mind's eye a picture of the advent of rain in which the whole creation exults.[156]

The Marut-hymns of Śyāvāśva[157] are also graphic and forceful. The coursers of the Maruts are never weary while speeding on the way and they reach the

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(145) *ṚV* V.79–80.
(146) *ṚV* V.80.5.
(147) *ṚV* V.80.6.
(151) *ṚV* V.83.
(152) *ṚV* V.83.1.
(153) *ṚV* V.83.2.
(154) *ṚV* V.83.3.
(148) *ṚV* V.79.1–2.
(149) *ṚV* V.80.6.
(150) *ṚV* V.80.4.
(155) Cf. especially *ṚV* V.83.5 and 7.
(156) *ṚV* V.83.9.
(157) *ṚV* V.52–61.

end of the path rapidly.[158] There is a vivid description of the Maruts with their ornaments and weapons and the whole description[159] is put in such a manner that it can be called a good example of the figure of speech, *Yathāsaṁkhya*. In the fifty-ninth *sūkta* of this *maṇḍala* there is a fine description of the earth which trembles through the fear of the Maruts and the earth is likened with a ship which is tossed up and down by the waves.[160]

We come across some beautiful similes in the compositions of the Atris. In the ninth *sūkta*, for instance, Gaya Ātreya likens the fire with the new-born babe of the mother Araṇī.[161] "My heart quakes like a rolling wheel for fear of penury" says Prabhūvasu. Śyāvāśva cherishes a desire for wealth which never vanishes like *Tiṣya*[163] from the sky. The literary style of Apālā who is traditionally said to be the daughter of Atri, as seen in VIII. 91, is simple and direct. The repetition of the word *kuvid* at the beginning of each *pāda* in that hymn is very effective and creates a pathetic appeal.[164] Viśvavārā is the author of V.28 in which she praises Agni for marital happiness and security of life.[165] The hymn is peculiarly couched in four different metres and is one of the simplest and the easiest that we find in the *ṚV.*

Index to the authors of the fifth *maṇḍala* and the Ātreyas in the other *maṇḍalas* according to the *Anukramaṇī*.

The name of the *ṛṣi*	Sūkta–composition	Name mentioned in	Remark
1	2	3	4
(1) Budha and Gaviṣṭhira	V. 1	V.12.1.	Cf. X. 150 where Gaviṣṭhira and Atri are mentioned.
(2) Kumāra or Vṛṣa or both	V. 2	...	Kumāra is an Atreya.
(3) Vasuśruta	V.3– 6	...	He is an Ātreya.
(4) Iṣa	V.7– 8	...	He mentions Atri in V.7.10.
(5) Gaya	V.9–10, V.63–64	... ...	He is an Ātreya and the son of Pluti.
(6) Sutambhara	V.11–14	V.44.13	His name is mentioned by Avatsāra.

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(158) *ṚV* V.54.10.

(159) *ṚV* V.54.11.

(160) *ṚV* V.59.2.

(161) *ṚV* V.9.3.

(162) *ṚV* V.36.3.

(163) *ṚV* V.54.13. *Tiṣya* is an asterism regarded as being shaped like an arrow and containing three stars. It seems to have been also referred to in X.64.8. It is identical with the Avestan Tistrya. Later it is the name of a lunar mansion. It includes a somewhat faint group in the body of the crab (*Karka*). The singular is rather curious, as primarily one star would seem to have be meant and none of the group is at all prominent.

(164) *ṚV* VIII.91.4.

(165) *ṚV* V.28.3.

The Name of the *ṛṣi*	Sūkta composition	Name mentioned in	Remark
1	2	3	4
(7) Dharuṇa	V.15	V.15.5	He is said to be an Āṅgirasa.
(8) Pūru	V. 16–17	V. 17.1	He is an Ātreya.
(9) Dvita Mṛktavāhasa	V.18,IX.103	...	He is calles Āptya and an Ātreya.
(10) Vavri	V. 19	—	—
(11) Prayasvat	V. 20	—	—
(12) Sasa	V. 21	—	He is an Ātreya.
(13) Viśvasāman	V. 22	V. 22·1	He mentions Atri's name.
(14) Dyumna	V. 23	—	—
(15) Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, Viprabandhu	V. 24 X.60	X. 60·10 Subandhu	They are the sons of Gopāyana and Agastyasvasā. They were the priests of king Asamāti.
(16) Vasūyu (two or many)	V. 25·26	—	They are Ātreyas and are said to be joint authors.
(17) Tryaruṇa, Trasadasyu, Aśvamedha or Atri	V. 27	—	Tryaruṇa is said to be the son of Trivṛṣṇa, Trasadasyu of Purukutsa and Aśvamedha of Bharata.
(18) Viśvavārā	V. 28	—	She is an Ātreyī.
(19) Gaurivīti	V. 29	—	He is the son of Śakti.
(20) Babhru	V. 30	—	He is an Ātreya. Ruśamas are mentioned by him.
(21) Avasyu	V. 31	—	Indra's protection to Kutsa. The river Sudughā is mentioned.
(22) Gātu	V. 32	—	He is an Ātreya.
(23) Saṁvaraṇa	V. 33–34	—	He is the son of Prajāpati. The patrons Trasadasyu, Marutāśva, Cyavatāna, Dhvanya, Agniveśa and Śatri are mentioned.
(24) Prabhūvasu	V. 35–36	—	He is an Āṅgirasa.
(25) Atri	V. 37–43 76–77	—	According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* he is the son of Saṁkhya.
(26) Avatsāra, Sadāpṛṇa, Sutaṁbhara etc.	V. 44	—	—

The Name of the *ṛṣi*	Sūkta-composition	Name mentioned in	Remark
1	2	3	4
(27) Sadāpṛṇa	V. 45	—	He is an Ātreya
(28) Pratikṣatra	V. 46	—	"
(29) Pratiratha	V. 47	—	"
(30) Pratibhānu	V. 48	—	"
(31) Pratiprabha	V. 49	—	"
(32) Svasti	V. 50–51	—	"
(33) Śyāvāśva	V. 52–61, 81–82, VIII·35–38	—	He is the son of Arcanānas.
(34) Śrutavid	V. 62	—	He is an Ātreya.
(35) Arcanānas	V. 63–64	V. 63	He is the son of Atri.
(36) Rātahavya	V. 65–66	V. 65·3	He is an Ātreya.
(37) Yajata	V. 67–68	V. 44·10–11	"
(38) Urucakri	V. 69–70	—	"
(39) Bāhuvṛkta	V. 71–72 V. 44·11	V. 44·11	He mentions Atri in V. 72–1.
(40) Paura	V. 73–74	V. 74·4	He mentions Atri in V. 73·6–7.
(41) Avasyu	V. 75	V. 75·8	—
(42) Saptavadhri	V. 78 VIII. 62	V. 78·5–6 VIII. 62·9 X. 39.9	Atri generally comes in juxtaposition to Saptavadhri and scholars identify him with Atri. He, however, appears to be a member of the Atri family.
(43) Satyaśravas	V. 79–80	V. 79·1–3	He is referred to as Vāyya but the *Anukramaṇī* does not mention him as the son of Vayya.
(44) Atri Bhauma	V. 83–86	—	—
(45) Evayāmarut	V. 87	—	He is an Ātreya.
(46) Apālā	VIII. 80	VIII. 80·7	She is said to be Atri's daughter.
(47) Gopavana	VIII. 63	VIII. 63·11	He is an Ātreya.
(48) Trita	I. 105 VIII. 47 IX. 102 X. 1–7	—	He is called Āptya.
(49) Andhīgu	IX. 101	—	Son of Śyāvāśva.
(50) Viśvakarman	X. 81–82	X. 81·1 X. 82·4	He is the son of Bhuvana
(51) Bhuvana and Sādhana	X. 157	—	They are called Āptya.

CHAPTER V

BHARADVĀJA AND THE BHARADVĀJAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

Bharadvāja is credited by tradition with the authorship of the sixth *maṇḍala*. Sāyaṇa,[1] for instance, follows the lead of the *Anukramaṇī* and says that the seer of the *maṇḍala* is Bharadvāja. The *Ārṣānukramaṇī*[2] of Śaunaka also corroborates this tradition. The *BD*[3] adds that Bharadvāja, who was the son of Bṛhaspati and the grandson of Aṅgiras, is the author of this *maṇḍala*.

On an examination of the traditional ascription of authorship of the different *maṇḍalas* to different *ṛṣis*, it appears that Bharadvāja is a seer of a majority of hymns in the sixth *maṇḍala* while a few hymns in that *maṇḍala* are composed by six seers having the patronymic 'Bhāradvāja'[4]. At one place, Bharadvāja seems to have been referred to as *Vājineya*[5] and Sāyaṇa interprets the word to mean 'the son of Vājini'.

It should be noted at the outset that the name Bharadvāja itself occurs both in singular and in plural in the sixth *maṇḍala*. That name occurs also in other *maṇḍalas*. It would, therefore, be helpful critically to study all the Ṛgvedic passages containing the word Bharadvāja. These passages may be tabulated as follows :

(1) Bharadvājaḥ	X·181·2
(2) Bharadvājāḥ	VI·25·9, 50·15
(3) Bharadvājam	I·112·13, X·150·5
(4) Bharadvājān	VI·47·25
(5) Bharadvājāya	I·116·18, VI·15·3, 16·5, 16·33, 31·4, 48·13, 63·10
(6) Bharadvāje	VI·17·14; 48·7
(7) Bharadvājeṣu	I·59·7, VI·10·6, 23·10, 35·4
(8) Bharadvājavat	VI·65·6

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[1] *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p.2, ‘त्वं ह्यग्ने सप्तोनेति बार्हस्पत्यो भरद्वाजः षष्ठं मण्डलमपश्यत् इत्यनुक्रान्तत्वात् मण्डलद्रष्टा स एव भरद्वाज ऋषिः ।’

[2] Published with the *BD* by **Rajendralal Mitra** in Bibliotheca Indica. On page 253, the author Śaunaka says,

> “त्वं ह्यग्न इत्युपक्रम्य षष्ठाख्यं मण्डलं प्रति ।
> बार्हस्पत्यो भरद्वाज ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ।। ”

[3] *BD* V.102–103. Here Bṛhaspati is said to be the son of Aṅgiras. Bṛhaspati's son is called Bharadvāja who is also known as Vidathī. He was also a preceptor of the Maruts and was the grandson of Aṅgiras.

[4] Śunahotra (33–34), Nara (35–36), Suhotra (31–32), Garga (47), Ṛjiśvan (49–52), Pāyu (75).

[5] ṚV VI.26.2. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III.p.102 says,

> “ वाजिनेयः वाजिन्याः पुत्रो भरद्वाजः ”

Now these passages have to be analysed with a view to finding out whether they refer to Bharadvāja

(1) as the progenitor of the family or the eponymous sage or
(2) to a member of the Bharadvāja family,
(3) to the family as a whole, or,
(4) is used merely as an epithet.

Certain criteria which would be helpful in such a scrutiny have already been indicated.[6] For instance, it has been pointed out that, while determining the passages where the progenitor is referred to, it should be normally seen whether the word is used in singular, whether the person denoted is associated with any god as his special protege, whether he is referred to as an *Upamāna.* On an analysis of the abovementioned passages on the basis of these criteria it will be found that some of them clearly refer to the progenitor of the family.

It becomes clear from the table given above that most of the references to Bharadvāja occur in the sixth *maṇḍala* and only a few in the first *maṇḍala* and the tenth *maṇḍala.* The word, *bharadvājam,* which occurs in I·112·13 and X·150·5, appears to refer to the progenitor of the family. In I·112·13, he is referred to as the protege of the Aśvins, while, in X·150·5. he is referred to along with other seers like Atri, Gaviṣṭhira, Kaṇva and Trasadasyu, all of whom are mentioned as the proteges of Agni. The word *bharadvājaḥ* occurring at X·181·2 also seems to refer to the progenitor of the family. There is, in that passage, a mention of Bharadvāja's having received the *bṛhatsāma*[7] from Dhātā, Savitā and Viṣṇu.[8] The expression *bharadvājavat*[9] is used by a seer who is himself referred to as Bharadvāja. It is clear, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa[10] also, that the composer who appears to be a member of the Bharadvāja-family here refers to the progenitor as an *upamāna.*[11] The word *bharadvāje* in VI·170·14, the traditional author of which is Bharadvāja himself, is clearly a reference to the progenitor. The word *bharadvājāya* occurs at many places and at all these places the reference seems to be to the progenitor. In VI·16·5 and VI·31·4, for instance, he is mentioned along with Divodāsa, his patron, as having been blessed by Indra. In VI·48·5, Śaṁyu, Bharadvāja's brother, refers to him. In VI·63·10, he is mentioned along with king Purupantha, probably his patron. In VI·16·33, Bharadvāja refers to himself as *bharadvājāya.* Sāyaṇa,[12] however, takes the word as an adjective and interprets as 'one who has

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(6) See : the introduction.

(7) Cf. *bṛhatsāma tathā sāmnām BG* 10.35, where the *bṛhatsāma* is said to be the best of all *Sāmans.* The *bṛhatsāma* = ṚV VI.46.1,2 = Sāmaveda II.2.1.12.

(8) धा॒तुर्द्युता॑नात्सवि॒तुश्च॒ विष्णो॑र्भरद्वाजो बृ॒हदा च॑क्रे अग्नेः । X.181.2.

(9) *ṚV* VI.65.6.

(10) ṚV VSM, Vol.III, p.232.

(11) Cf. also the word *bharadvāje* in VI.48.7 where the poet Śaṁyu who is the son of Bṛhaspati i. e. the brother of Bharadvāja seems to refer to his brother. Sāyaṇa says (VSM, Vol.III, p.171) भरद्वाजे अस्मद्भ्रातरि.

(12) Sāyaṇa, VSM.III, p.44 (VI.15.3) : भरद्वाजाय संभृतहविर्लक्षणान्नाय वीतहव्याय वीतं गमितं हव्यं हविर्येन तादृशाय भरद्वाजायेति वां योज्यम् ।

prepared food for oblation'. But his hesitation and the optional meaning given by him leave no doubt that the passage in question also, refers in all probability to the progenitor.

The word occurs in plural as *bharadvājāḥ*, *bharadvājān*, *bharadvājeṣu* where it seems to refer to the members of the family. *Ṛṣi* Ṛjiśvan, for instance, refers to the Bharadvājas as '*mama napātaḥ*'[13]. At another place[14] they are said to have been honoured by Sārñjaya Prastoka, who, seems to have been their patron. In VI·25·9, the poet Bharadvāja expresses a desire for the acquisition of wealth from Indra, as a representative of the Bharadvāja-family. In explaining the word *bharadvājeṣu* in I·59·7, Sāyaṇa[15] gives an alternative explanation. Indra is implored, at another place,[16] to make the prayer of the Bharadvājas perfect. Indra is described as being praised and pleased by the hymns of the Bharadvājas[17] and is further requested[18] to give cows, horses and food to the Bharadvājas. It is also significant that the *ṛṣi* Bharadvāja mentions three strata of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*[19] namely, *Purājāḥ* or *Pratnāsaḥ*, *madhyamāsaḥ* and *nūtanāsaḥ* while the poet styles himself as *avama*.

As has been noted in the preceding chapters, the family-hymn in a *maṇḍala*[20] usually records an unusual exploit of the early ancestor or rather the Founder of the Family, an exploit which is normally performed with the help of Indra and which is regarded as bringing credit and glory to the whole family. From this point of view, the hymn VI·47 can be legitimately called the family-hymn of the Bharadvājas. It seems to have been intended to glorify the family as a whole through a glowing description of some priestly feat accomplished by an early ancestor of the family. The hymn is traditionally ascribed to Garga, who is said to be the son of Bharadvāja.[21] The first five stanzas of this hymn contain a combined praise of Soma and Indra. The next fourteen stanzas (6–19) contain the praise of Indra and the poet longs to be always in his favour. The twentieth stanza contains an imploration to gods, to *bhūmi*, to Bṛhaspati and to Indra by Garga who seems to have lost his way in the forest. In the twentyfirst stanza Indra is described as killing the *Dāsas*, like Varcin and Śambara in Udavraja. The next four stanzas (22–25) are historically important. They contain a *dānastuti* of Prastoka Sārñjaya[21a]. The *Śāṅkhāyana śrauta sūtra*,[22]

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(13) *ṚV* VI.50.15 Sāyaṇa, VSM, III, p.189, says : मम ऋजिश्वनः नपातः पुत्राः भरद्वाजाः भरद्वाजगोत्रजाः सुहोत्रादयः । This incidentally suggests the existence of three chronological strata in the Bharadvāja-hymns.

(14) *ṚV* VI.47.25.

(15) ṚV I.50.7. Sāyaṇa, VSM, I, p.408, says :

भरद्वाजेषु पुष्टिकरहविर्लक्षणान्नवत्सु यागेषु यद्वा एतत्संज्ञेषु ऋषिषु ।

(16) *ṚV* VI.10.6.

(17) *ṚV* VI.23.10.

(18) *ṚV* VI.35.4.

(19) *ṚV* VI.21.5.

(20) Cf. 11.12, III.53, V.40.

(21) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p.158.

(21a) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p.166. Here Sāyaṇa remarks that Prastoka Sārñjaya is also called Divodāsa and Aśvatha. Cf. also **Ludwig** *Translation of the ṚV* 3.158.

(22) *ŚŚS* XVI.11.11.

also mentions that Bharadvāja obtained gifts from Prastoka Sārñjaya. It is also mentioned in that *sūtra*, that this patron of the Bharadvājas, himself got abundant wealth from his enemy Śambara,[23] who was killed by Indra. In the twentythird stanza the poet gives an account of the wealth he received from Divodāsa, namely, ten horses, ten valuable garments, ten nuggets of gold etc. The gifts of Aśvatha are mentioned in the next stanza[24] and the twentyfourth stanza states that Sārñajaya honoured the Bharadvājas with the gifts of wealth. The next three stanzas of this hymn (VI·47) are in praise of the chariot while the last three i. e. (29–31) eulogise the '*dundubhiḥ*' or the war-drum and an invocation of blessings from Indra for the warriors.

The following significant points regarding the family thus emerge from the analysis of IV, 47. The family-hymn thus suggests to us that the Bharadvājas enjoyed a rich patronage of Prastoka Sārñjaya, Divodāsa Atithigva and others in recognition of their capacity as poets and singers. Further we know that Śambara was the enemy of Prastoka. The praise of *Dundubhi* in the *sūkta* suggests a significant change in the position of the Bharadvājas, namely from the position of the priest of a pastoral tribe to the position of the priest of a warrior tribe.

What, it may now be asked, were the relations between Divodāsa and the Bharadvājas ? There are several passages in the *ṚV*[25] in which Divodāsa Atithigva seems to be closely associated with the family of the Bharadvājas. In a passage from the first *maṇḍala* (I·112·13–14), both Bharadvāja and Divodāsa are mentioned side by side as the proteges of Aśvins. Another passage (I·116·18) mentions them in juxtaposition as being protected by the Aśvins. In the sixth *maṇḍala*, both of them are mentioned in a hymn in praise of Agni (VI·16·5).[26] Another clear reference in this *maṇḍala*, occurs in the family-hymn (VI·47·25) where Bharadvāja is mentioned as receiving wealth from Divodāsa Atithigva.

The *PH*[27] clearly mentions that Bharadvāja was the priest of Divodāsa. Bharadvāja's connection with the house of Divodāsa becomes clear also from the statement of the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*[28] that Bharadvāja gave Pratardana the kingdom. Now in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*[29] it is said that Pratardana Daivodāsi attained Indra's world on account of his death in battle. **Geldner,**[30] therefore,

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(23) Śambara was apparently a chief of a mountain-people (as is suggested in ṚV I.130.7 II.12.11; VI.26.5; VII.18.20) who were defeated by Divodāsa Atithigva repeatedly (cf. *ṚV* I.112.14, 116.18; 119.4; 130.7.10; II.19.6; IV 26.3; 30.20; VI.26.3.5; 43.1, 47.21–22 and IX.61.2)

(24) *ṚV*, VI.47.24. It is also mentioned here that the gifts were given also to Atharvas (*atharvabhyaḥ*)"and Sāyaṇa (VSM, II, p.167) interprets it as *atharvagotrebhyaḥ ṛṣibhyaḥ*...

(25) *ṚV* I.112.13–14; 116.18: VI.16.5; 31.4; 47.25 etc.

(26) Here the words '*sunvate*' and '*dāśuṣe*' each corresponding respectively to Divodāsa and Bharadvāja are interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *Somābhiṣavam kurvate* and *havīṁṣi dattavate* respectively. This seems to suggest that the former was the patron and the latter his priest.

(27) *PB*, XV.3.7. *Roth*, however, in *PW* s. v., identifies Bharadvāja with Divodāsa which seems to be far from probable.

(28) *KS* XXI.10. एतेन (अप्रतिरथनामकेन मन्त्रेण) ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनह्यन्नेति ततो वै स राष्ट्रमभवत् ।

(29) III.1.

(30) *Ved.stud.* 2.138.

regards him as Divodāsa's son. This conjecture of **Geldner** appears to be corroborated by the mention of Prātardani Kṣatraśrī[31] as one of the patrons of the Bharadvāja family.

The *MBh.*[32] also supports the hypothesis that Bharadvāja was the priest of Divodāsa. It is stated in the *MBh.* that Bharadvāja went from Vaiśālī to kāśī and became the priest of Divodāsa, who was the son of Sudeva. Later on, when the Haihayas defeated Divodāsa, Bharadvāja helped him by performing a sacrifice and giving him the prince, Pratardana who defeated the Haihayas. According to the *MBh.* (Anuśāsana 34) it was again due to Bharadvāja's help that Pratardana could defeat the Vītahavyas and the Ailas. It would thus be seen that the Bharadvājas were the priests of the royal family of Divodāsa during the reigns of Divodāsa, Pratardana, and Kṣatraśrī.

Now all this gives rise to an important question. There is, in the *Purāṇas*,[33] a mention of Divodāsa as the son of vadhryaśva and as the brother of Ahalyā. As we have seen above, Bharadvāja is mentioned as the priest of Atithigva Divodāsa. What is the relation between the Purāṇic Divodāsa and the famous Atithigva Divodāsa of the *ṚV*? A close scrutiny of the Ṛgvedic passages and its collation with Purāṇic data, would seem to show that the ṚV supports the *Purāṇas* in an admirable way. For instance, in the *ṚV*, [34] the goddess Sarasvatī is said to have given over Divodāsa to Vadhryaśva. Further, Bharadvāja, who refers to himself as Vājineya (i. e. the son of Vājini)[35] mentions that Indra killed Śambara and saved Divodāsa.[36] It has been already seen that Garga, who is the son of Bharadvāja is mentioned as receiving presents from prastoka Sārñjaya and from Atithigva Divodāsa, who won wealth from Śambara.[37] All this indicates the contemporaneity of Garga, Atithigava Divodāsa and Prastoka Sārñjaya. It further suggests that Prastoka, who is the son of Mudgala's second brother (Sṛñjaya), must have been an older contemporary only of Vadhryaśva's son Divodāsa. Now, according to the *Purāṇas*, Vadhryaśva is the son of Mudgala. It, therefore, necessarily follows that Vadhryaśva's son Divodāsa and Atithigva Divodāsa were one and the same person.

The date produced above provide us with another ground for arriving at this conclusion. Bharadvāja speaks of Divodāsa as the son of Vadhryaśva (VI. 61·1) and the same author speaks of Divodāsa as the killer of Śambara (VI.26·5). Garga, Bharadvāja's son, mentions Divodāsa Atithigva as so this patron. So these

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(31) *ṚV* VI.21.8. Cf. also the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, VSM, III, p.104, where Sāyaṇa says :
प्रातर्दनिः, प्रतर्दनो नाम राजा तस्य पुत्रः क्षत्रश्रीः एतन्नामको मम याज्यो राजा......

(32) Anuśāsana Parva, 30.

(33) वध्र्यश्वान्मिथुनं जज्ञे मेनकायामिति श्रुतिः ।
दिवोदासश्च राजर्षिरहल्या च यशस्विनी ।। *Vāyu P.* 99.200; cf. *Harivaṁśa* I.32.70.

(34) इ॒यम॑ददाद्र॒भ॒सम्ऋ॑ण॒च्युतं॒ दिवो॑दासं वध्र्य॒श्वाय॑ दा॒शुषे॑ ।
या शश्व॑न्तमाच॒खादा॑व॒सं प॒णिं ता ते॑ दा॒त्राणि॑ तवि॒षा स॑रस्वति ।। *ṚV* VI.61.1.

(35) *ṚV* VI.26.2. (36) *ṚV* VI.26.5. (37) *ṚV* VI.47.22.

two Divodāsas were one and the same person. So Vadhrayaśva's son Divodāsa of the *Purāṇas* must have been the famous Atithigva Divodāsa of the Veda.

There is still another reason to support the above conclusion. The simultaneous occurrence of Bhṛmyaśva, Mudgala, Indrasenā, Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa etc. both in the *Purāṇas* as well as in the ṚV cannot be said to be a chance-coincidence especially when their relationships to each other conicide in both. Vadhryaśva according to the *Purāṇas* was the son of Indrasenā and Mudgala. This fact is not referred to in the *ṚV*. But the *ṚV* informs us that Sṛñjaya's son was Prastoka (VI. 47) and that, in addition to Divodāsa, Vadhryaśva had another son named Sumitra.[38] We can conclude, therefore, that the Pāñcāla Divodāsa of the *Purāṇas* was the same as the famous Atithigva Divodāsa of the Vedas.[38a]

We have seen above that Prastoka Sārñjaya and Divodāsa, Aśvatha occur as the patrons of the Bharadvāja family.[39] In addition to these, some more patrons of the family are mentioned in other passages in this *maṇḍala*. In the twentysixth *sūkta*,[40] for instance, Kṣatraśrī, the son of Pratardana is praised by Bharadvāja for gifts of wealth. We know of one Pratardana, from the *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā*,[41] who had Bharadvāja for his *Purohita*. In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa,[42] Pratardana is represented as arriving at the sacrifice of the *ṛṣis* in the Naimiṣa forest and asking them how errors in the sacrifice could be remedied. In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*[43] it is said that Pratardana Daivodāsi went to Indra's world through his death in battle. This patronymic Daivodāsi connects Pratardana with Divodāsa, the ancestor of Sudās, and the mention of Bharadvāja as his priest also supports the patronymic, for, Divodāsa is the special patron of the singers of the Bharadvāja family. The historical relations between the Bharadvāja priests and their patrons can now be stated as follows: Divodāsa was the great patron and king of the times of the early Bharadvājas, who were a distinguished branch of the ancient Āṅgirasas. Divodāsa seems to have been succeeded by Pratardana who retained the Bharadvājas in the priestly office. The reference to the Bharatas by the name *pratṛdaḥ*[44]

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(38) Cf. *ṚV* X.69.3,5. The Sumitras are mentioned in X.69; I.7.8.

(38a) **Velankar,** "Divodāsa Atithigva and the other Atithigvas", *ABORI,* XXIII, pp. 657–668, explains the name Divodāsa as 'the Dāsa of Dyauḥ' because Dyauḥ is said to be the skilful father and generator of Indra (IV.17.4). The name Atithigva signifies according to him (1) 'one whose cows are respected wanderers (cf. X.68.3); (2) or, one whose cows are meant for honoured guests (cf.X.68.3); (3) one who goes to the guest (cf.X.85.8). He prefers the first two explanations. He further mentions the four Atithigvas mentioned in the *ṚV.* : (1) Divodāsa Atithigva of the Bharata dynasty, whose father was Vadhryaśva, (2) Atithigva of the Guṅgus who was helped by Indra in killing Parṇaya and Karanja (I.53.8); (3) The father of prince Indrota (VIII.68.15–17); (4) The fourth Atithigva is entirely different from the first three because he is said to have been overthrown by Indra (I.53.10, II.14.7; VI.18.13 and VIII.53.2).

(39) *ṚV* VI.47.22–24. Cf. also भ॒रद्वा॑जान्त्सार्ञ्ज॒यो अ॒भ्य॑यष्ट । *ṚV* VI.47.25 where Prastoka Sārñjaya is said to have honoured the Bharadvājas.

(40) *ṚV* VI.26.8.

(41) *Kāṭhaka saṁ*. XXI.10.

(42) *Kauṣītaki Br*. XXVI.5.

(43) *Kauṣītaki Up*. III.1.

(44) *ṚV* VII.33.14.

may sefely be assumed to have a reference to this ancestor of theirs.[45] After Pratardana comes his son, Kṣatraśrī, after Kṣatraśrī, Pijavana and then Sudās Paijavana. When king Sudās appeared on the horizon, Viśvāmitra, as we have seen elsewhere had already been installed as the priest of the Bharatas.[46]

In another passage[47] four patrons are mentioned together by Bharadvāja. Puraya is said to have given him two active mares. Sumīḻha gave him a hundred cows. Peruka endowed him with sweet dishes while Śāṇḍa gave him ten heroic sons. Purupantha is said to have given him a hundred horses.[48]

The name of Abhyāvartī Cāyamāna, who is very prominently mentioned among the patrons of the Bharadvājas, raises some important issues. The twenty-seventh hymn in the sixth *maṇḍala* contains several significant references in this connection. Especially stanzas five to eight contain many incidents of historical importance. These stanzas may be translated as follows:

"Indra killed the progeny of Varaśikha and thus gave wealth to Abhyāvartī Cāyamāna. When you killed Vṛcīvat's army in the van in the city of Hariyūpīyā the army in the rear also fled away through fear (5). Three thousand armoured soldiers of vṛcīvat, O Indra, through greed fame, dashed against your sharp weapons on the river Yavyāvatī, and were no more like broken vessels(6). Indra, whose two reddish bulls wander through earth and heaven, desiring for fresh fodder and ruminate, gave over Turvaśa to Sṛñjaya and Vṛcīvat to Daivavāta (7). O Agni, the wealthy *Samrāṭ* Abhyāvartī Cāyamāna gave me couples of twenty cows along with chariots and beautiful maidens. This gift of Pārthavas is eternal(8).

These stanzas describe a battle on the banks of the river Hariyūpīyā,[49] in which Abyāvartī Cāyamāna[50] and Sṛñjaya Daivavāta are said to have been vict-

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(45) **Ludwig,** *Translation of the Ṛgveda,* 3.159; **Geldner,** *Ved.* stud., 2.138; **Velankar,** " The family-hymns in the family-*maṇḍalas* ", *JBBRAS,* 18.pp.1–22.

(46) It should be noted that both the Bharadvājas and the Viśvāmitras are Aṅgirasas. That the Bharadvājas are a branch of the Aṅgirasas is proved by the following passages, VI.11.3, 16.11, 22.2. 35.5, 73.1.

(47) *ṚV* VI.63.9–10.

(48) *ṚV* VI.63.10.

(49) According to **Hillebrandt,** *VM* 3,268, n.1, **Brunnhofer's** view that the river is the river 'Ariob' (Iryāb) or 'Haliāb' which is the tributary of the river Kurrum (Krumu) is certain. It is now identified with the region Harappa (cf. *Sastri,* 'studies in the Indus Scripts', *QJMS,* 24, 1934). The other river Yavyāvatī must be near about. This suggests that Abhyāvartin ruled on the west of Indus. **Ludwig,** *Translation of the ṚV,* 3.158 takes it as the name of a town on the river Yavyāvatī. The word Hariyūpīyā seems to mean a place where there are golden (*hari*) sacrificial posts (*yūpa*), that is, the land of the Aryans devoted to the cult of sacrifice.

(50) **Ludwig,** *Translation of the Ṛgveda,* 3.198; and **Hillebrandt,** *VM,* I.105; III.268, maintain that he is a Parthian on the evidence of Hariyūpīyā and Yavyāvatī. **Zimmer,** *Altindisches Leben,*133 *et seq,* however, holds that Pārthava really means a descendant of Pṛthu. **Karandikar,** *Dāśarājña Yuddha,* pp. 1–10, suggests that Abhyāvartī must be the name of some capital city in Parthia (Khurasan) or it must have been the name of some tribe. At the time of the Dāśarājña War the empire of the Parthians must have extended from Babylon to Saptasindhu. The Varaśikhas must be people residing on the bank of the river Varasakha in Iran. This suggests that the rivers Hariyūpīyā and Yavyāvatī must have been situated beyond the mountain Hindukush. All this is, however, quite speculative.

orious over Vṛcīvatas and Turvaśa. Three thousand armoured soldiers of Vṛcīvat[51] are said to have been routed. The Varaśikhas also are said to have been destroyed by Cāyamāna who gave to Bārhaspatya Bharadvāja some gifts. Cāymāna is here described as the king of Pārthavas.

So far as the references to Bahradvāja in other Vedic texts are concerned, we find that those occurring in the *AV* are of a very general nature. They do not seem to relate to any specific events in the career of the seer. In one passage,[52] for Instance, Bharadvāja is mentioned as one of the seers being succoured by Mitra and Varuṇa. At another place[53] the Bharadvājas are invoked as deliverers from distress and as the *Pitṛs*. As poets and singers they are mentioned in the *AV* 2.12.2.

The *Brāhmaṇa*-texts, on the other hand, provide us with more specific and historically important information about Bharadvāja. They corroborate the fact that Bharadvāja was the priest of Divodāsa. The *PB*,[54] for instance, states that he worked as the *Purohita* of Divodāsa. The *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā*[55] further states that it was Bharadvāja who helped Pratardana to regain the kingdom.

An interesting legend about Bharadvāja is given by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.[56] It is as follows: The sage Bharadvāja had tried hard to master all the Vedas during the three life-times of hundred years each, which he had secured through the grace of Indra. But all that he could learn during that life-period, was, as demonstrated by Indra, just an atom out of a handful taken from the three mountains which were really the Vedas "What would you do," Indra asked Bharadvāja, "if I were to grant you another life-time?" Undaunted by his failure the intrepid sage answered, "I shall continue to study the veda". Greatly pleased with his devotion, but at the same time realizing that it was definitely impossble to master, in the normal way, the Vedas, which are indeed infinite, Indra recommended to Bharadvāja a short cut to the goal, so to say, namely the knowledge of the *Sāvitrāgnividyā*.[57]

The *AB*[58] gives us some personal information about Bharadvāja. It describes him as being tall, emaciated and grey. At another place[59] the *Brāhmaṇa* describes him as being the greatest and the most learned among the ascetics, endowed with long life.

The *MBh.*[60] provides us with further genealogical and other historical details. Here it is stated that Haryaśva, king of the kāśīs fought with the vītahavya

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(51) **Brunnhofer**, *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder und Central Asien*, suggests that Vṛcīvat must have been derived from Vṛjinvat who was the son of Kroṣṭu in the Yadu family.

(52) *AV*, IV.29.3,5.

(53) *AV* XVIII.3.15.

(54) *PB* XV.3.7.

(55) *Kāṭhaka saṁ.* XXI.10.

(56) *TB* III.10.9–11.

(57) The *Brāhmaṇa* narrates the story as to how the divinites spreading over the *Ahorātra* imparted to Janaka Videha the secret of *Sāvitrāgnividyā*, which is said to have the efficacy of removing all sins and giving long life, and which secures for a person victory in heaven and abundant food here.

(58) *AB* 15. भरद्वाजो ह वै कृशो दीर्घः पलित आस ।

(59) *AB* I. 2. 6 भरद्वाजो ह वै ऋषीणामनूचानतमो दीर्घजीवितमस्तपस्वितम आस ।

(60) *MBh.* XIII. 30. 1949–96.

Haihayas at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was defeated by the same antagonists. Sudeva's son was Divodāsa who built a city called Vārāṇasī. Divodāsa was also routed and driven away from this city by the Vītahavya-Haihayas. Divodāsa then took refuge with his *purohita*, Bharadvāja. Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa, then defeated the Vaitahavyas and the king of the Vaitahavyas found refuge with a *ṛṣi* belonging to the Bhṛgu family who saved him by declaring and making him a Brāhamaṇa. This account is confirmed, as we have seen above, by the *PB* and the *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā* which state that Bharadvāja was Divodāsa's *Purohita* and gave Pratardana the kingdom.

In other legend,[61] the story of Bharadvāja's birth is narrated. The sage Ucathya had, from his wife Mamatā, a son who was called Dīrghatamas. This Dīrghatamas was born blind. Bṛhaspati, Ucathya's younger brother, is said to have consorted with Mamatā and his son was Bharadvāja. That there was a *ṛṣi* called Dīrghtamas Aucathya Māmateya, who was blind, is confirmed by the *ṚV*[62] and that there was also a *ṛṣi* named Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya is corroborated by the *Anukramaṇī* and the *BD* (V.102).

At another place, the *MBh.*[63] seems to connect Bharadvāja with Bharata Dauṣyanti. Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, we are told, had three wives and sons from them. The parents, however, were disgusted with their sons. So they did away with them. Bharata was thus bereft of heirs. In order to obtain a son he performed many sacrifices and lastly made an offering to the Maruts who gave him Bṛhaspati'a son Bharadvāja as an adopted son (*saṅkrāmito bharadvājo marudbhir bharatam prati*). Bharadvāja thus become a *kṣatriya*. He did not succeed Bharata but begot a son named Vitatha as the successor and thus either departed to the other world or to the forest. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* emphasizes the fact that he became a kṣatriya by adoption and was called Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa.[64]

Attention may be drawn, at this juncture, to some discrepancies connected with the suggested contemporaneity of Bharata, son of Duṣyanta, and Bharadvāja.

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(61) This legend given by the *MBh.* (I. 94. 3710–12) explains the name Bharadvāja as follows : When Bharadvāja was born to Mamatā from Bṛhaspati, the parents i. e. Bṛahaspati and Mamatā pressed each other to protect the child with the words : *bharad vājam imam*. Hence his name. The *MBh.*, Anuśāsana–parva, 142 explains the name etymologically as 'one who protects all". It may be incidentally noted that the *MBh.* (I. 130) mentions another Bharadvāja, the father of Droṇa. He had his hermitage at Gaṅgādvāra.

(62) *ṚV* I. 147.3; 152.6, 158.1, 4, 6.

(63) *MBh.* XIII. 154. 7240.

(64) *Vāyu* P. 99. 157–58 : तस्माद्दिव्यो भरद्वाजो ब्राह्मणात् क्षत्रियोऽभवत् ।
द्व्यामुष्यायणनामा स स्मृतो द्विपितरस्तु वै ।।

The *Matsya* P. (196.52) states that from Bharadvāja were descended Brahmaṇas and Kṣatriyas who were known as Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇakulīnāḥ cf.
तस्मादपि भरद्वाजाद् ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया भुवि । द्व्यामुष्यायणकौलीनाः स्मृतास्ते द्विविधेन च ।।
Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 160, rightly points out that the former statement is more ancient and the latter seems to be a conscious attempt at modification.

The *AB*[65] states that Dīrghatamas Māmateya consecrated Bharata with the *Mahābhiṣeka*. Dīrghatamas must have been very old and established in reputation by that time. The *ṚV*[66] refers to him and says that he reached the tenth decade of human life. Dīrghtamas thus would be two or three generations anterior to Bharata. Now Bharadvāja, as we have already seen is the uterine brother (being born of Mamatā by Bṛhaspati) of Dīrghatamas must have been of about the same age as Dīrghtamas. How, then, can it be possible to say that Bharadvāja was being taken to Bharata for 'being adopted' as indicated in the *Vāyu P.*

It has already been noted that the *PB* mentions Bharadvāja as the priest of Divodāsa and that the *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā* states that Bharadvāja gave the kingdom to Pratardana. If we refer to the *Purāṇic* genealogies as given by **Pargiter,** (*AIHT* pp.112 and 146-47) it can be easily ascertained that Pratardana is one or two generations prior to Duṣyanta, that is two or three generations prior to Bharata. The aged Dīrghatamas and Bharadvāja, thus, could have at the most, lived up to the beginning of Bharata's reign.

It would now become clear that this old Bharadvāja could not have been adopted by Bharata. Nevertheless his grandson, vidathin Bharadvāja, may have been so adopted.[67] The Paurava genealogy from Duṣyanta onwards may be stated as follows.

Duṣyanta
|
Bharata[68]
|
Vidathin (Bharadvāja)
(adopted)
|
Vitatha

The story as given in the *Purāṇas* says that the Maruts gave Bharadvāja (of course Vidathin) to Bharata. What does this mean? This mythology seems to have grown out of a confusion of the names, Marut and Marutta.[69] Bṛhaspati, the father of Bharadvāja, lived in the kingdom of Vaiśāli where Marutta, the son of Avīkṣit, ruled. Thus he was the priest of the Maruttas and not of the Maruts; so also must have been his grandson Vidathin Bhāradvāja. When king Bharata lost his *aurasa* sons, his priest Dīrghtamas must have naturally suggested to him that his own relative, namely, the son of his uterine brother Bharadvāja, Vidathin Bharadvāja, might be adopted. So the youth was brought from the Maruttas and given in adoption to Bharata. This act seems to have been mythologized into the statement that the Maruts gave Bharadvāja to Bharata (*Saṅkramito bharadvājo marudbhir bharatam prati*).

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(65) *AB* VIII. 23.

(66) *ṚV* I. 158.6.

(67) The *Purāṇas* confuse Vidathin Bharadvāja with his son Vitatha Bharadvāja.

(68) Bharata who is referred to in the *ṚV* IV. 16. 4 is, according to Sāyaṇa, the same as the son of Duṣyanta.

(69) Cf. **Pargiter,** *AIHT* p. 163.

Another point of interest in this connection is the historical tradition connecting the Aṅgirasas (The Bharadvājas were a branch of the Aṅgirasas see f. n.46) with the kings, who reigned in that portion of North Bihar, of which Vaiśālī later became the capital. There the Bharadvājas came into prominence first as the priests of king Kārandhama, his son Avīkṣit, and his son the famous Marutta Āvīkṣita The Bharadvājas thus seem to have been actively associated with the eastern expansion of the vedic Indians. The Purāṇic tradition also indicates that Bhāradvāja officiated as the *purohita* of Divodāsa, the son of Sudeva, and ruler of Kāśi. When the Haihayas defeated Divodāsa, Bhāradvāja helped him by performing a sacrifice and giving pratardana, who defeated the Haihayas and the Ailas.

Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya Vidathin is said to have had five sons Suhotra, Śunahotra, Nara, Garga, and Ṛjiśvan, who were Bhāradvājas and could claim to be grandsons both of Bṛhaspati or of Bharata. Pāyu Bharadvāja, as we saw, was a contemporary of Prastoka Sārñjaya, Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Divodāsa, king of North Pāñcāla (*ṚV* VI. 47.25).

It would be worthwhile at this stage, to see which members of the Bharadvāja family, according to the *Anukramaṇī*, are the composers of the *sūktas* in the *Ṛgveda*.

(1) *Bharadvāja*—He is the seer of the sixth *maṇḍala* and a majority of the *sūktas* are attributed to him. The *Anukramaṇī* describes him as the son of Bṛhaspati but the *ṚV* does not mention him as such.

(2) *Ṛjiśvan*—He is the seer of the VI. 49-52 and optionally of IX.98 also. He mentions the Bharadvājas at two places[70] in his hymns. There is no mention in the *ṚV* of his being the son of Bharadvāja, though he is twice[71] clearly called Vaidathina, or a descendant of vidathin. According to Sāyaṇa, *ṚV* VSM, III, p. 195' Ṛjiśvan curses a rival *ṛṣi* Atıyāja, but this name seems to be employed expressly to signify one who oversacrifices, i.e. sacrifices more than is necessary or prescribed, superfluity as well as deficiency being a fault that causes a sacrifice to fail.

(3) *Pāyu*--He is the seer of VI.75 and X.87 and is said to be the son of Bharadvāja. His name is not mentioned in these *sūktas*. But in VI.47, which is ascribed to Bharadvāja Garga, he is reported to have received gifts from king Aśvatha. In the *BD*[72] he is credited with assisting Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Prastoka Sārñjaya by consecrating their weapons with a hymn.[73]

(4) *Purumīḷha and Ajamīḷha*—They are the seers of IV.43 and 44 and are said to be the sons of Suhotra.[74] Ajamīḷha is mentioned in IV.44·6 and Puru-

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(70) *ṚV* VI. 50. 15 and VI. 51.12.

(71) *ṚV* IV. 16.13; V. 29.11.

(72) *BD* V. 124.

(73) *ṚV* VI. 75 (the *Saṅgrāma-sūkta*).

(74) *MBh. Āśva. Parva* 101.8 states that Purumīḍha and Ajamīḍha are the sons of Suhotra who according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* is the son of Bharadvāja. They are thus the Bharadvājas. How the hymns composed by these Bharadvājas are included in the Vāmadeva-*maṇḍala*, one is at a loss to know. Purumīḷha, who is intended in the *ṚV* V. 61. 9 where according to the legends reported in the *BD* (V. 49 et seq) and by Ṣadguruśiṣya (**Macdonell's** ed. pp. 118 et seq) and by Sāyaṇa (V. 61.9), which we have discussed in the last chapter, is mentioned along with Taranta as a son of Vidadaśva and a patron of Śyāvāśva. This Purumīḷha is thus a Vaidadaśvi.

mīḷha is mentioned in I. 151.2, I.183-5 and VIII.60.14. Purumīḷha is also the seer of VIII.60. But nowhere in the *ṚV* are they mentioned as the sons of Suhotra. Purumīḷha Bhāradvāja is to be distinguished from Purumīḷha Āṅgiraṣa, the seer of of VIII.71 and from Purumīḷha Vaidadaśvī (*ṚV* 5.61 and *BD* V. 50¹81) the brother of Taranta and Patron of Śyāvāśva Ātreya.

(5) Garga—He is the seer of VI.47 and is said to be a son of Bharadvāja. His name is mentioned nowhere in the *ṚV*. Bharadvājas, however, are mentioned in VI. 47.25. His descendants, 'Gārgāḥ Prāvareyāḥ', are mentioned in the *kāṭhaka saṁhitā*.[75]

(6) *Vasu*—He is the seer of IX.80-82 and is said to be a descendant or a son of of Bharadvāja. He is, however, nowhere mentioned in the *ṚV*.

(7) *Suhotra*—He is the seer of IX.80-82 and VI.31-32 and is said to be a Bhāradvāja. He is, however, to be distinguished from Suhotra Ghauṣeya (X.41).

(8) *Śunahotra*— He is the seer of VI.33-34. He is Bharadvāja's son and the father of Gṛtsamada.

(9) *Nara*—He is the seer of VI.35-36. He refers to Bharadvāja in VI.35.4.

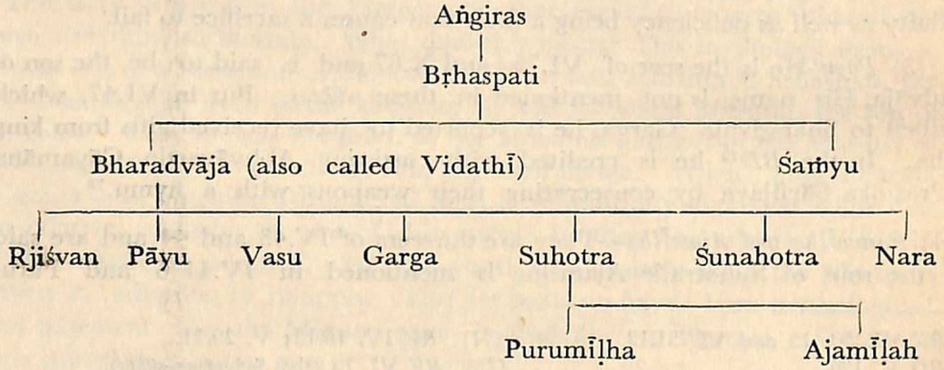
(10) *Śaṁyu*—He is the seer of VI.44-48 and was the son of Bṛhaspati and the brother of Bharadvāja.

(11) *Śāsa*—He is said to be the author of X.152 and to be the son or descendant of Bharadvāja.

(12) Śirimbiṭha—He is said to be the author of X.155 and to be the son or descendant of Bharadvāja.

(13) *Rātri*—She is the composer of X. 127 and is traditionally referred to as Rātri Bhāradvājī.

The genealogy[75a] of the Bharadvājas may now be reconstructed, from the information supplied by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, as follows:



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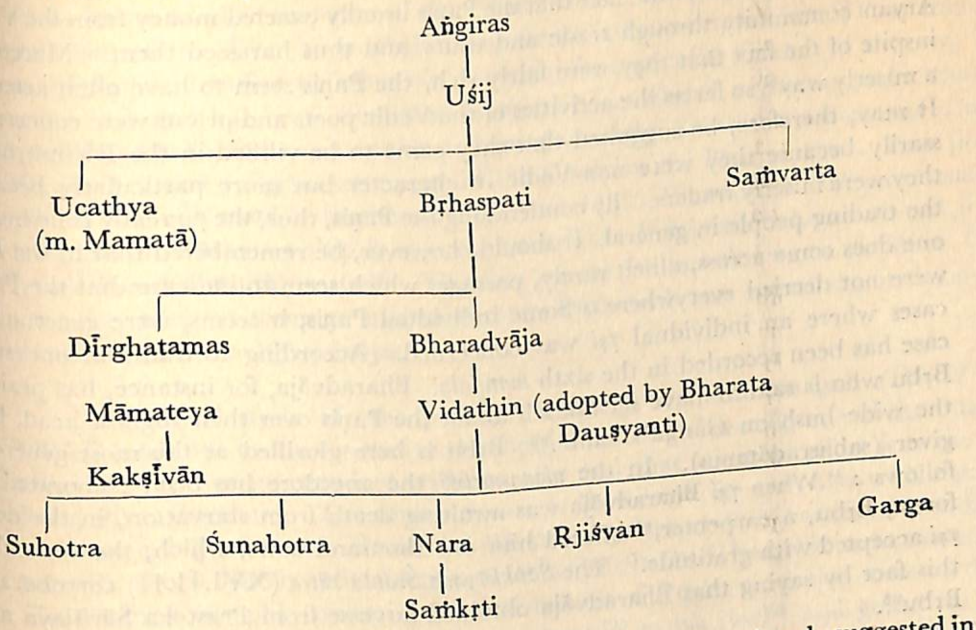
(75) *Kāṭhaka saṁ* XIII. 12.

(75a) According to the *ĀśŚS* the *pravaras* of the *Ṛkṣas* are five namely, Āṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja Vāndana and Mātavacasa (6.11.2). The *pravaras* of the Bharadvājas and Agniveśyas are three namely, Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja (6. 11. 5) The Bharadvājas are described as Śuṅgas and *katas* are described as *Śaiśirayaḥ* (6. 13. 2) The *Śuṅgas* and the *Śaiśiris* have combined five *pravaras* namely, Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya and Ātkīla (6. 13. 6).

The *Purāṇas* help us to add further details as follows:



As for the original habitat of the Bharadvājas, it has been already suggested in chapter I that the Bharadvājas in general seem to have colonised on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. The sixtyfirst hymn of this *maṇḍala* contains a eulogy of the goddess, Sarasvatī. The poet requests her to guard him from enemy's hate.[76] He describes her as the dearest of all streams[77] and worthy of being extolled by every sage[78]. The river is further requested to kill those who are the censurers of gods.[79] The first stanza of this hymn contains a statement that the river Sarasvatī gave to Vadhryaśva a valorous son called Divodāsa. This statement leaves no doubt as regards the priesthood of the Bharadvājas with Vadhryaśva and Divodāsa. The last stanza contains an earnest desire of the Bharadvājas with Vadhryaśva and Divodāsa. The last stanza contains an earnest desire of the Bharadvājas to live on the banks of this river. The Bharadvājas were the priests of Divodāsa and the river Sarasvatī which is celebrated by the Bharadvājas could not have been the Sarasvatī of the later ritual texts. For, it seems unlikely that in the times of Divodāsa the Vedic Aryans had spread as far as Vinaśana. We have already seen elsewhere that the Gṛtsamadas also were associated with the same river Sarasvatī, which is usually identified with Haraquaiti[80].

The peculiar manner in which the Paṇis are referred to in the sixth *maṇḍala* would seem to indicate that they came in contact with the Bharadvājas in some special way. Several views have been put forth as regards the character of the Paṇis. It may be generally accepted that they were a class of traders who had become rather notorious in the Ṛgvedic period. There are clear indications in the *ṚV* that the Paṇis were outside the pale of the religion of the Vedic poets and

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(76) *ṚV* VI. 61.11. (77) *ṚV* VI. 61.10. (78) ṚV VI. 61.13.
(79) *ṚV* VI. 16. 3. (80) *Vedic Index*, II, p. 434.

priests. They are often referred to in more or less contemptuous terms. It may be that this was due to the fact that the Paṇis usually exacted money from the Vedic Aryan community through trade and usury and thus harassed them. Moreover, inspite of the fact that they were fairly rich, the Paṇis seem to have often acted in a miserly way[81] so far as the activities of the Vedic poets and priests were concerned. It may, therefore, be suggested that they came to be vilified in the *ṚV* not necessarily because they were non-Vedic in character but more particularly because they were miserly traders. By condemning the Paṇis, thus, the *ṛṣi* really condemned the trading people in general. It should, however, be remembered that in the *ṚV*, one does come across, albeit rarely, passages which seem to indicate that the Paṇis were not decried everywhere. Some individual Paṇis, it seems, were generous in cases where an individual *ṛṣi* was concerned. According to tradition one such case has been recorded in the sixth *maṇḍala*. Bharadvāja, for instance, has praised Bṛbu who is said to 'have set himself about the Paṇis over their highest head, like the wide bush on Ganga's bank'.[82] Bṛbu is here glorified as the most generous giver (sahasradātama). In the *manusmṛti*[83] the anecdote has been elaborated as follows : " When *ṛṣi* Bharadvāja was awaiting death from starvation, in the deep forest, Bṛbu, a carpenter,[84] offered him one thousand cows, which, the venerable *ṛṣi* accepted with gratitude." The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta sūtra* (XVI.11.11) corroborates this fact by saying that Bharadvāja obtained largesse from Prastoka Sārñjaya and Bṛbu[85].

On the other hand another Paṇi, who is mentioned by name, receives the usual curses from the Vedic poets. Bṛsaya is mentioned twice in the *ṚV*[86]. In the passage in the first *maṇḍala* he is referred to as a Paṇi and Agni is described as 'causing the progeny of Bṛsaya to perish'. Sāyaṇa[87] explains the word as '*bṛsiḥ veṣṭanārthaḥ bṛsayati sarvam veṣṭayati iti bṛsayaḥ asuras tvaṣṭā*. In the second passage, which occurs in the sixth *maṇḍala*, he is connected with the Pārāvatas and the Paṇis. Bṛasaya[88] is referred to here as being *māyī* i. e. skilled in magic arts, a sorcerer. In VI·61·2 Sarasvatī is called 'Pārāvataghnī'. In that context Sāyaṇa[89] explains it as *parāvati dūradeśe vartamānasya vṛkṣādeḥ api hantrī*. But the explanation seems to be far from satisfactory. It seems that a people are meant here. The *PB* (IX 4·11), for instance, mentions the Pārāvatas as people living on the river Yamunā. *Hillebrandt*[90] suggests that they were originally mountaineers.

The sixth *maṇḍala*, however, seems to shed quite a new light on the original character of the Paṇis. The facts that they are most prominently mentioned in the sixth *maṇḍala* and that Pūṣan is the god who is specially invoked to put down

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(81) Cf. the word, *grathinaḥ* in the ṚV VII. 6.3.

(82) **Griffith**, *Hymns of the Ṛigveda*, I, p. 606.

(83) *Manusmṛiti* X. 107.

(84) Sāyaṇa on VI. 45. 31 (*ṚV*, VSM, III, p. 152), also characterises Bṛbu as *paṇīnām ātkṣa*.

(89) **Weber**, *Episches in Vedischen Ritual*, 28 et seq. says that the name suggests connection with Babylon.

(86) *ṚV* I. 93.4 and VI. 61.3.

(87) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p. 218.

(88) **Sūryakānta**, *A Grammatical Dictionary of Vedic Sanskrit* (*I*, *Phonetics*), suggests that the fact that *s* is here not changed to ṣ may denote that the word is non–Aryan.

(85) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* VSM, III, p. 218.

(90) *VM*, I. 97 et seq.

those nasty mischief-mongers of the Vedic times, are particularly significant in this connection. Even a casual glance at the statistical analysis of the *ṚV* references to Pūṣan[91] will suffice to bring out prominently a peculiar feature of the way in which this god has been celebrated in this Veda. Out of eight complete hymns glorifying Pūṣan, five occur in the sixth *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV-saṁhitā*, which represents the literary and religious enterprise of the family of the Bharadvājas. That portion of the sixth *maṇḍala* (hymns 53–58, hymn 48, 15–19) which is dedicated exclusively to the Pūṣan-worship is so conspicuous that *Hillebrandt*[92] chooses to call it a 'small Pūṣan-saṁhitā' in itself. This fact cannot be regarded as an accident. On the other hand, it seems to suggest that the Pūṣan-cult was a special possession of the family of the Bharadvājas.

A critical study of the passages referring to Indrā-Pūṣaṇau (III·52·7; VI·57) leads one to the conclusion that originally the Indra-religion and the Pūṣan religion were two independent religious cults and that a special effort is made to bring them together . The same appears to have been the case also with regard to the coupling together of Soma and Pūṣan. The traces of this artificial blending together of two distinct religious cults are too clear in the *ṚV-saṁhitā* to be missed[93]. The anthropomorphic traits in the descriptions of Pūṣan are also noteworthy. References to Pūṣan's braided hair[94] and beard[95] to his awl[96] and goal,[97] to his special food, *karambha*,[98] to his being driven by goats instead of horses[99] all these help to present before us quite a distinct personality that is, in other words, Pūṣan is a god belonging to a world more or less different from that of many Vedic gods as we know them. It is significant that by far the greatest emphasis is laid by the Vedic poets on the prominent role played by Pūṣan in the pastoral life of the people. He increases the cattle[100] and brings back the beasts that have strayed.[101] He eats the food which is common among the pastroal communities and bears the goad which is typical of a shepherd or a cowherd. He is the lord of paths and helps the nomadic tribes on their ways.[102] It is repeatedly said of him that he abounds in wealth[103] and bestows great bounty[104] on his followers, particularly in the form of the increase of cattle. Apart from all this, as is usual in the Vedic mythology in general, Pūṣan also is endowed with features connected with brightness and splendour. He is brought into contact with several phenomena of light[105].

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(91) Pūṣan is mentioned 36 times in the sixth *maṇḍalas*, while he is referred to 3 times in the second 5 times in the third, 3 times in the fourth, 8 times in he fifth, 6 times in the seventh, 6 time in the eighth, 4 times in the ninth, 19 times in the first and 17 times in the tenth *maṇḍala*.

(92) *VM* III, p. 366.

(93) See : **Dandekar**, "Pūṣan, the pastoral god of the Veda", *NIH*, V, pp. 49–65.

(94) *ṚV* VI. 55. 2.

(95) *ṚV* X. 26. 7.

(96) *ṚV* X. 53.6.

(97) *ṚV* VI. 53. 9.

(98) *ṚV* VI. 56. 1.

(99) *ṚV* I. 38.4 VI. 55.3.

(100) *ṚV* VI. 54. 5–6, 10.

(101) *ṚV* VI. 54. 7 57. 7.

(102) *ṚV X*. 17.3.

(103) *ṚV* VIII. 4. 15.

(104) *ṚV* VI. 58.4.

(105) *ṚV* VI. 48. VI. 56.3, VI. 58.1.

The part which he is made to play in the Sūryā-myth[106] is indeed very peculiar[107].

The sustained impression produced by the Vedic passages referring to Pūṣan in general and by the *Pūṣan-saṁhitā* in the sixth *maṇḍala* in particular is that Pūṣan was primarily and essentially a pastoral god. Many were the occasion when the cattle went astray and were lost. Under such circumstances the pastoral worshippers often appealed to their god who readily recovered the lost property.[108] He is predominantly invoked as *anaṣṭapaśu* (V. 17·3), *anaṣṭavedas* (VI·54·8) and *paśupā* (VI·58·2). Among the pastoral tribes there is a special class of people who distinguish themselves in the art of pathfinding and tracing the lost sheep and cattle. It is this characteristic of an actually existing class among the shepherds and cowherds that is idealised and deified in Pūṣan by his worshippers (VI·54·1) It is easy to imagine that the pastoral tribes made their god look impressive with braided hair and graceful beard. The *aṣṭrā* of Pūṣan is *paśusādhanī*, that is to say, it helps to acquire, preserve and increase the cattle and the *ārā* comes in handy when he wants to punish vitally the nasty mischief-mongers, Paṇis, who harassed the pastoral communities in the course of their forward march to 'pastures new'.[109] Further it is interesting to note that the god of the shepherds and cowherds eats the simple food, which they themselves may be eating, namely, *karambha.*[110] It is therefore safe to conclude that Pūṣan[111] was already in the Veda a full-fledged pastoral divinity. As a matter of fact he represents the divine prototype of a cattle-breeding people. One may go to the extent of saying that it is impossilbe to indicate an essentially bucolic personality in a clearer manner than what we see in the case of Pūṣan.

Thus, from the Vedic references it clearly appears that the clan of the Bharadvājas was most devoted to the Pūṣan-cult. The Bharadvājas must have

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(106) *ṚV* I. 117.13 VI. 55.5 X. 88.14.

(107) It may be mentioned in this connection that the similarity of Pūṣan with Scandinavian Thor and with Hermes and Pan is emphasized by many scholars. The traditional view regarding Pūṣan is that he is a solar divinity (cf. *Nirukta*, I. 115. 1, X. 17.3 and the *BD* 2. 63). A majority of orientalists like **Goldstucker**, **Hillebrandt**, **Langlois**, **Ludwig**, **Macdonell**, **MaxMüller**, **Roth**, **Perry** and **Wilson** follow the lead given by Indian tradition. It has, however, been pointed out by **Dandekar** (op. cit.) that a critical study of the several passages which refer to this god do not even distantly hint at his solar character.

(108) *ṚV* VI. 54. 1, 2, 4, 10. (109) *ṚV* VI. 53. 5.

(110) *ṚV* VI. 56. 1 य ए॑नमा॒दिदे॑शति कर॒म्भादिति॑ पू॒षण॑म् । न तेन॑ दे॒व आ॒दिशे॑

"Those who aim at Pūṣan malignantly saying that he is merely a *karambhād* can never strike at him successfully."

(111) The word Pūṣan is usually derived from the root, *puṣ*–to nourish. This is, however, not satisfactory. With that etymology it is not possible to explain why there should have been a long *pū* in Pūṣan. **Charpentier** "Beitrage zur indoiranischen Etymologie" pp. 81–85 *studies in honour of C. E. Pavry*, correctly traces the word to *pṣūsan* and further to psūsan i. e. to say *paśu–san* indicating that god's essential character as the 'acquirer of cattle'. The reference that Pūṣan's *aṣṭrā* is *paśusādhanī* fully supports this view.

been closely associated with the ancient Vedic tribes whose main occupation was cattle-breeding. Pūṣan was the patron-god of those nomadic cowherds and shepherds. The living Pūṣan-cult can very well be realised only fiom the Pūṣan-*saṁhitā* of the Bharadvājas. The fact that the Paṇis, too, are most conspicuously mentioned in the sixth *maṇḍala* patricularly in connection with the Bharadvājas, the Vedic pastoral tribes, and their god, Pūṣan, would now seem to be invested with some special significance.

It is almost certain that thhe word Paṇi does not have a merely appellative sense, as *Guntert*[112] seems to believe. The Paṇis represent a distinct community possessing a religious cult different from the official Vedic religion. They always wandered with the Vedic cattle-breeaing tribes and often used to harass them. References to their riches and thefts[113] are quite common in the Veda. Thea were notorious cattle-lifters and therefore particularly antagonistic to the pastoryl tribes and their priests, Bharadvājas. *ṚV* VII·6·3 describes them as foolish, faithless, rudely-speaking niggards without belief or sacrifice or worship, interested in usury and atheism. They are to be compared to the modern 'gypsies' who are traders and robbers simultaneously[114]. There seems to have gone on, in the early Vedic times, a continuous conflict between the Bharadvājas and the Paṇis, and the former often invoked their patron-god, Pūṣan, to punish these mischievous cattle-lifters[115]. Naturally, for the Bharadvājas, Pūṣan was more important than any

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(112) *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland.* Sāyaṇa (cf. I. 33.3, 124.10 IV. 25.7(seems to derive the word Paṇi from *paṇa*—to barter (*paṇir vyavahārī, vaṇik lubdhako ayaṣṭa*). In a chapter on the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (4.117) Pāṇini derives the word *vaṇij* from *paṇ*. Yāska (II. 17 VI. 26) also says, "*paṇir vaṇig bhavati*" and Durgācārya comments, '*na hi viśuddhena karmaṇā vyavaharati*'. **Hillebrandt** *VM* I. 83 et seq, however, thinks that they were Parnians of strabo and that they were associated with Dahae (Dāsa).

(113) The words *stena* (VI. 28.7) and *aghaśaṁsa* (VI. 28.7) also seem to refer to them as they occur in the *gosūkta* and Paṇis are notorious cattle-lifters.

(114) The Vedic poets often refer to them as *vṛka* Vi. 51.14). Vala (VI. 39.2) is said to be their leader.

(115) From the references to the conflict between the Paṇis and the Bharadvājas, **Hillebrandt** (*VM* 1.83 et seq) attempts to determine the geographical locality of the same. His conclusion is that the sixth *maṇḍala* generally refers to western countries and not to India proper. In support of this view he brings forth the evidence of Pūṣan's special connection with Saraswatī, that is to say, with the river Arachotus. A reference may incidentally be made to the remarks of Swāmī **Śaṅkarānanda**, ("Merchants in Vedic and heroic India", The *Modern Review*, May, 1954, p. 401). He says that the Paṇis lived in the same Arya society as the Vedic seers of hymns. The mention of clashes between them are nothing but internecine feuds between the clans of the same group of people due to clash of interests. He further points out that the Paṇis were the Dasyus and Viśvāmitra's clan also is referred to as Dasyu (*AB*). The epithet *grathina* seems to be the same as *gāthina*, the epithet of Viśvāmitra and *Mṛdhravācaḥ* seems to be the same as *Mlecehvācaḥ*, an epithet applied to *Viśvāmitra*'s tribe in the *Manusmṛti*. So the Paṇis belonged to Viśvāmitra. Some scholars identify the Paṇis with the merchants of Phoenicia. A probable origin of the Phoenicians from the Indian Paṇis has been supplied by the identification of Paṇis with the founders of the Indus valley civilization and by the fact that the people of Carthage were called Pani or Peoni. Thus instead of a Phoenician immigration to India, there was a probable Paṇi exodus from India.

other god from among the Vedic pantheon. The ten *gāyatrī* stanzas of VI·53 seem to form some sort of magic formulae, belonging to the Pūṣan-cult, which were directed against the Paṇis, perhaps accompanied by some magic practices. It may therefore, be concluded that the pastoral-priestly family of the Bharadvājas developed the essential personality of Pūṣan in a distinct manner. A statistical consideration of the Vedic references to that god seems to indicate further that the Pūṣan cult was later first adopted by the Kaṇvas and then by other clans. In other words the pastoral elements in other tribes also began to celebrate the pastoral god Pūṣan.

In the evolutionary mythology relating to god Pūṣan the pastoral stage must be regarded as the first stage. It is a common characteristic of the Vedic mythology in general that all gods are at some stage connected with heaven and light. This light-symbolism is more or less artificially superimposed upon the the original nature of the Vedic gods and is therefore often easily distinguishable from it. A critical examination of the Vedic passages[116] relating to Pūṣan, which are suggestive of light and splendour, however leads one to believe that that god was regarded as a moon-god rather than a sun-god. It is quite natural, therefore, that Pūṣan, as the moon, should have played a peculiar part in the Sūryā-myth.[117] But apart from this mythological significance, Pūṣan's introduction in the Sūryā-myth possesses a distinct sociological significance also. It may be that this bringing together of two divinities belonging originally to distinct mythological strata, namely Pūṣan and Sūryā, reflects the desire of the pastoral worshippers of Pūṣan to assert their own claims to matrimonial relations with tribes who had already passed beyond that stage. Pūṣan's part in the Sūryā-myth may then be regarded as the result of an impact of two Vedic tribes having different social cultures. Incidentally it may also be pointed out that the two epithets of Pūṣan, namely, *matur didhiṣu* 'suitor of the mother', and *svasur jāraḥ*, 'lover of the sister',[118] which indicate the motif of incest, may be supposed to be the outcome of the *Khvētūk-das* marriages,[119] that is to say, marriages among near relatives, which were current among some ancient Aryan tribes. Such marriages must have formed a peculiar feature of the pastoral society.

Some more distinct features were added to the original Pūṣan-religion. It is significant that in the Veda, Pūṣan is coupled rather conspicuously with Indra (VI·57) and Soma (II·40). The origiinal Pūṣan-religion of the Bharadvājas was fundamentally different from the religion of the Indra-worshippers, which was the most popular and more or less the 'official'' religion of the Vedic *saṁhitā*. The association of Pūṣan with Indra, which is, on the very face of it, superficial and artificial, seems to be intended for investing the pastoral God with some respectable position in the hieratic pantheon of Vedic gods. Pūṣan's characterisation as Indra's comrade and helpmate[120] and as Indra's brother[121] perhaps helped the

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(116) *ṚV* VI. 56.3, VI. 58.3. (117) *ṚV* IV. 43.6, X. 85.9. (118) *ṚV* VI. 55.4–5.

(119) Cf. **West** *Sacred Books of the East*, XVIII, and I. **Karve**, "Kinship terminology and usages in the *ṚV* and the *AV*" *ABORI*, 20, pp. 118, 119, 135, 215–17. I. **Karve** gives an interesting account of the *putrikā–putra* or Yūkān system of marriage (cf. pp. 215–17).

(120) *ṚV* VI. 56.2, VI. 57.4. (121) *ṚV* VI. 55.5.

original pastoral god being 'officially recognised'. A similar purpose is served by Pūṣan's association with Soma[122]. Originally Pūṣan had no share in the Soma-offering,[123] that is to say, he was kept out of the hieratic Vedic ritual. In course of time, however, the Pūṣan-cult seems to have sufficiently asserted itself, so that Pūṣan came to be admitted not only in the hieratic Vedic mythology (through his association with Indra) also in the hieratic Vedic ritual, which fact is indicated by that god's association with Soma.[124] As a result of this offerings were made in sacrifice to both Soma and Pūṣan.

In the Ṛgvedic passages referring to god Pūṣan three kinds of impact thus become perceptible. The original pastoral religion of Pūṣan suggests that there was a tribal impact, of a mutually antagonistic character, between certain Vedic pastoral tribes and tribes of 'gypsy' cattle-lifters and traders. An impact more or less of a social character is indicated by the part played by Pūṣan in the Sūrya-myth. And finally there was a religious impact which resulted in Pūṣan being given a place of honour in Vedic religion and ritual.[125] It may be presumed that, the Bhāradvājas who were the special sponsors of the Pūṣan-cult were intimataly involved in this threefold impact.

The character of the Bharadvājas as the special priests of pastoral tribes, is corroborated also by the twentyeighth *sūkta* in the sixth *maṇḍala*. That *sūkta*, which may be designated the *go-sūkta*, contains a eulogy of the cows. It is very significant in this connection that the *ĀśGS* lays down that the *sūkta* should be recited in worshipping a cow.[126] The poet Bharadvāja here expresses a desire that milch-cows with calves should ever be in his house[127]. Then there is a request that the cows may never be lost and that no robber should ever injure them[128]. In the fifth stanza the poet identifies the cows with the gods like Bhaga, Indra, Soma. The cows are further praised as strengthening a weakling and endowing an ugly man with beauty[129]. In the seventh stanza there is a request that no thief or sinful man should be their master and that they should not be the victims of Rudra's dart. A feeling of disgust towards the slaughter of cows seems to have been suggested in VI·28·4. The last stanza seems to be a magical formula used at a fertility-rite[130].

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(122) *ṚV* II. 40. (123) *ṚV* VI. 57.2. (124) *ṚV* II. 40. 1–6.

(125) Later on he seems to have been connected with agriculture also (IV. 57.7).

(126) The *Kauśika Gṛhya sūtra* 19. 1–2 gives the real purpose of the hymn correctly : 'After muttering this hymn as a spell, cows which are ill, or are suffering from barrenness or defective pregnancy, should be given salt water to drink. This water rectifies the defects of the calf in the cow's womb and of the milk in her udders. *ĀŚGS*, II. 10.7 and *ŚāṁGS* 3·9 say that the *sūkta* is employed for a blessing with regard to cows returning home. The *Vaitāna sūtra* 21.24 says that the *sūkta* is employed at the time when the *Yajamāna* receives a cow which has been set aside as *dakṣiṇā* to be given to the priest.

(127) *ṚV* VI. 28.1. (128) *ṚV* VI. 28.3. (129) *ṚV* VI. 28.6.

(130) **Geldner** *Der Ṛgveda* II, p. 127 ff. "Am Schluss ein Fruchtbarkeitszauber." **Velankar** "Hymns to Indra by the Bharadvājas" *JUB* X, p. 109, points out that the imperative and potential forms of these stanzas show their unity and through them also the unity of the entire hymn. The *AV* separates the last stanza (*AV* IX. 4.23) from the first seven (*AV* IV. 21. 1–7) and seems to suggest that the two parts were originally separate hymns. But the Ātharvaṇic tradition as recorded by the *Kauśika Gṛhya sūtra* (19. 1–2) evidently supports the unity of the hymn, Though chiefly a *gosūkta*, Indra is present in the background (cf. stanzas 1, 2ab. 3cd, 5, 8d).

Another *sūkta* in the sixth *maṇḍala*, namely, VI·75, is significant from various points of view. Pāyu, who is one of the scions of the Bharadvāja family, is the seer of this hymn, which is traditionally known as the 'battle-hymn'. The *sūkta* is important because it provides us, in the first place, some information about the cultural history of the Vedic Aryans. Secondly, it gives us some idea about warfare[130a] in ancient India. The poetic vigour in the *sūkta* also is noteworthy. But what is perhaps far more significant is that the *sūkta* seems to indicate a transition in the character of the Bharadvājas—-a transition, that is to say, from the Bharadvājas as priests of pastoral tribes to the Bharadvājas who later came to be closely associated with warlike tribes.

According to the *ĀśGS*[131] the purport of the hymn was to invest the various weapons of the king with peculiar magic power by the chanting of various *mantras* in this hymn, when the king was about to attend the battle-field. The historical background of the *sūkta* as given by the *BD*[132] is as follows :

Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Prastoka Sārñjaya having been conquered in fight by the Varaśikhas[133] came to Bharadvāja and propitiated him, stating that they had been vanquished by the Varaśikhas in fight. They further implored him to be their *purohita* to conquer the enemies. Bharadvāja granted their request and asked his son Pāyu to make the two kings unassailable to their enemies. Pāyu consecrated their weapons individually with this hymn and sent them against the enemies.

It would be interesting to analyse the contents of the *sūkta*. In the first stanza the warrior's appearance is described and a blessing is invoked for him that he may be victorious in the battle with unwounded body[134]. The second stanza expresses the confidence of the priest in the power of the bow and declares : "with the bow may we subdue all regions"[135]. The twanging sound of the string of a bow

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(130a) Cf. **Muir**, *OST*, V, 469 ff. Cf. also stanzas *ṚV* VI. 47. 26, 29–31. **Dikshitar**, *War in ancient India*, p. 93, says that both in the *saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* we read of arrows and the bows and the *vajra* of Indra. The very name *Dhanurveda* of the military science proves clearly that in ancient days the bow and the arrow were the principal weapons of war.

(131) *ĀśGS.* III. 12.10. **Geldner**, *Der Ṛgveda*, II. 176 ff. points out that, according to the *ĀśGS.*, the *sūkta* is to be used before the battle and *purohita* blesses the accoutrements by reciting 1–7, 11 and 14–16. The *sūkta* is also employed in the *aśvamedha* to bless the guardian of the sacrifice.

(132) *BD* V. 124–142.

(133) **Kosambi**, "Brahmin clans", *JAOS*, 73, No. 4, p. 204, tries to connect them with the Vālaśikhas among the Vāsiṣṭhas and concludes from some other illustrations that old *gotras* could become extinct, and new ones enrolled from non-Aryan or non-Brahminized families and tribes. The conscription, he points out, need not even be in the same clan group.

(134) *ṚV* VI. 75. 1. Here the armour is praised. Even in the days of the *ṚV* the equipment of the soldier included the coat of mail. Varuṇa is described as wearing a golden mail (*ṚV* I.25.13)

(135) *ṚV* VI. 75. 2. There is the praise of a bow. According to **Geldner**, II.176 ff. there is a reference to *Digvijaya* here.

is compared to the low whisper of a woman in the ear of her husband.[136] The two bow-ends are further praised[137]. The exploits of a hero with his quiver[138] are stated in the next stanza. The next stanza praises the strength of the controlling reins which as it were declare the will of him who drives[139]. A beautiful description as to how the horses of the chariot descend on the foeman with their forefeet,[140] follows. The chariot where the weapons and the armour are placed is further described.[141] Then follows a vivid description of the guards of the chariot[142]. In the next stanza there seems to be an invocation to the gods and the manes for giving victory and protection to the warriors[143]. The point of the arrow, the leather-strings are described in the next stanza[144]. There is a request in the next stanza to the enemy's arrow,[145] that it should not hurt them and that their (i. e. of the Bharadvājas and their patrons) bodies be as hard as stones. Bharadvāja is also said to have received the *bṛhatsāma* from Dhātā, Savitā, Viṣṇu and Agni[146]. **Griffith** translates the stanza where this fact is mentioned as follows :

"These sages found what lay remote and hidden, the sacrifice's loftiest secret essence. From radiant Dhātar, Savitar and Viṣṇu, from Agni, Bharadvāja brought the Bṛhat."

We may now conclude this study of the Bharadvājas with a brief estimate of the compositions of the Bharadvājas from the literary point of view. It was already been seen how in the *Saṅgrāma-sūkta* the heroic aspect of the Bharadvājas is reflected. From the point of view of poetic vigour, therefore, VI·75 is very important. Pāyu, who is the author of this hymn seems to have been no mean poet. In this *sūkta*, we come across many beautiful poetical fancies. In the third stanza,[147]

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(136) *ṚV* VI. 75. 3. The string of the bow is praised.

(137) *ṚV* VI. 75. 4. The two bowends are eulogised. Mahīdhara and Uvaṭa understand the 'arrow' as the object of '*bibhṛtam*'.

(138) *ṚV* VI. 75. 5. The quiver is praised.

(139) *ṚV* VI. 75. 6. There is the praise of the reins.

(140) *ṚV* VI. 75. 7. The horses are praised. The war-chariots in those days were drawn by horses. Cf. *ṚV* I.3.1.

(141) *ṚV* VI. 75. 8. The chariot is eulogised. The chariot was an indispensable instrument of [war in the days of the Vedas, and on its possession depended victory. According to the *KāŚS* 15. 6. 28 the *Rathavāhana* is a cart for carrying weapons.

(142) *ṚV* VI. 75. 9. The guards of the chariot are praised. The fathers referred to here must be the Aṅgirasas, the brave fighters of the Vala legend.

(143) *ṚV* VI. 75. 10. It is significant that god Pūṣan is specially invoked here.

(144) *ṚV* VI. 75. 11. The arrows are eulogised. **Dikshitar**, op. cit. p. 93 points out that the terms *iṣukṛt* and *iṣukāra* in the *ṚV* (I. 184. 3) and the *VS* 30.7 suggest that there existed a regular profession of arrow-making. The Ṛgvedic smith was not only a steel-worker but also an arrow-maker.

(145) *ṚV* VI. 75.12.

(146) *ṚV* X. 181. 2. The *bṛhatsāma* seems to be one of the most important *sāmans*. According to the *ĀśŚS* 5. 15 and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* V. 2.2 *bṛhatsāma* is constituted of *ṚV* VI. 46. 1, 2 = *SV* II. 2. 1. 12. The *Bhagvadgītā* X. 35, refers to *bṛhatsāma* as being the best of the *sāmans*. In the *AB* (IV. 22) it is said that the *bṛhat* and the *rathantara sāmans* are the two rudders of the ship of sacrifice bearing the sacrificer to the world of heaven.

(147) *ṚV* VI. 75. 3.

for instance, the faint twanging sound of the bowstring is likened by the poet to the *tete-a-tete* of a woman with her husband. A warrior, putting on the coat of mail and going to the battle-field, is compared to a cloud. The two bow-ends coming together and holding the arrow appears to the poet like two women meeting their lover and bearing mother-like a child upon their bosom[148]. The brace worn on the archer's left arm is compared to a serpent coiling round his arm[149]. There is an appropriate simile used in describing the shower of arrows in the battle : "There where the flights of arrows fall like boys whose locks are yet unshorn".[150] A conscious attempt at alliteration can be seen when the poet says, "*marmāṇi te varmaṇā chādayāmi.*"[151] A beautiful example of metaphor occurs at the end of the hymn where the poet says, "My nearest closest mail is prayer (*brahma varmamama antaram*)"[152]. In describing the defeat of the Vṛcīvats the poet says that they went to destruction like broken vessels.[153] The ninth *sūkta* in this *maṇḍala* is important from the philosophical point of view as well as from the literary point of view. We have already discussed the former aspect. As for the literary aspect, in the first stanza[154] of that *sūkta*, Vaiśvānara is compared to a king. Comparing the sacrifice to a garment the poet expresses his modesty thus, "I know not either warp or woof (*na aham tantum na vijānāmi otum*)'[155]. A kind of spiritual experience seems to have been described in immortal words in two stanzas[156]. His literary talent appears to be inadequate to the poet to be able to describe Vaiśvānara. He, therefore, says : "Far roams my mind whose thoughts are in the distance. What shall I speak, what shall I now imagine ?" The whip is described in the thirteenth stanza and is requested to drive the horses in the battle[157]. The brace on the archer's left arm is implored to guard the warrior from every quarter[158]. The shafts besmeared with venom (*ālāktā*), those tipped with deer-horn (*ruruśīrṣṇī*)and iron (*ayomukham*) and made of reeds which are born due to the influence of Parjanya and whetted by charm are implored to go to the enemies and destroy them.[159] Brahmaṇaspati and Aditi are further implored to protect the hero in the battle where the arrows are showered continuously[160]. The coat of mail is mentioned in the next stanza and god Soma and Varuṇa are invoked to give immortality to the warrior[161]. Lastly, the gods are entreated to kill the enemies and the poet confidently says that the nearest coat of mail for him is prayer (*brahma varma mama antaram*)[162].

The whole *sūkta* thus throbs with a different tone altogether and differs considerably from the general run of the *sūktas*. It also emphasizes the fact, which is indeed frequently stressed by the Vedic poets and priests, namely, that war-weapons however powerful in themselves cannot prove efficacious unless they are invested with magical potence through prayers.

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(148) *ṚV* VI. 75. 4. (149) *ṚV* VI. 75.14.

(150) *ṚV* VI. 75.17. The point of the comparison is that the arrows fall where they list, as boys, with the lock of hair, before their religious tonsure, play about where-ever they like.

(151) *ṚV* VI. 75. 18. (152) *ṚV* VI. 75.19. (153) *ṚV* VI. 27. 6. This is a case of a '*luptopamā*'.

(154) *ṚV* VI. 9. 1. (155) *ṚV* VI. 9.2. (156) *ṚV* VI. 9. 5–6.

(157) *ṚV* VI. 75. 13. (158) *ṚV* VI. 75.14. (159) *ṚV* VI. 75: 15–16.

(160) *ṚV* VI. 75. 17. (161) *ṚV* VI. 75. 18. (162) *ṚV* VI. 75. 19.

Oldenberg,[163] is of the opinion that this whole *sūkta* is of the nature of an appendix. **Fay,**[164] however, points out that the eleventh stanza of this *sūkta* must have been original and quotes in his support the *ĀśGS* (III·12·10) but **Oldenberg,**[165] however, suggests that it is not proper to connect the *sūkta* to the *sūtras* because the *ṚV*-tradition has been confirmed by other Vedic and ancillary texts.[166] **Geldner**[167] believes that the eleventh stanza in the *sūkta* is important and that, from that stanza onwards, the general trend of the *sūkta* changes and the hymn becomes Ātharvaṇic in character.

Bharadvāja is mentiloned almost uniformly among the Saptarṣis,[168] though he is not included in the four *mūlagotras* of the *MBh.* It seems that Aṅgiras of the four *mūlagotras* is substituted by his two sons or grandsons, namely, Bharadvāja and Gautama, in the list of the Saptarṣis. In Sāyaṇa's commentary on *ṚV* IX·67, which is said to be a joint composition of the seven seers, Bharadvāja is mentioned as the composer of the first three stanzas.

One can derive, from the Veda, some information relating to the philosophical speculations of the Bharadvājas. Especially the *Vaiśvānara-sūktas* in the sixth *maṇḍala* are more or less philosophical in nature. The ninth *sūkta*, for instance, speaks of Agni Vaiśvānara as the sovereign god. In the second stanza of this *sūkta* the poet declares that he does not know either warp or woof, (*tantu* and *otu*). Sāyaṇa[169] points out that the first half of this stanza[170] implies, according to the *sampradāyavidaḥ*, a figurative allusion to the mysteries of sacrifice; the threads of the warp, *tantu*, are the metres of the Vedas, those of the woof, *otu*, the liturgic prayers and ceremonial, the combination of which two is the cloth, or the sacrifice. The *ātmavidaḥ*, (or, *Vedāntins*) understand it as alluding to the mysteries of creation, the threads of the warp being the subtile elements, those of the woof the gross elements and their combination the universe. Another stanza in this *sūkta*, which is important from the philosophical point of view, is the fifth. This stanza is translated by *Griffith* as follows :

"A firm light hath been set for men to look on : among the things that fly the mind is swiftest. All gods of one accord, with one intention, move unobstructed to a single purpose."[171]

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(163) *ṚV–Noten* 415 ff.

(164) *Ṛgveda–mantras in the Gṛhya–sūtras*, p. 34.

(165) Op. cit.

(166) *TS* 4.6.6, *VS* 29. 38 and *BD* 5. 129 ff.

(167) **Geldner,** *Der Ṛgveda*, II. 176 ff.
Ludwig also suggests that the original *sūkta* must have ended with the tenth and the remaining stanzas are added later on.

(168) The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 2.2.4, the *MBh. Śalya Parva* 49. 52, and Sāyaṇa (*ṚV* I. 31.4) mention him as one of the Saptarṣis.

(169) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p. 28.

(170) *ṚV* VI. 9. 2. **Grassmann** and the translators of the *Siebenzig Lieder* (**Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 564) think that a young singer is preparing himself for contest with older bards, and, being distrustful of his own unaided powers to find material for his song expresses his reliance upon Agni and seeks inspiration from him.

(171) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 564.

According to the *Vedāntic* view of the text, the light is *Brahma*, seated spontaneously in the heart as the means of true knowledge, to which all the senses, together with mind and consciousness, refer as to one cause of creation, or *Paramātmā*- the supreme spirit. The stanza is translated by *Wilson*, following Sāyaṇa as follows : "A steady light, swifter than thought, stationed among moving beings to show the way to happiness : all the gods being of one mind and a like wisdom, proceed respectfully to the presence of one (chief) agent, (Vaiśvānara).

In the next stanza, the poet seems to describe a kind of spiritual experience which he had. The stanza[172] is generally translated as follows :

" Mine ears unclose to hear, mine eye to see him. The light that harbours in my spirit broadens. Far roams my mind whose thoughts are in the distance. What shall I speak, what shall I now imagine ?"

In the Indra-*sūkta* VI·47[173] also we come across a suggestion of some philosophical import. In the eighteenth stanza of the *sūkta*, it is said that Indra has become manifold through different forms (which are to be named), that due to his divine power he assumes manifold forms, and his thousand horses are always yoked. Philosophically interpreted, Indra here, stands for the supreme spirit. The *māyās* are certain powers with which the supreme spirit is invested and due to which the appearance of the entire world of names and forms is due . Being associated with this spirit, the supreme spirit is able to produce different illusory forms[174].

We have already seen that, in a legend from the *TB*.[175] Bharadvāja is said to have performed the *sāvitrāgnicayana* and acquired the knowledge of the three Vedas and consequently secured *Svarga* for himself. He seems to have been referred to also in *BĀU*[176] and the *Rāmottaratāpinī*[177]. He is stated to have a philosophical discourse with Yājñavalkya.[178]

In the Rāmāyaṇa[179] we hear of a Bharadvāja who is said to have been a disciple of Vālmīki and who was a witness to Vālmīki's spontaneous utterance of the stanza, *mā niṣāda* etc. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*[180] tells us that Vālmīki related the legends in the first part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* first to this Bharadvāja. This Bharadvāja is stated to have honoured Rāma, who was on his way to Daṇḍakāraṇya, Bharata also, when he was on his way to bring back Rāma from exile, had an interview with this sage[181]. He is also said to have blessed Rāma while he was returning from Laṅkā.[182]

In the *MBh*[183]. there is a mention of a Bharadvāja who was living at Gaṅgādvāra. At the sight of the nymph Ghṛtācī his semen deroppd down which he collected in a cup of leaves (*droṇa*). From this was born a son, who was later

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(172) *ṚV* VI. 9.6. (173) *ṚV* VI. 9.6.

(174) Speculations like these may be said to contain the seeds of the later Advaita philosophy.

(175) *TB* 3. 10. 9–11. (176) *BĀU* 2.2.4. (177) I.5.

(178) **Citrāv**, *Prācīnacaritrakośa*, p. 397. (179) *Bālakāṇḍa* 2.

(180) I.2. (181) *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 90. 92.

(182) Op. cit. *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 124.

(183) *MBh*. *Āśvamedhika Parvan* 130.

named Droṇa. The *āgnyastra* which was given to Bharadvāja by Bṛhaspati was given by him to Agniveśa, the son of Agni[184]. The *MBh.* Śānti Parvan 57·3, mentions him as a writer on Daṇḍanīti. The *Bhāgavata*[185] states that he had come to see Bhīṣma who was lying wounded on a bed of arrows.

In the later literature Bharadvāja is known as the author of many treatises. There is a *śrauta sūtra*[186] consisting of ten *praśnas* ascribed to him. Kauṭilya mentions Bharadvāja as a writer on Arthaśāstra about seven times[187].

It appears from this that the Bharadvājas have kept up their tradition of being warriors and possessors of knowledge for a fairly long period.

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(184) *MBh. Āśvamedhika Parvan* 130; 170. (185) I.9.

(186) The manuscript is in the Bombay University Library.

(187) One Kaṇika Bharadvāja is also mentioned by Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra* 5. 5).

CHAPTER VI

VASIṢṬHA AND THE VASIṢṬHAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

Vasiṣṭha, who is traditionally regarded as the author of the seventh *maṇḍala*[1] of the *ṚV*, is one of the most interesting personalities of the Vedic age. Like Viśvāmitra he has the distinction of being celebrated not only in the *ṚV* but also in the later Vedic, epic and even the classical literature. As a political figure vitally connected with the *dāśarājñayuddha*, as a seer who, through his worship of Varuṇa promoted the cult of *bhakti* and as a religious leader who was distinguished for his remarkable spirit of tolerance and compromise, Vasiṣṭha seems to have played a unique role in the early Vedic period. As a matter of fact he is perhaps the only seer to whom some kind of divinity is attributed in the *ṚV*. In the Vedic ritual also, the position of the Vasiṣṭhas had been, in a sense, unique. Tradition lays it down that the *Brahman* priest should invariably be chosen from the family of the Vasiṣṭhas. Though the Vasiṣṭhas are not seen to have been prominent in the Upaniṣadic period, that family seems to have been quite active in connection with the Brahmanic revival and consolidation, which occurred in the *Sūtra-Vedāṅga* period—a fact which is clearly evidenced by some sūtras attributed to the Vedic school of the Vasiṣṭhas. In the epic, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vasiṣṭha figures as the *purohita* of the ruling family of Ayodhyā and as if to compensate for the fact that Vasiṣṭha is not celebrated in the Upaniṣads, an independent philosophical treatise namely the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is attributed to him. Indeed, the fact that Vasiṣṭha's name has occurred constantly in the lists of the *gotrarṣis* and the *Saptarṣis* shows that the greatness of that seer has been recognised throughout the cultural history of India. An attempt will be made in the following few pages to estimate the achievements of this very colourful personality of ancient India and of the members of his family.

There are some passages in this *maṇḍala* and a few in other *maṇḍalas* also in which the name Vasiṣṭha occurs both in singular and plural such as *vasiṣṭhaḥ*, *vasiṣṭhāḥ*, *vasiṣṭhāsaḥ*. It will be necessary to examine carefully these references in order to be able to determine whether they relate to the eponymous seer, to some member of his family or to the family as a whole. The passages may be tabulated as follows :

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(1) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p· 263—' सप्तमं मण्डलं वसिष्ठः अपश्यदिति उक्तत्वात् मण्डलद्रष्टा वसिष्ठ ऋषिः । ' Cf. also the *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1892, p·254—

अग्नि नर इति त्वेतत्सप्तमं मण्डलं प्रति ।
ऋषिर्वसिष्ठो विज्ञेयो मित्रावरुणयोः सुतः ॥

	Name	The place of occurrence
(1)	Vasiṣṭhaḥ	II·9·1; VII·9·6; 18·4, 21; 22·3; 26·5; 33·6, 12, 14; 42·6; 59·3; 73·3; 95·6; X·65·15; 66·15; 95·17; 150·5; 181·1
(2)	Vasiṣṭhāḥ	VII·7·7; 8·7; 12·3; 33·1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9; 37·4; 76·6; 77·6; 80·1; 90·7; 91·7; X·15·8, 122·8.
(3)	Vasiṣṭhāsaḥ	VII·23·6, X·66·14.
(4)	Vasiṣṭham	I·112·9; VII·33·13; 70·6; 86·5; 88·4.
(5)	Vasiṣṭhān	VII·33·2.
(6)	Vasiṣṭhaiḥ	VII·39·7, 40·7, 76·7.
(7)	Vasiṣṭhasya	VII·33·5.
(8)	Vasiṣṭha	VII·1·8; VII·23·1; 33·10, 11; 86·1; 88·1.

It would be worthwhile to study these passages and classify them, as far as possible, according to whether they relate to the eponymous seer or to some members of the family. A glance at the foregoing table would show that the seventh *maṇḍala* contains the majority of references to Vasiṣṭha and the members of his family. The first and the second *maṇḍalas* contain one reference each,[2] while the tenth *maṇḍala* contains eight references.

It is of course obvious that the references in plural like *vasiṣṭhāḥ, vasiṣṭhāsaḥ, vasiṣṭhān, vasiṣṭhaiḥ* relate to the members of the Vasiṣṭha family in general. In VII·33·10, two births of Vasiṣṭha are described, namely, his divine birth from Mitrāvaruṇau and Urvaśī and his terrestrial birth when Agastya seems to have made him known to the people. So there is no doubt that the word, Vasiṣṭha here refers to the progenitor of the family. The same is the case as regards the next stanza, where Vasiṣṭha is clearly referred to as having been born of Urvaśī from Mitra and Varuṇa. He is said to have been mentioned along with some other members of his family in VII·18·21 as *parāśaraḥ śatayātur vasiṣṭhaḥ*. The simultaneous mention of Vasiṣṭha with the other members of his family leaves no doubt that here too, the progenitor Vasiṣṭha is referred to. In VII·33·6 there is a clear reference to the efficacy of his priesthood. At other places, especially in the Varuṇa-*sūktas* (VII·59·3) and the Sarasvatī-*sūkta* (VII·95·6), Vasiṣṭha is mentioned as a staunch devotee. These references again obviously indicate the eponym Vasiṣṭha. In the tenth *maṇḍala* Vasiṣṭha is said to have received the *Rathantara Sāma* from Dhatā, Savitā and Viṣṇu.[3] This also may be presumed to be a reference to the progenitor of the family. Vasiṣṭha is also referred to as a model for worship in this *maṇḍala*[4] where Sarasvatī is described as being eulogised 'in the manner of Vasiṣṭha'. This Vasiṣṭha must be the ancient ancestor of the family.

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(2) *ṚV* I·112·9; II·9·1. But here the word, वसिष्ठ seems to have been used as an epithet of Agni.

(3) *ṚV* X·181·1.

(4) *ṚV* VII·96·3.

As indicated above there are several passages in the seventh *maṇḍala*, where Varuṇa is being implored in pathetic words for succour.[5] At another place Vasiṣṭha is described as being in communion with god Varuṇa.[6] Vasiṣṭha is also referred to as the protege of the Aśvins.[7] Vasiṣṭha is said to have been born after Māna (i. e. Agastya).[8] All these passages may be taken to refer to the eponymous sage.

Thus, broadly speaking, in the majority of passages where the word occurs in singular that word may be understood to refer to the progenitor. There are, however, some of this type of passages[9] which, more or less clearly indicate that in them, a member of the Vasiṣṭha family other than the progenitor is indicated. Similarly in two passages[10] the word seems to have been used not as a proper noun but as an adjective in the sense of 'the best'. It has been already suggested that the passages wherein the word Vasiṣṭha occurs in plural, refer to the members of the Vasiṣṭha family[11].

Hymn VII·33 is the family-hymn of the Vasiṣṭhas and as such it contains important material of sociohistorical significance. The hymn contains the glorification of Vasiṣṭha and the Vasiṣṭhas. The first stanza of this hymn graphically describes the Vasiṣṭhas. They are described as wearing hair-knots on the right (*dakṣiṇataskapardāḥ*), as being white-robed (*śvityañcaḥ*)[12] and as the movers of holy thought (*dhiyanjinvāsaḥ*). As regards the appearance and personal effects, thus, the Vasiṣṭhas appear to have been very distinguishing and attractive figures. The next stanza informs us that the Vasiṣṭhas brought Indra from a distance and Indra also is said to have preferred the Vasiṣṭhas to others[13] and having crossed the river with the Vasiṣṭhas Indra is said to have killed Bheda. Indra then crossed the river with the Vasiṣṭhas and killed Bheda. In the fight with the ten kings, Indra is said to have helped Sudās through the devotions of the Vasiṣṭhas[14]..The Vasiṣṭhas are said to have invigorated Indra by their *Śakvarī* hymns and the fathers are said to have been pleased with their prayer[15]. The exploit of Vasiṣṭha is then described graphically in the next two stanzas. **Griffith**[16] translates these stanzas as follows :

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(5) *ṚV* VII·86·5.

(6) *ṚV* VII·96·3.

(7) *ṚV* I·112·9.

(8) *ṚV* VII·33·13.

(9) *ṚV* VII·42·6, VII·59·3, VII·76·3.

(10) *ṚV* VII·1·8 and X·95·17.

(11) It may incidentally be noted that the word Vāsiṣṭha is never used in the *ṚV* to denote a descendant of the family. Further it may be noted in the light of what has been said so far, that generally the Aśvin-*sūktas* seen to have been composed by the eponym Vasiṣṭha, the Uṣas-*sūktas*, on the other hand, seem to be the compositions of the members of the family.

(12) *ṚV* VII·33·1.

(13) *ṚV* VII·33·2.

(14) *ṚV* VII·33·3.

(15) *ṚV* VII·33·4.

(16) *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·35.

Like thirsty men they looked to heaven, in battle with the
Ten kings, surrounded and imploring.
Then Indra heard Vasiṣṭha as he praised him and gave the
Tṛtsus ample room and freedom.[16a]—(5)

Like sticks and staves wherewith they drive the cattle,
Stripped bare, the Bharatas were found defenceless :
Vasiṣṭha then became their chief and leader :
Then widely were the Tṛtsus' clans extended.—(6)

Then begins the description of the other accomplishments of the Vasiṣṭhas. The Vasiṣṭhas are said to have been in possession of the knowledge of Agni, Vāyu and Āditya and their connection with Uṣas[17]. The splendour of the Vasiṣṭhas is likened to the sun's growing glory and their unfathomed greatness to the sea. Their speed is said to have been like the wind and Vasiṣṭha's prayer is said to be inimitable[18]. The next stanza seems to speak of the mystic knowledge which the Vasiṣṭhas possessed with the perceptions of the heart and with which they resort to that which spreads a thousand branches[19]. The *Apsarās* then brought the Vasiṣṭhas hither, weaving the body spun for them by Yama[20]. In the tenth stanza the double birth of Vasiṣṭha is described. **Geldner** (*Der Rigveda*, II, p·213) translates it as follows :

" When Mitra and Varuṇa saw you as light coming out of lightning (i. e. semen coming out)[21], that was one birth, and the other, O Vasiṣṭha, was when Agastya brought you to the clans."

(16a) This and the reference in the next stanza, may be understood, in a sense, that Indra actively sponsored the colonising activity of the Tṛtsus.

(17) *ṚV* VII·33·7.

(18) *ṚV* VII·33·8.

(19) *ṚV* VII·33·9. According to **Ludwig** as quoted by **Griffith**, (*Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·35), the reference is to the mystic tree sustained *Sahasravalśa* is the sun; according to his later view the reference is to the mystic tree sustained by Varuṇa (*ṚV* I·24·7).

(20) The expression, *yamen tatam paridhim vayantaḥ* may mean that Vasiṣṭha was destined to wear the garment in the form of ' the cycle of births ' which was spun out by God Yama himself. According to **Velankar** ("The family-hymns in the family-*maṇḍalas*", *JBBRAS*, 18, 1942 pp·1–22.) Vasiṣṭha is represented here as helping the progress of the work started by Yama i. e. possibly the work of leading men to a world of eternal bliss. Yama is the first mortal, the first to go the way of death (*AV* VIII·3·14) and to point out the path for the departed souls to follow (X·14·1). Yama is the first human being and as such becomes, with Yamī, the progenitor of the human race. In course of time he almost comes to represent the ideal side of ancestor-worship. He becomes the poetic and symbolic image of all fathers. His comparison with Avestan Yima abundantly supports this view. To weave the web spun by Yama, thus, seems to mean, to be born as human beings. **Dandekar** ('Yama in the Veda' B. C. *Law Comm. Vol.*) traces several stages in the development of Yama-mythology in the Veda and says that Yama was the Hermaphrodite God-man and a creator of the universe as a result of his self-immolation in cosmic sacrifice.

(21) Cf. *ṚV* X·95·10.

The next three stanzas directly refer to the two births of Vasiṣṭha. These may be translated as follows[21a]:

(11) Born of their love for Urvaśī, Vasiṣṭha, thou priest art
son of Mitra and Varuṇa;
And as a fallen drop, in heavenly fervour, all the gods
laid thee on a lotus-blossom.

(12) He, thinker, knower both of earth and heaven, endowed
with many a gift, bestowing thousands,
Destined to wear the vesture spun by Yama, sprang from
the *Apsarās* to life, Vasiṣṭha.

(13) Born at the sacrifice, urged by adorations, both with a
common flow bedewed the pitcher.
Then from the midst thereof there rose up Māna and thence
they say was born the sage Vasiṣṭha.

The eleventh stanza, here, seems, to emphasize the two different births of Vasiṣṭha—one which may be described as celestial from Mitra, Varuṇa and Urvaśī and the other as human being among the Vasiṣṭhas. The second birth seems to have been purposely kept shrouded in mystery; we are merely told how Agastya brought this Vasiṣṭha as a human being to man, particularly to the Bharatas. **Geldner's** explanation[22] of this seems to be more reasonable and satisfactory. As Vasiṣṭha was of a miraculous parentage, it was quite natural that he would need adoption into a *gotra* and that *gotra* would naturally be that of the princes whom he served and to whom Agastya seems to have introduced him. Perhaps this explains the fact why the Vasiṣṭhas are called the Tṛtsus.[23]

In the thirteenth stanza, the divine birth of Agastya also is mentioned along with that of Vasiṣṭha and the former is said to have preceded the latter. The *BD*[24] refers to the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya in the same manner as the *ṚV*. In the fourteenth stanza, the Tṛtsus are referred to as *pratṛdaḥ*. It is not

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(21a) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·35.

Kosambi, 'Urvaśī and Purūravas', *JBBRAS*, 27, gives quite a different interpretation of the *Apsaras*, their weaving of the garment and the double birth of Vasiṣṭha. The *Apsaras* are, according to him, the norms in weaving the pattern of fate, besides being goddesses of a peculiar type. Vasiṣṭha's birth is, here , completely and consistently given. It is only in symbols that the double birth is mentioned. *Kumbha* is itself a symbol of the mother-goddess. The *Apsaras* also is a mother-goddess as is clear from the *AV*, *matṛnāmāni* hymns. The *puṣkara* mentioned in the *ṚV* VII·33·11 is the womb (cf. *ŚB* VII·4·11). Now, these symbols, he argues, cannot be Aryan in origin. Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, in being born from the urn, are giving a good Aryan translation of their birth from a pre-Aryan or a non-Aryan mother-goddess. The effective change is from the absence of a father to the total denial of a mother. Urvaśī faded into insignificance giving birth to two Brahmin clans, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Agastyas.

(22) *Vedische Studien*, II, p·138.

(23) *ṚV*, VII·83·8.

(24) *BD* V·148–155.

unlikely that the word, *pratṛdaḥ* indicates that the Tṛtsus were the followers of Pratardana who was a famous Bharata leader. The close connection between the Bharatas, the Tṛtsus and the Vasiṣṭhas thus seems to be definitely established.

It would be helpful to examine the views of different scholars as regards this family-hymn of the Vasiṣṭhas. **Geldner**[25] says that the hymn is devoted to the glorification of the ancestors of the Vasiṣṭhas and that it seems to have connection with III·53, as both of them occur at the end of the Indra-group. He suggests that the first nine stanzas of this hymn contain the praise by Vasiṣṭha of his sons and the last five contain the praise of Vasiṣṭha by his sons. **Geldner** puts forth a second suggestion about this hymn, namely, that a member of the Vasiṣṭha-family speaks on behalf of the whole family. He is glorifying the ancestor. Indra also participates in this and adds to the narration (stanzas 1–4). According to **Geldner**, the *sūkta* can be conveniently divided into two parts, stanzas 1–6 forming one part and 7–14 forming other part. In the first part Vasiṣṭha's main achievements, such as the rendering of help to Sudās in the Dāśarājña war, are described, while the latter part refers to Vasiṣṭha personally. The latter part has been so constructed that every stanza amplifies the indications of the earlier one. **Oldenberg,**[26] however, points out that this whole *sūkta* is an appendix to the original *saṁhitā*. **Pischel** and **Geldner**[27] argue that the *sūkta*, though connected with Indra is not an *Indra-sūkta* and that originally it must have been an *ākhyāna-sūkta*. They further assert that the hymn, as it is, is homogeneous. **MaxMüller's**[28] opinion, in this connection, appears to be rather peculiar. He is of the opinion that Vasiṣṭha who is described as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, is the sun. Mitra and Varuṇa are night and day. He, further, identifies Urvaśī with Uṣas, the mother of the sun. Such exclusively naturalistic interpretation of Vedic legends cannot, however, be said to be quite acceptable. Whatever, therefore, might be the views of scholars about this hymn, there is no reason why we should not regard it as the family-hymn of the Vasiṣṭhas and derive from it as much information of culture—historical import as may be possible.

The following significant points would seem to emerge from a critical study of the family-hymn of the Vasiṣṭhas. It should be, first of all, noted that distinct efforts have been made in this *sūkta* to invest the personality of Vasiṣṭha with a kind of divinity. A reference to his birth from the gods, Mitravaruṇau, is a clear pointer in that direction. An attempt is also made, through the mention of Agastya, to reconcile the divine birth of Vasiṣṭha with his later human associations. Secondly, we get, in this *sūkta*, a graphic description of the appearance and the personal effects of the members of the family of Vasiṣṭha. From the religio-philosophical point of view, the reference to the possession by Vasiṣṭha of truly mystic knowledge is indeed important. So, too, is the mention of the magical potency of Vasiṣṭha's prayers, which compelled Indra to be partial to the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas. In the historical sense, this amounted to Indra's having

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(25) **Geldner,** *Der Rigveda*, p·210 ff.

(26) *Noten*, II, p·31 ff.

(27) *Vedische Studien*, II, p·129.

(28) *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p·61 ff.

actively promoted the colonising activity of the Tṛtsus and Vasiṣṭha's priesthood having proved effective in the matter of securing victory for Sudās and the Bharatas in the Dāśarājña war.

We may study the role of Vasiṣṭha as the priest of Sudās in the *ṚV* in a little greater detail. It would seem from the evidence available in the *ṚV* that the early settlements of the Vedic Aryans in the land of the Seven Rivers and beyond were mainly constituted of five principal tribal organisations (*pañcajanāḥ*), gradually transforming themselves into territorial states of Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa and Yadu. There is also enough evidence in the ṚV to warrant the assumption that, in addition to these early immigrants new and more adventurous tribes like the Bharatas continued to pour into the Saptasindhu region. The Bharatas, as we have already seen elsewhere, were making particularly rapid progress under the military leadership of Sudās and the priestly guidance of Viśvāmitra. Sudās seems to have entertained the ambition to bring all the earlier Vedic Indian Kingdoms and settlements, including the original five ones (*Pañca-janāḥ*), under the political supremacy of the Bharatas. Between the Bharatas and those five principalities there lay the powerful principalities of the Tṛtsus, who, presumably, were once closely connected with the Bharatas. Sudās, being a shrewd politician, realised that, if he could win over the Tṛtsus to his side as his military and political allies, his campaign against the five principalities would be successful. He, therefore, started negotiations in that direction. Vasiṣṭha was the most influential personality among the Tṛtsus because he was their priest. Sudās offered Vasiṣṭha the office of the *purohita* of the valiant tribe of the Bharatas and in return demanded the political and military alliance of the Tṛtsus. The Bharata-leader succeeded in these negotiations. He, therefore, dismissed his original *purohita*, Viśvāmitra, and appointed Vasiṣṭha in his place. As the result of this alliance, the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus came to form a single political and military unit. The seeds of the feud between the families of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are, perhaps, to be found in this ancient episode. Obviously with a view to avenging the summary treatment meted out to him by Sudās, Viśvāmitra went over to the side of the five older kings and prepared them strongly to resist the aggressive plans of Sudās and Vasiṣṭha. He seems to have succeeded in forming, for this purpose, a military confederation of ten prominent war-lords who represented Vedic Indian as well as non-Aryan Indian elements. This battle between the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus on one side and the confederation of ten war-lords on the other is traditionally known as the *Dāśarājña* war. In this battle, which constitutes one of the most important landmarks in the early political history of the Vedic Indians, Sudās ultimately won victory and the Bharatas attained political domination which they continued to enjoy for a long time afterwards.[29] It was, however, claimed that it was not only the military might of Sudās that was responsible for this victory. Far more efficacious, perhaps, in this connection was the magical potency of the *mantras* of Vasiṣṭha (*satyā tṛtsūnām abhavat purohitiḥ*).[30]

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(29) This early political supremacy of the Bharatas seems to have given India her name, Bhāratavarṣa.

(30) *ṚV* VII·83·4.

In view of the very vital role played by the Vasiṣṭhas in connection with the *dāśarājña-yuddha*, a brief statement about that war would not be out of place at this stage. War of ten kings, which must be regarded as an important chapter in the early political history of the Vedic age is described in the Vasiṣṭha-*maṇḍala* mainly in the three *sūktas*, namely VII.18, VII.33 and VII.83 and is referred to almost in all the *maṇḍalas*. The circumstances which led to this historic event have already been stated at some length. It has been pointed out that ten war-lords formed a sort of military confederation at the instigation of Viśvāmitra, with a view to thwarting the onslaught of the ambitious Bharatas, who with the Tṛtsus, were forging ahead under the military leadership of Sudās and the priestly guidance of Vasiṣṭha. From the few details of the war given in seventh *maṇḍala* it appears that the enemies of Sudās included both the Aryan as well as the Dāsa elements.[31] Side by side with the Aryan chieftains, like Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvaśa and Yadu, are mentioned tribes of obviously non-Aryan origin, such as the Pakthas, the Bhalānas, the Alinas, the Viṣāṇins and, the Śivas.[32] It may also be presumed that the number of the opponents of Sudās which is usually as ten,[33] is not to be regarded as definitive. There must have been ten chief war-lords--both Aryan and Dāsa—who with several subordinate allies opposed the Bharatas. Another important point to be noted regarding the Dāśarājña war is that the war was not one single homogeneous event but consisted of several military episodes. In other words the war was a continual process characterised by many battles and, from the geographical point of view, it extended over a wide region the geographical point of view, it extended over a wide region—a region that is to say, which was presumably bounded by the rivers Paruṣṇī and Yamunā. It is also possible to assume that the opponents of Sudās marched against him from different quarters and that Sudās had to give them battle on different fronts. It would further appear, from the descriptions of the war, that quick movement of the troops and the device of changing the courses of rivers were the two main features of the military technique adopted by Sudās. Of course, from the point of view of the Vasiṣṭhas, the one factor, which contributed most to the victory of Sudās in this war, was the magical potency of their own priesthood.[34] *ṚV* VII.18 which is in praise of Indra states how that god enabled king Sudās Paijavana to overcome his enemies in the battle, though the king was hard-pressed. In VII.

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(31) *ṚV*, VII·83·1 : दासां च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च ।

(32) **Dandekar,** *Rudra in the Veda, JUP*, I, p·49 and footnote 3 points out that many of the followers of the pre-Vedic proto-Indian Śiva-cult also may have used the symbol of their cult, namely, a pair of horns, as their own symbols. One would, accordingly, be justified in presuming that the Viṣāṇins—the non-Aryan people mentioned among the enemies of Sudās in the *Dāśarājña* battle (*ṚV* VII·18·7)—must have received their peculiar name on account of their symbol of horns. It is, indeed, significant that, in that passage the Viṣāṇins, are mentioned by the side of another tribe called the Śivas. The Śivas are usually identified with the Siboi of Alexander's annalists, who lived on the confluence of the Hydespes and the Accesines. It is also interesting to noto that Patañjali (on Pāṇini IV·2·104 characterises Śivapura as *Udīcyagrāma*.

(33) *ṚV* VII·33·5 and VII·83·7.

(34) Cf. *ṚV* VII·83·4.

18·5, for instance, the poet says: " What though the floods spread widely, Indra made them shallow and easy for Sudās to cross. He, worthy of our praises, caused Śimyu, foe of our hymn, to curse the river's fury". In VII.18·6-7, it is stated that Turvaśa was eager for spoil and wealth. Like fishes urged by hunger the Bhṛgus and the Dṛhyus quickly surrendered. Further the Pakthas, the Bhalānas, the Alinas, the Śivas and the Viṣāṇins are said to have laid an attack together but Indra came to the rescue of the Tṛtsus. We are further informed that Indra "dealt out death to a lion with a goat",[35] indicating thereby the arduous nature of the task of winning victory over numerically stronger foes. The defeat of the Vaikarṇas, of Kavaṣa and of Druhyu by Sudās is referred to in VII. 18·11. Elsewhere Bheda, the Ajas, the Śigrus and the Yakṣus are said to have been defeated and compelled to bring heads of horses as tribute.[36] The river Yamunā and the Tṛtsus are said to have aided Indra in this task.[37] The passage, VII 33·5, where the war is directly referred to as *dāśarājña* informs us of the sad plight of the Tṛtsus against the ten kings. Through Vasiṣṭha's intercession, however, Indra is said to have come to their help. In VII.83·1, a reference is made to the eastward march of the *pṛthuparśavaḥ* who felt confident on account of the assured friendship of Indra and Varuṇa. The word *pṛthuparśavaḥ* may, in this context denote either the tribes of the *Pṛthus* and the *Parśus* who must have evidently been the military allies of the Bharatas, or — and this is more probable — it may denote the Bharatas themselves, who carried broad axes as their principal weapons. In the same hymn we are further told[38] that the ten kings, who were non-sacrificers, were leagued together, but still they were not able to give a battle to Sudās. Indra and Varuṇa are again said to have saved Sudās in the *Dāśarājña* war when he was surrounded on all sides.[39] It is significant that the ten kings, who opposed Sudās, are referred to as *ayajyavaḥ* (VII. 83.7). This fact indicates that the Vasiṣṭhas had, as it were, invested the war with a religious background. As a matter of fact, the various references to the *dāśarājñayuddha* occurring in the *ṚV*, would clearly show how vital a role, the *purohitas* played in the polity of those times.

The fact that Vasiṣṭha was the priest of Sudās is corroborated by the *Brahmaṇa*-texts also. The (*AB* VIII.21), for instance, mentions Vasiṣṭha as the *purohita* of Sudās. Vasiṣṭha, here, is said to have performed the *aindramahābhiṣeka* in consequence of which the Bharata king went round the earth, in every direction, conquering, and ultimately performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice. The *AB*[40] further informs us that Vasiṣṭha taught a peculiar mode of Soma-sacrifice to Sudās which ultimately raised the king to greatness. Yāska

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(35) *ṚV* VII·18·17 : सिंह्यं चित्पेत्वेना जघान ।

(36) *ṚV* VII·18·19 : बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्व्यानि ।

(37) *ṚV* VII·18·19 : आवदिन्द्रं यमुना तृत्सवश्च ।

(38) *ṚV* VII·83·7.

(39) *ṚV* VII·83·8.

(40) *AB* VII·34.

(II.24) recognises Viśvāmitra as the *purohita* of Sudās. This accords well with the probable fact that Viśvāmitra originally held that office. The *PB*[41] also tells us that the Bharatas had Vasiṣṭha as their priests. The *dānastuti*-stanzas, which occur in the seventh *maṇḍala* (VII.18.22-25) are important in this connection, because they give us further details about the patron of the Vasiṣṭhas. It will be seen that, in these stanzas, Vasiṣṭha is praising the generosity of Sudās, the grandson of Devavat and the son of Pijavana or Divodāsa for having bestowed on him 200 cows, two chariots with women, ornaments and four horses.

Besides Sudās, with whom he was associated as a priest, Vasiṣṭha seems to have come into contact with many other important personalities of the Vedic period either in a hostile or in a friendly way. It would be interesting to study the contacts of Vasiṣṭha with some of these personalities from a socio-historical point of view. The foremost among such personalities was, of course, Viśvāmitra. In a sense, the relations between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra must indeed be said to form an important chapter in the social history, not only of the Vedic period but also of the ancient period as a whole. The rivalry between these two distinguished Vedic seers has vitally influenced even the later literary and social history of India. The feud between Vasiṣṭha and viśvāmitra has been elaborated in the post-Vedic literature in various ways and presented in different versions. One thing, however, is quite certain that the seeds of this feud are traceable, to a certain extent, in the *ṚV* itself. The refusal of Durga, who belonged to the Vāsiṣṭha-*gotra*, to comment on some of the stanzas of the Viśvāmitra's *maṇḍala*, and the ban on marriage of a person belonging to the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra* with a person belonging to Viśvāmitra *gotra*, which formally continues even to this day, may be mentioned as typical instances in this regard.

It is, however, sometimes suggested[42] that there is nothing stated in the *ṚV* about the mutual relationship of these famous priests of the Ṛgvedic age. A close scrutiny of the Ṛgvedic evidence, however, would seem to indicate that some kind of feud did exist between vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. It has been already noticed that Vasiṣṭha is frequently described as the priest of Sudās[43] and that, in one passage, he is said to have interceded with Indra for Sudās,[44] the son of Pijavana. But a more or less similar relation seems to have existed also between Viśvāmitra and Sudās.[45] The *Nirukta*,[46] moreover, corroborates the fact that Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās. The fact, therefore, that both these *ṛṣis* were priests of the same king, is, thus, sufficiently confirmed by ancient tradition. It may, however, be presumed that both Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha could not have been the priests of Sudās at one and the same time. They must have officiated as such at different times and the one must have, for some reason or other, been substituted for the other. In the chapters relating to the Viśvā-

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(41) *PB* XV·4·24.

(42) **Hariyappa,** "Ṛgvedic legends through the ages", *BDCRI*, Vol·XI, p·256.

(43) *ṚV* VII·18·4–5; 22–25.

(44) *ṚV* VII·33·1–6.

(45) *ṚV* III·53·9–13.

(46) *Nirukta*, II·24.

mitras and the Bharadvājas, the relations between these families and their priests have been discussed. That discussion would give us some important material to reconstruct the genealogy of the different kings and their priests. There, especially in the fifth chapter it was seen that Divodāsa, who was one of the leading kings of the early Vedic age was closely connected with the family of the Bharadvājas, who were their priests[47] and who were a distinguished branch of the ancient Atharvāṅgirasas. Divodāsa was succeeded by Pratardana.[48] Pratardana also had a Bharadvāja for his *purohita*.[49] As suggested above, the reference to the Bharatas by the name *Pratṛdaḥ* (VII·33·6, 14) may safely be assumed to indicate this ancestor of theirs. After Pratardana came Kṣatraśrī.[50] Pijavana seems to have followed Kṣatraśrī. Pijavana was the father of Sudās.[51] Sudās succeeded his father. It is abundantly clear, as was seen in the fourth chapter that by the time king Sudās appeared on the scene and was leading his followers on their victorious march the viśvāmitras had already superseded the Bharadvājas and seized the priestly office under the Bharatas. Vedic literature seems to be unusually silent as regards the circumstances under which the Viśvāmitras displaced the Bharadvājas. It may, however, be incidentally pointed out in this connection that both the Bharadvājas and the Visvāmitras were the scions of the ancient Atharvāṅgirasa stock. Visvāmitra, as we have seen in the second chapter, must have been the *purohita* of Sudās in the initial stages of his victorious march and colonising activity. The seer, for instance, is said to have once helped Sudās and the Bharatas to cross the rivers Vipāṭ and Śutudri, through his magic-formulas.[52] But Viśvāmitra, who had superseded Bharadvāja as the *purohita* of the Bharatas, also does not seem to have continued to enjoy that office for a long time. For the political considerations narrated above Sudās found it necessary to appoint Vasiṣṭha as the *purohita* of the Bharatas in place of Viśvāmitra. Later on, however, Viśvāmitra brought into being a political and militiary confederation of ten kings to cry halt to the progress of Sudās and the Bharatas. The progress of Vasiṣṭha, the *purohita* of the latter eventually proved more efficacious and as the result of this, the Bharatas came out victorious in the battle of ten kings. The main cause of the feud between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, therefore, seems to be this historical situation involving the change in the office of the *purohita* of the Bharatas, which Sudās had brought about. It has also been already pointed out in the second chapter that the legend about the *Sasarparī* stanzas (III·53·15–16), further constitutes a significant point in the context of this feud , namely, that Viśvāmitra was discomfited in his priestly office by Śakti, a scion of Vasiṣṭha's family. Moreover, the imprecations of Viśvāmitra, which are traditionally known to have been directed against Vasiṣṭha (*vasiṣṭha-dveṣiṇyaḥ ṛcaḥ*, *ṚV* III·53·21–24), clearly suggest as we have seen in the second chapter that Viśvāmitra had strong reasons

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(47) *ṚV* I·112·13–14; 116·18; VI·16·5; 31·4; 47·22 and the *PB* XV·3·7.
(48) In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III·1, he is referred to as Prātardana Daivodāsi.
(49) *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, XXI.10.
(50) *ṚV* VI·26·8.
(51) Cf. *Nirukta*, II·24 and *ṚV* VII·18·19 as also *AB* VIII.21.
(52) *ṚV* III·53.

to hold a grudge against Vasiṣṭha.[53] Thus, though the feud between these two celebrated Vedic families is nowhere directly mentioned in the *ṚV*, it is abundantly testified by indirect references to that Veda and also by tradition.[54]

The story given in the *MBh* supplies us with some more details about the feud.[55] Vasiṣṭha had a son called Śakti from Arundhatī. The son of Śakti and his wife Adṛśyantī was called Parāśara. We are told in the epic that young Parāśara, hearing from his mother, Adṛśyantī that his father Śakti had been killed by a *rākṣasa* set upon by Viśvāmitra, arranges a *satra* with a view to exterminating all the *rākṣasas* but was subsequently dissuaded from doing so by his grandfather Vasiṣṭha. This *rākṣasa* was no other than the Ikṣvāku king, Kalmāṣapada,[56] into whose body a *rākaṣasa* named Kiṅkara had entered at the bidding of Viśvāmitra, the enemy of Vasiṣṭha.

The *sūkta* VII·104 of the *ṚV* is again quite significant in this connection. Returning to that *sūkta*, we are informed by the *BD*[57] that it was seen by Vasiṣṭha when he was overwhelmed with grief and anger caused by the loss of his hundred sons who had been slain by the sons of Sudās. It is not unlikely that, after the battle of ten kings was over, the victorious Bharatas began to show scant courtesy to their *purohitas*, namely , the Vasiṣṭhas. The Ṛgvedic evidence relating to the Bharatas and their *purohitas*, if considered as a whole, whould indeed seem to suggest that they always acted in an opportunistic manner so far as the appintment to the office of the *purohita* was concerned. It is, therefore, possible to presume that the relations between the Bharatas and the Vasiṣṭhas, at some stage, actually became very much strained, as the result of which fact, Viśvāmitra must have again manoeuvered to regain the confidence of the descendants of Sudās.

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(53) It may be pointed out that Sāyaṇa, in his introduction to the commentary on III·53·20–24, refers to the estrangement between Sudās and Vasiṣṭha, but he gives no definite reason for it. He simply says : *keṇacit kāraṇena*. Sudās is here specifically referred to as the disciple of Viśvāmitra. The implications of Sadguruśiṣya's account, where he says that Viśvāmitra's prowess and speech were rendered futile at the sacrifice of a Saudāsa king by Śakti, the so— of Vasiṣṭha, howeowever, seem to be historicall y mor e convincing.

(54) **Hariyappa,** ("*Ṛgvedic legends through the ages*", *BDCRI*, Vol. XI, pp·256–57), however, says that there is nothing stated in the *ṚV*, about the mutual relationship of these famous *ṛṣis* of the Ṛgvedic age. He further asserts that at worst the two sages can be said to have been neither friends nor enemies. But the evidence marshalled out here as well as in the second chapter would seem to be sufficient to prove the existence of some kind of food between them. Tradi- tion also favours such a hypothesis. **Hariyappa** asks, "But why such a forced surmise ? If may be poosible to answer that the *sūktas* mentioning directly the cause of the feud might have been either lost or deliberately suppressed by the saṁhitākāras and consequently what we now possess are only stray fragments of the true story. It may be safely presumed that the present *saṁhitā* of the *ṚV* represents but a portion of the entire literary activity of the Vedic Aryan of that period. "Why", we might further ask, "has tradition recorded the enmity between these seers so specifically ?" Tradition always grows on the basis of facts.

(55) *MBh*, Vanaparvan, 70·79–83.

(56) This Kalmāṣapāda was, according to the *Purāṇas* (cf. *Vāyu P.* 88·174–76), third in descent from Ṛtuparṇa, the friend of Mudgala's father-in-law, Nala.

(57) *BD* VI·27–28. Allusion is also made both in the *TS* VII·4·7, and *JB* , II·390, the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* IV·8, *PB* IV·7·3 to the slaughter of Vasiṣṭha's son by the sons or descendants of Sudās.

It is also possible that Viśvāmitra set them actively against the Vasiṣṭhas. The background of VII·104, as given by the BD, presumably relates to this post-*dāśarājña*-war situation. Whatever it is, one thing seems to be quite certain, namely, that the family of the Vasiṣṭhas actually suffered from the tragedy of wholesale destruction of progeny. The frequent reference to it in the Vedic literature[58] and the conspicuous manner in which the prayers in the seventh *maṇḍala* express longing for heroic progeny and anxiety for its safety,[59] would not fail to create the impression that the tragedy of the loss of his sons suffered by Vasiṣṭha must have been a historically authentic fact. That tragedy indeed constitutes a major *motif* of the compositions of the Vasiṣṭhas. The *sūkta* VII·104, which according to the *BD* has this tragedy for its background, consists chiefly of imprecations directed against *rākṣasas* and *yātudhānas*. Stanzas, 12–16 of this *Rakṣoghna-sūkta* are supposed to be malediction upon the *rākṣasas* by Vasiṣṭha. Sāyaṇa[60] tells us that a *rākṣasa*, having devoured the *ṛṣi's* sons, assumed Vasiṣṭha's form and said to him, "I am Vasiṣṭha, thou art a *rākṣasa*". To this Vasiṣṭha replied in stanza 12, that the prudent find it easy to make a distinction between truth and falsehood, which always oppose each other. Out of these two, god Soma protects truth and brings falsehood to naught. The fifteenth stanza of this *sūkta* is in the form of a *śapatha*. Vasiṣṭha, it seems, was, out of contempt, called a *yātudhāna* by his enemy, Viśvāmitra, or by people instigated by Viśvāmitra. In a retaliatory reply to such accusations, Vasiṣṭha described the followers of Viśvāmitra as contemptible *rākṣasas* and prayed to Indra and the Maruts that they could kill these *rākṣasas*. In the fifteenth stanza, he says : "So may I die this day if I have harassed any man or if I be a demon. May he lose all his ten sons together, who with a false tongue has called me a *yātudhāna*."[61]

The *TS*[62] seems to present the feud between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra in a different light. According to that text, it was a dispute between Vasiṣṭha, on the one hand, and Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, on the other, regarding 'a conflicting invocation of gods (*vihava*)'. The text goes on to say that in that dispute, Jama-

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(58) Cf. *TS* VII·4·7·1; *TMB*, IV·7·3.

(59) Cf. VII·1·11; 12; 14; 19; 21; VII·4·7; VII·37·7.

(60) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·512.

(61) Stanzas VII·104·15–16 are according to **MaxMüller** (**Muir**, *OST*, I, 327–28), an outcome of Vasiṣṭha's contest with Viśvāmitra. The latter, he says, must have brought the charges of heresy and of murderous and demonical character against his rival. In the light of this *rakṣoghna-sūkta* in the *ṚV*, it may now be possible to interepret the story of Kalmāṣapāda, given by the *MBh* as follows : 'Kalmāṣapāda, the Ikṣvāku king, was the follower of Viśvāmitra. He killed Śakti, Vasiṣṭha's son, at the bidding of Viśvāmitra. Naturally the king has been depicted as a *rākṣasa* in the *∞Bh*". The conclusion would thus seem inevitable, that the Ṛgvedic Vasiṣṭha, who was the priest of Sudās, was the same person whose son Śakti is represented to have been killed by the Ikṣvāku king Kalmāṣapāda. The followers of Viśvāmitra, as we have just seen are addressed as *rākṣasas* both in the *ṚV* and the *MBh*. The mention of Kalmāṣapāda in the *MBh* is obviously the result of the epic tendency to combine legends which are originally distinct but have a similar motif.

(62) *TS* III·1·7.

dagni saw the *vihavya* hymn (*ṚV* X·128·1)[63] and drew away all the power and strength of the adversary.

Curiously enough, the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts are almost completely silent regarding the feud between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. These texts refer, in a very general way, to the role played by the two families in respect of the Vedic ritual. The *AB*,[64] for instance, mentions that both the sages officiated as priests at Hariścandra's sacrifice. The *ŚB*[65] states that at first the Vasiṣṭhas alone could officiate as Brahman priests, but, later, any one who knew the job began to do so. We, no doubt, come across a constant reference to Vasiṣṭha's bereavement and the sacrifice which he performed to obtain progeny and to defeat the Saudāsas, but, nowhere, in these texts, is it suggested that Viśvāmitra was responsible for Vasiṣṭha's misfortune. It has already been noted that the *BD*, the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, and the *Nirukta* make a reference in some form or the other, to the controversy between these two seers. The *Nītimañjarī*[66] of Dyā Dviveda mentions the fact that Śakti, though thrown into the fire, survived the flames due to Indra's praise by Vasiṣṭha. The Vasiṣṭha Viśvāmitra conflict thus seems to have been accepted as an established fact by most of the ancillary literature belonging to the *ṚV*. In course of time this tradition hardened itself to such an extent that as indicated elsewhere, some stanzas in the *ṚV* came to be regarded as anathema because they were *Vasiṣṭha-dveṣiṇyaḥ*.[67]

After having indicated our own view regarding the probable cause of the conflict between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, we may, incidentally state and briefly comment upon the views of different scholars in the matter. **MaxMüller**[68] discovers the cause, as seen above in the *Rakṣoghna-sūkta*, where according to him, Viśvāmitra is said to have brought a charge of murderous and demonical attitude against Vasiṣṭha. That scholar has, however, not cared to explain why Viśvā-

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(63) According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, as quoted by Sāyaṇa on X·128 (*ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·773), however, Vihavya is the name of a *ṛṣi*.

(64) *AB* 3·7·13–19.

(65) *ŚB* XII·6·1·38–41.

(66) *Nītimañjarī*, 103, p·225 :

गुणप्रशंसया कार्यं महता मानवर्धनम् ।
क्षिप्तोऽग्नावरिभिः शक्तिर्नेन्द्रप्रशंसया मृत ॥

(67) In the epics and the *Purāṇas* the basic fact of the conflict between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra was accepted without demur. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, describes only the process of Viśvāmitra's elevation to the status of a *Brahmarṣi*. All stories relating to Viśvāmitra's revenge are elaborated in the *MBh* and further in the *Purāṇas*. The general impression would be that Vasiṣṭha patiently bore all the insults and the onslaughts of Viśvāmitra, whereas, the latter, prompted by jealousy at Vasiṣṭha's greatness, always sought an opportunity to attack him. **Hariyappa**, (op·cit., p·329), however, says that "later literature does not reflect the truth....Let us now look at the facts and realise that the two sages were not at all enemies of each other." This view is obviously not at all convincing. Indeed **Hariyappa** himself is prepared to concede (op·cit., p·330) that any differentce between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra " must relate to some sacrificial technique or to a too personal jealousy at each other's success in their support to kings."

(68) See footnote 61.

mitra must have brought such charges against Vasiṣṭha. **Velankar**[69] points out that the contest between the two families was of a different nature from the usual contests of the priests foı supremacy. The Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas, according to him, represented two mutually opposed indeologies. The former bleonged to the Atharvāṅgirasa-group i. e. the group of the reformers, who were well-versed in the knowledge and practice of charms and spells and who advocated the use of these by the Vedic priests, if and when necessary. The Vasiṣṭhas, on the other hand, represented the orthodox branch of the Aryans, who hated the practice of employing the services of the lower spirits and absolutely refused to recognise the authority of any supernatural being which did not belong to the Vedic pantheon. However, the Vasiṣṭhas believed in their existence.[70] However ingeneous it might be this view of **Velanker,** does not seem to receive corroboration from Ṛgvedic evidence. On the other hand, it can be shown that both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, had full faith in the magical potency of their *mantras* and that the families of both of them actually belonged to the common stock of the Aṅgirasas. **Oldenberg**[71] is of the opinion that the conflict between the two seers is not referred to or even hinted at in the *ṚV*. **Hariyappa's**[72] view also which seems to have been based on this opinion of **Oldenberg** has already been examined by us and shown to be untenable. **Roth**[73] attributes the cause of the feud to the poiltical circumstances in those days. He says : " There was a time (as the Vedic hymns represent to us) of feud and foray among the small neighbouring tribes, when the powers of the leaders of the armies and petty chiefs was unlimited, when we observe that the ten kings were allied against Sudās. It was a period of subdivided dominion. In such circumstances it is impossible to find a family so favoured by the gods as that of Viśvāmitra or Vasiṣṭha in continued or undisturbed possession of influence over any one of these chieftains." A reference has already been made to the views of **Hutton** and **Ghurye.**[74] It will be thus seen that a majority of scholars clearly accept the fact of the Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud and regard it as a significant event in the social history of the Vedic age. And, as we attempted to demonstrate so far, the principal cause of that feud must have been of a priestly-political character.

While depicting the Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud, the later epic literature and the *Purāṇas* make much of Vasiṣṭha's *kāmadhenu* and the help rendered by her to Vasiṣṭha in times of calamities. In this connection, a question may be asked: " Do we get any reference to Vasiṣṭha's *kāmadhenu* in the Veda in general or in the *ṚV* in particular ?" It is possible that, in some Ṛgvedic passages, might be lurking a distant reference to Vasiṣṭha's unique cow. In VII·18·4, for instance,

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(69) " The family-hymns in the family-*maṇḍalas* ", *JBBRAS*, 18, pp·1–22.

(70) Cf. *ṚV* VII·104·17, 18, 22, 24. **Velankar** (*op. cit.*) points out that the name *Yātu* seems to have been invented by the Vasiṣṭhas as it occurs only in the first and the last hymns of the seventh *maṇḍala*. Sāyaṇa explains the word *yātudhāna* (VII·104) to mean a *rākṣasa*.

(71) **Oldenberg,** *ZDMG*, 42, p·204, note 3.

(72) *Op. cit.* p·329.

(73) **Roth**, *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, 121, *et seq*.

(74) See foot-note 46 of the second chapter.

Vasiṣṭha is addressing Indra with his prayers in order to win his favour, as men milk the cow at sacrifice for the milk required for libations. The simile of a cow may perhaps imply that the later *kāmadhenu* of the epics and the *Purāṇas* was the efficacious prayer of Vasiṣṭha, which gave him whatever he asked for. In X·133·7, Sudās prays to Indra for an excellent cow giving plenty of milk. In the *AV*, however, we come across a much clearer reference in this connection. Varuṇa is there[75] represented to have given to Atharvan a special kind of cow. This may be understood to mean that, through Varuṇa's grace, Atharvan, by whom presumably, Vasiṣṭha is intended, came to be in possession of a particularly efficacious magic formula. The power of the Vasiṣṭhas' in respect of the invocation of gods is often said to be of quite a superior order.[76]

From the *Rakṣoghna-sūkta* discussed above, it was seen that the *rākṣasas* and the *Yātudhānas* were people who generally bore malice towards the Vedic Aryans. On a close scrutiny of the seventh *maṇḍala* it will be found that, besides those people, the Vasiṣṭhas regarded the Dasyus as the chief enemies of the Aryandom. In the fifth *sūkta*[77], for instance, the poet says that, for fear of Agni, the dark-hued races (*asiknīḥ viśaḥ*) fled away and scattered about deserting their possessions. At another place[78] the poet praises Agni for driving the Dasyus from their home and bringing forth broad light for the Aryans. Agni is again said to have completely routed the Dasyus[79] and the *ṛṣi* feels confident that with the help of Agni he can overwhelm the Dasyus.[80]

Rather a peculiar reference, in this connection is to the not infrequent destruction of one Jarūtha by Agni. In the first *sūkta* of the seventh *maṇḍala*,[81] for instance, Agni is invoked to burn up all malicious enemies in the same manner as he did Jarūtha in former times. In another passage[82] Vasiṣṭha himself is said to have killed Jarūtha while enkindling Agni. In the tenth *maṇḍala*[83] Agni is said to have burnt Jarūtha after ousting him from water. Sāyaṇa[84] explains the word *jarūtham* as *paruṣabhāṣiṇam jaraṇīyam vā rakṣogaṇam* or as *jarūtham paruṣaśabdakāriṇam* while in his commentary on X·80·3 he says : *jarūtham etannāmānam asuram.*[85]

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(75) *AV* VII·104·1.

(76) While commenting on VII·33·2, Sāyaṇa gives a legend which tells us how Indra paid heed only to the invocation of the Vasiṣṭhas, the priests of Sudās and how Indra neglected the *somayāga* of another king by name Pāśadyumna.

(77) *ṚV* VII·5·3.

(78) *ṚV* VII·5·6.

त्वं दस्यूंरोकसो अग्न आज उरु ज्योतिर्जनयन्नार्याय ।

(79) *ṚV* VII·6·3,5.

(80) *ṚV* VII·1·13.

(81) *ṚV* VII·1·7.

(82) *ṚV* VII·9·6.

(83) *ṚV* X·80·3.

(84) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, pp·291 and 265. He further adds (VII·1·7)

गृणातेरूथन्-प्रत्यये सति जरूथशब्दनिष्पत्तिः ।

(85) *Op. cit.* IV, p·560.

Ludwig[86] is of the opinion that Jarūtha was probably an enemy, who was slain in a battle, at which Vasiṣṭha was present as a *purohita*. **Karandikar**[87] identifies this Jarūtha with Zarathushtra, the Iranian Reformist. This view is obviously unacceptable, firstly because it is based on a far-fetched phonetic similarity which has no value from the linguistic point of view and secondly because it is not corroborated by any independent evidence. Veteran Avestan scholars, like **Taraporevala**[88] derive the word Zarathushtra, in quite a different manner, namely, either as *jarat* + *uṣṭra* i. e. 'the old camel' or as *zarat* + *usra*, that is, 'he' of golden, light.' Another reference of historical significance, which we come across in this *maṇḍala* is to Nahuṣ[89]. Here again Agni is said to have subdued the tribes of Nahuṣ and made them bring their tribute. Presumably, this tribal leader was antagonistic to the Bharatas on whose behalf the Vasiṣṭhas propitiated Agni. It is, however, possible to interpret VII·6·5 to mean that Agni subdued the tribes and made them pay tribute to Nahuṣ, implying thereby that the Vasiṣṭhas regarded him as their patron. Indeed this latter interpretation would seem to be corroborated by VII·95·2 where Sarasvatī is described to have poured, for Nāhuṣa, milk and ghee. In this connection, (*BD* VI·20–24), narrates a legend, according to which Nāhuṣa prayed to Sarasvatī, who gave him milk and ghee sufficient for the thousand-year sacrifice which the king was about to perform. The word *nahus* later seems to have indicated Vedic tribes in general. Interesting, in this connection, is the suggestion of **R. D. Karmarkar,**[90] who says that the Greek

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(86) Quoted by **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda,* II, p·11.

(87) *Dāśarāñjña-Yuddha,* pp·36–38.

(88) *Songs of Zarathushtra,* pp·73–74. **Taraporevala,** points out that the name of this great prophet of Indra has been variously explained by scholars. **Bartholomae** in his *Altiranisches Wörter-buch,* p·1676, interprets the word as 'one whose camels are old (*zarat* = Sanskrit, *jṛ* to grow old, and *uṣhṭra* = Sanskrit *uṣṭra* = a camel), while **Jackson** (*Zoraster, the prophet of ancient Iran,* pp·147·49) takes it to mean, 'one who has tawny (*zaratha* = Sanskrit *harita*) camels'. **Bartholomae** mentions one of the latest attempts at its derivation, from *Zauthravastra,* but both, he himself and **Taraporevala** think this to be incomprehensible. **Taraporevala,** however, points out that the original name of the prophet was Spitama, while Zarathushtra was the distinguishing title which he received when he became a prophet (cf. also the titles, Buddha and Christ). The original and literal meaning of the word *uṣṭra* was 'shining' (*uṣ* + *tra*). Hence the name, according to **Taraporevala** could very correctly be taken to mean, 'He, of the golden light'. It may also be noted that Sanskrit grammarians also derive the word *uṣṭra* from *vas* (*uṣ*) to burn, to shine. It may also be noted that there are only two names in the *Avesta* having the element *uṣṭra,* namely, Zarathushtra and Ferașaoṣṭra (*Yasna,* 28·8) and in both these the word, *uṣṭra* should mean light.

(89) *ṚV* VII·6·5. **Ludwig,** *Translation of the Rigveda,* 3·206, sees in the *Nahus,* a tribe on the Sindhu (I·31·11, VI·22·10 etc.) or the Sarasvatī (VII·95·2), rich in horses (VIII·6·24) and allied with the Bharatas and the Śimyus (VII·18·5). **Roth** (*PW*), on the other hand sees in Nahus, the general sense of neighbour. *Nahuṣa* has the same sense as *Nahus* (I·31·11, V·12·6). In VIII·46·27, it appears to be the name of a person. **Oldenberg,** *SBE,* 46·28, says that Nahus was originally a man like Manu. **Geldner,** *Rigveda, Glossar,* 92, regards Nahus as a tribe and Nahuṣa as a king. One Nahuṣa, the son of Manu, is the seer of IX·101·7–9 and Yayāti, the seer of IX·101·4–6 is said to be Nahuṣa's son.

(90) **R. D. Karmarkar,** "The first Greek conqueror of India", *ABORI,* XXXI, p·249, however, suggests that the first Greek conqueror of India was Dionysus alias Deva Nahuṣa of the *Purāṇas.* On page 246, he asserts that there is nothing in the *ṚV* that might militate against the theory of Nahuṣa belonging to Thrace or Greece.

tradition and the Indian tradition seem to corroborate mutually on the hypothesis that the first Greek conqueror of India was Dionysus alias Deva Nahuṣ of the *Purāṇas* and king Nahuṣ of the *ṚV.*

Another person whom the Vasiṣṭhas refer to is Kutsa which name also occurs in the form of Kutsas.[91] In VII·19·2, for instance, Indra is said to have helped Kutsa Ārjuneya in defeating Kuyava and Dāsa Śuṣṇa and winning the sun. In view of the conflicting statements about him occurring in the *ṚV*, it is really difficult to ascertain the exact character of Kutsa. In one passage he is said to have defeated Smadibha, Tugra and Vetasu (X·49·4), while in other passages, (I·53·10 and II·14·7 etc.), he is mentioned with Atithigva and Āyu as being vanquished by Indra, his defeat in one passage being attributed to Turvayāṇa (I·53·10). Elsewhere he appears with Atithigva as Indra's friend (I·51·6, VI·26·3). In the later *Brāhmaṇa*-texts Kutsa is mentioned in connection with the myth of his binding down Indra (*PB*, IX·2·22, *JB*, I·228) which seems to be based on an obscure stanza X·38·5.

The *BD*[92] refers to a curse given by Vasiṣṭha which relegated Vyaṁsa to a remote eastern region beyond the pale of Brahmanism. It is stated there that the favour of Indra afterwards enabled him to perform sacrifices on the river Sarasvatī and so to become a lord of Soma like Indra himself. But there does not seem to be even a distant reference to any such event in the *ṚV*. In II·14·5, however, one Vyaṁsa is said to have been the enemy of Indra. Here, however, Sāyaṇa[93] takes the word to be an adjective and interprets it as *vyaṁsam aṁsahīnam kṛtvā jaghāna.*

It is possible to determine, on the basis of the geographical references in this *maṇḍala*, the locality with which the Vasiṣṭhas must have been particularly familiar. In the eighteenth *sūkta*, for instance, the river Paruṣṇī[94] and the river Yamunā[95] are mentioned. These rivers clearly indicate the geographical extent to which the various incidents connected with the *dāśarājña-yuddha* had spread. Two entire hymns[96] are mentioned. These rivers clearly indicate the geographical extent to which the various incidents connected with the *dāśarājña-yuddha* had spread. Two entire hymns are again especially composed in honour of the river Sarasvatī. The river is said to have come from her original abode in the mountains to meet the sea.[97] She is also said to have given milk and ghee to king Nahuṣa. Vasiṣṭha waxes eloquent in the eulogy of this river[98]. It would, therefore, seem that, at an earlier stage, the Vasiṣṭhas had colonised on the banks of

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(91) *ṚV* VII·19·2 and 25·5.

(92) *BD* VII·58–60.

(93) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p·59.

(94) *ṚV* VII·18·8–9.

(95) *ṚV* VII·18·10.

(96) *ṚV* VII·95–96.

(97) *ṚV* VII·95·2. This river Sarasvatī is not to be found to-day. Without, therefore, assuming that there was sea in Rājputānā, it is impossible to conceive of such a river. As we have said in the second and the fifth chapters the Sarasvatī can be better identified with Haraquaiti.

(98) Cf. *ṚV* VII·95·1, 5; VII·96·3.

the river Sarasvatī and then spread out via Paruṣṇī as far as the Yamunā together with the victorious Bharatas. The *GB*[99] mentions two hermitages in the bed of the river Vipāś, where Vasiṣṭha is said to have practised penance until he became moribund. The river is called Vipāś (fetterless) because Vasiṣṭha was made fetterless there[100].

We have seen in the previous chapter that an important *śloka* in the *MBh*[101] states that the *gotras* were originally four only,[102] namely Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu and that the gotras came into vogue due to some glorious exploits of the *ṛṣis*. On a closer scrutiny of the list of the eight later *ṛṣis* and the list of four ancient ones, it will be found that the names of Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha occur in both of them. Moreover in all the lists of the *Saptarṣis*, that are available in the epics, the *Purāṇas* and the *sūtras*, the name of Vasiṣṭha occurs invariably. This fact may be regarded as a clear indication of the very eminent position which the Vasiṣṭhas occupied among the Vedic families even from the very early times.

Among the legends relating to Vasiṣṭha, mention must, first of all, be made of the one which tells us of that seer's divine birth and associations. Dealing with the family-hymn (VII·33) of the Vasiṣṭhas, we have already seen how superhuman character is attributed to Vasiṣṭha and how he is said to have been born from Mitra, Varuṇa and Urvaśī. There are other passages also which attribute divinity to him and speak of his mystic experience. The stanzas, VII·87·4, for instance, speaks of the divine favour conferred on Vasiṣṭha by Varuṇa. The stanza is generally translated as follows : " To me, who understand, hath Varuṇa spoken, the names borne by the cow (*aghnyā*) are three times seven. The Sapient god, knowing the secret of the place taught me as his disciple."[103] Vasiṣṭha, here, seems to have been initiated into the deepest secrets of existence by Varuṇa, who, in this manner, can be said to have exercised a truly paternal care over his own son.[104] The clause, *triḥ sapta nāmā aghnyā bibharti*, in this stanza has been interpreted by **Oldenberg**[105] in two ways, namely, (1) the cow (aghnyā)[106] has twenty-

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(99) *GB* I·2·8.

(100) *Nirukta*, VII·104.

(101) *Śāntiparvan*, Ch. 298, 10877–78.

(102) The fact is still traceable in the *sūtras*, which, though they describe the *gotrarṣis* as eight (i. e. the *saptarṣis* + Agastya), still begin with the *Bhṛgugaṇa*. It may be noted that the *Aṅgirogaṇa* and the *Bhṛgugaṇa* are names of the ancestors of some of the *saptarṣis*.

(103) *ṚV* VII·87·4 :

उ॒वाच॑ मे॒ वरु॑णो॒ मेधि॑राय॒ त्रिः स॒प्त नामाघ्न्या॑ बिभर्ति ।
विद्वान् पदस्य गुह्या॒ न वो॑चत् यु॒गाय॒ वि॒प्र उप॑राय॒ शिक्ष॑न् ॥

(104) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·47–1 :

(105) *Noten*, II, p·61.

(106) According to the *Vedic Index*, II, p·146, the word *aghnyā* (not to be slain) used to denote a cow, here, shows that the cow was on the road to acquire special sanctity in the *ṚV* (cf. VIII·101·15–16) and *VS* (IV·16·20) *AV* X·10 and XII·415). The word occurs sixteen times in the *ṚV* as opposed to *aghnya* (masculine) occurring three times. *PW* prefers the sense of 'hard to overcome'. **Weber** (17·281) tries to derive it from *ahnyā* 'bright coloured like a day' which is quite likely the original sense.

one names; and (2) the word *go* has twentyone significations.[107] In this passage, again, it is possible to understand the 'cow' in the sense of a magically potent formula. It is also possible to connect this passage with the reference to Varuṇa's cow occurring in the *AV* VII·104·1. The idea expressed in *yugāya uparāya śikṣan* can be compared with that expressed in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[108] and the *Avesta.*[109] **Oldenberg** (*Noten*, II, p.61), wonders whether the word *na* in the second line of the stanza cannot be interpreted as a negative particle, so that the second line would then mean : Varuṇa knows the names[110] but does not disclose them. **Geldner,**[111] however, takes the word *na* in the sense of *iva*, construing the line as *nāmāni guhyāni iva.*

The next passage which is important from the point of view of the mystic experience of Vasiṣṭha is VII.88·4,[112] which is translated by **Griffith**[113] as follows : " Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha in a vessel and deftly, with his might, made him a *ṛṣi*. When days shone bright the Sage made him a singer ". The poet Vasiṣṭha seems to have been forsaken by Varuṇa. With great anguish, he remembers the communion with the god which he enjoyed in former times. In a vision he sees himself translated into Varuṇa's realm. He goes on, sailing with the god, who made him a *ṛṣi* and a singer.

Two amusing situations stand out prominently in the legends relating to the personal life of Vasiṣṭha. The fiftyfifth hymn in the seventh *maṇḍala* is called the *Prasvāpinyupaniṣad*[114] by the *Anukramaṇī* and is believed to contain magical formulas which send all to sleep. Vasiṣṭha is, here, addressing a dog which attacks him as he was about to steal into the house of Varuṇa. He then pronounces a spell, as it were, to lull all men in the house to sleep. Such an encounter with a canine sentinel and such occasion to put the whole life in a mansion into deep slumber must have meant a peculiar situation for Vasiṣṭha. But all this was in a dream. The *BD*[115] begins the story with the words : *varuṇasya gṛhān rātrau vasiṣṭhaḥ svapnam ācaran.* The same is described in another setting by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his *Anukramaṇībhāṣya*, 7·55.[116]

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(107) Sāyaṇa, *op. cit.*, III, 471, in his alternative explanation of this clause, says that the word *go* means the earth and the earth has twentyone synonyms like *gmā*, *jmā* etc.

(108) *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3·11·5. **Hume,** in his *The thirteen principal Upaniṣads*, p·207, translates it as follows : 'Verily, a father may teach Brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil but to no anyone else at all'.

(109) *Avesta, Yaṣṭa*, 4·9.

(110) From a magical point of view to know the name of a thing is to have controlling power over it.

(111) **Geldner,** *Der Rigveda*, II, p·258.

(112) *Ṛ V*, VII·88·4 :

वसिं॑ष्ठं ह॒ वरुं॑णो ना॒व्याधा॒दृषिं॑ चकार॒ स्वपा॒ महो॑भिः ।

स्तो॒तार॒ं विप्रः॑ सुदि॒नत्वे अह्॒नां याम्नु द्यावं॑स्त॒तन॒न्यादु॒षासः॑ ।

(113) *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·84.

(114) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *Ṛ V*, VSM, III, p·394.

(115) *BD*, VI·11–13.

(116) *Sarvānukramaṇī*, ed. by **Macdonell,** p·133.

He says : " Once upon a time Vasiṣṭha was thirsty and hankering after food, having had to starve for three nights. On the fourth night he decided to steal and came to Varuṇa's house. In order to lull the sentry and the hounds to sleep, while he entered the house, Vasiṣṭha saw these seven *ṛks* commencing with *Yadarjuna* etc. "

The eightysixth hymn in the seventh *maṇḍala* is a sort of a penitential hymn in which Vasiṣṭha prays to god Varuṇa to absolve him of all sin. In VII.86·3 he says, " Fain to know my sin I question others : I seek the wise, O Varuṇa, and ask them. The same answer even the sages gave me, surely this Varuṇa is angry with thee."

Vasiṣṭha, then pathetically asks as to what his chief transgression was and implores Varuṇa to free him from the sin which he might have committed. Then in a very striking stanza (VII. 86 ·6), which protrays the psychology of a sinner in a remarkable manner, he tells Varuṇa that it was not his own will which betrayed him but the causes leading him astray were thoughtlessness, wine, dice and anger. The principal significance of this outstanding hymn indeed, consists in the emotions of *bhakti* and the repentance of a sinner. Herein we get, as it were, some glimpses into the Vedic concept of sin. In a truly pathetic and devotional tone, Vasiṣṭha asks : When shall I be united with Varuṇa?[117] The poet seems to speak again of his mystic experience in the eightyninth *sūkta* where he says, " Thirst found thy worshipper though he stood in the midst of water-floods : Have mercy, spare me, mighty Lord. "[118]

A reference may as well be made, at this stage, to the famous *maṇḍūka-sūkta* which occurs in the seventh *maṇḍala* (VII.103). Various views have been expressed by scholars regarding the exact significance of this hymn. **Muir,**[119] for instance, regards this hymn as a satire. He finds an echo of this *sūkta* in a description of autumn in the *Harivaṁśa*[120] where the poet compares the noise made by a frog, after his rest of sixteen half-months, along with his wives, to the recitation of the *ṚV* by a *Brāhmaṇa* surrounded by his pupils. . **MaxMüller**[121] also is of the opinion that the hymn has a satiric tone. He remarks : " The hymn which is called a panegyric of the frogs, is clearly a satire on the priests;

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(117) *ṚV* VII·86·2.

(118) *ṚV* VII·89·4. **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda,* II, p·85 suggests that the stanza means that, even though he was surrounded by wealth, greed or avarice still possessed him. According to Sāyaṇa, however (*ṚV,* VSM, III, p·475), the allusion is to a sea-voyage; or, perhaps, the perpetual thirst caused by dropsy (cf. VII·89·2) may be intended. However, from the general trend of the hymn, it can be said that the literal sense may not be accepted here. The poet seems to speak of some mystic experience which he had. This is, again, corroborated by VII·86·3–4.

(119) *OST,* V, p·438.

(120) *Harivaṁśa* V·8803 :

प्लवङ्गमः षोडशपक्षशायी विरौति गोष्ठः सह कामिनीभिः ।
ऋचो द्विजातिः प्रियसत्यधर्मा यथा स्वशिष्यैः परिवार्यमाणः ।।

(121) *Ancient Sanskrit Literature,* pp·494 f. **Haug** and **Bühler,** however, do not agree with this view.

and it is curious to observe that the same animal should have been chosen by the Vedic satirist to represent the priests, which, by the earliest satirist of Greece, was selected as the representative of the Homeric heroes." **Geldner**[122] agrees with **MaxMüller** and thinks that the hymn is directed by its Vāsiṣṭha composer against rival Brahmins, probably the Viśvāmitras. **Geldner** actually points to the plausibility of the last *pāda* of this Vasiṣṭha-hymn being borrowed from one of the most important Viśvāmitra-hymns.[123] **Gonda,**[124] however, thinks and, indeed, quite rightly—that the hymn has a magico-religious purpose to serve. The croaking of frogs brings about the discharge of the waters from heaven just like the muttering of the *Brāhmaṇas* on the occasion of certain sacrifices and ceremonies. The hymn according to **Gonda,** obviously breathes the spirit of anxious conciliation. The frog, the symbol of eagerly craved-for water, is no joking matter and the comparisons with the *Brāhmaṇas* and sacred rites are begotten of the desire of praise, and not of disparage. **Thomas**[124a] also suggests that the similes in the *sūkta* have a magical character. As priests and their texts and formulas are very powerful, because they contain *brahma*, these similes may be considered as having a magical effect, as containing power. They are, according to him, a kind of '*Regenzauber*'. **Winternitz**[125] opines that the original humorous hymn is later turned into a magic spell. But what actually happened was, perhaps, the other way round. **Geldner**[126] regards the *sūkta* as a witty or droll description while according to **Deussen,**[127] the poet wanted to compose a parody on the attitude of Vedic poets always begging something from gods. But both these views and also that of **Oldenberg**[128] who says that magic and humour go together, are unacceptable in the light of the symbolic magical interpretation of the *sūkta*. It would thus appear that the view according to which the hymn is taken to be a rain-charm and which is given even by Yāska[129] is certainly more acceptable. Referring to the *sūkta*, Yāska says : "Vasiṣṭha, desirous of rain, praised the cloud. Frogs applauded him. On seeing the applauding frogs he praised them. " The view , gets,

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(122) *Der Rigveda*, II, pp·271–272.

(123) *ṚV* III·53·7 (*b*) = वि॒श्वामि॑त्राय॒ ददतो म॒घानि॑ सहस्रसा॒वे प्र ति॑रन्त॒ आयुः ।

while *ṚV* VII·103·10 (*b*) = गवां॑ म॒ण्डूका॒ ददतः श॒तानि॑ सहस्रसा॒वे प्र ति॑रन्त॒ आयुः॑ ।

(124) *Orientalia Neerlandica*, p·313 ff.

(124) **Thomas,** quoted by **Gonda,** op. cit.

(125) *History of Indian Literature*, I, pp·109–110.

(126) *Dev Rigveda*, II, pp·271–72.

(127) *Ag. Ph.* 1·1, pp·100 ff.

(128) *Noten* II, p·67 : Der humoristische oder satirische Charakter des Liedes bleibt mir nach wie vor ungewiss.

(129) *Nirukta*, IX·5·. Cf. also, in this connection, the views **Haug,** (*Brahma und die Brahmanen*, München, 1871, p·12); **Schroeder,** *Mysterium und Mimus im Ṛgveda*, pp·396 ff.;**Hauer,** *Die Anfange der Yogapraxis*, Berlin 1922, pp·68 ff.; **Bloomfield,** *JAOS*, 17·173–179; **Macdonell,** *V,M* p·151 and **Bächtold** (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 3, p·125), who says, "the frog is the prototype of an animal-weather-prophet." and **Renou,** "Hymnes et prieres du veda," 1938, p·75.

support from **Frazer**, who in his monumental work, *The Golden Bough*,[130] says: "The intimate association of frogs and toads with water has earned for these creatures a wide-spread reputation as custodians of rain: and hence they often play a part in charms designed to draw needed showers from the sky. The frog from its connection with water, was considered to have cooling properties also.[131]

It may now prove helpful to see how Vasiṣṭha figures in the other Vedas. Vasiṣṭha, perhaps, is the only Ṛgvedic *ṛṣi* who plays a particularly prominent role also in the *AV*. Vasiṣṭha, as a person, is mentioned in the *AV* five times.[132] In VI.29·3 of the *AV*, for instance, Vasiṣṭha is mentioned as a protege of Mitra and Varuṇa along with Aṅgiras, Agasti, Jamadagni and Atri. In his commentary, on this stanza, however, Sāyaṇa explains the word, *Vasiṣṭham*, as a superlative adjective.[133] Vasiṣṭha appears with Viśvāmitra at XVIII.3·16 of the *AV*. But what is, perhaps, more significant, in this connection is that Vasiṣṭha figures as the seer of a few hymns in the *AV*. *AV* I.29 is a hymn addressed to Brahmaṇaspati and is meant for the prosperity of the people and destruction of the rivals (*rāṣṭrābhivardhanam sapatnakṣayanam ca*). There is a particular *sūkta* which is called the *abhīvartamaṇī-sūkta* which is to be recited at the time of fixing an amulet. III·19 is intended to help friends against enemies, while various blessings are sought from Agni in III. 20-21. Various gods are entreated for the acquisition of splendour (*varcas*) in III.22. Success and prosperity of a king and the destruction of his enemies are sought for in IV.22. On a close scrutiny of the hymns of the Vasiṣṭhas, it will be found that Vasiṣṭha was definitely and more actively connected with martial adventures than any other seer. With his magical formulas and incatations which secured prosperity for the king and his subjects, Vasiṣṭha must have been looked upon as a veritable source of confidence by king and common man alike. A critical study of the role of Vasiṣṭha as represented in the *AV* and the *ṚV*, would thus, once for all, establish the remarkably prominent position which that seer and his family occupied in respect of both the religion of the classes and the religion of the masses.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the special contributions of Vasiṣṭha and his family to Vedic religion, ritual, and philosophy, we may, in passing,

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(130) **Frazer,** *The Golden Bough*, p·73. **Frazer** points to two significant Indian illustrations in this connection. In order to procure rain, people of low caste in the central provinces of India will tie a frog to a rod covered with green leaves and branches of the *Nīma* tree (Azadirachta Indica) and carry it from door to door, signing a song which contains a request to the frog to bring rain. When rain falls the women of the Reddis, who are the cultivators of the Madras Presidency, tie a frog alive to the winnowing fan and go singing from door to door, entreating the rain-god for water.

(131) After burning the dead body, the frog is invited to come to the spot where the cremation has taken place in order to cool it down (*ṚV* X·16·14). Similarly the frog is invited in the *AV* VII·116 as an antidote against the fire of fever.

(132) *AV* IV·29·3, XVIII·3·16, XX·12·1·6, and 117 ·3.

(133) Cf. *Vasiṣṭham, vasumattamam vasumacchabdād iṣṭhāni 'viṇmatorluk' 'ṭeḥ' iti ṭilopaḥ sarvaśreṣṭham vasiṣṭhākhyam maharṣim*

refer to that seer's wife Arundhatī. Arundhatī figures in the *MBh*,[134] along with Vasiṣṭha as objects of adoration and example to society. Kuntī blesses Draupadī that she may be to her husbands as Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha, as Bhadrā to Vaiśravaṇa etc. Arundhatī's virtue is unimpeachable as is evidenced by the story of Agni's love for the wives of the seven Sages.[135] Finally Bhīṣma relates how Arundhatī preached righteousness (*dharma*) to the Sages, the manes and the gods[136]. Etymologically her name is explained as, 'one who never leaves her husband and never opposes him.'[137] According to the *Purāṇas*, she is the daughter of Kaśyapa and the sister of Nārada and Parvata. Nārada is said to have given her in marriage to Vasiṣṭha.[138] It is, however, strange, that Arundhatī does not figure in the Veda either as a composer of hymns or as a teacher of philosophy. She is mentioned as a *ṛṣikā* in the *sūtra* literature only in the *Hiraṇyakeśī ṛṣitarpaṇa*.[139] It may be pointed out, in this context, that there appears in the constellation of the Saptarṣis (The Great Bear), just by the side of the star called Vasiṣṭha a small star which is appropriately named as Arundhatī.[140]

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(134) *MBh.* I·199·6 :

यथा वैश्रवणे भद्रा वसिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती ।
यथा नारायणे लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ॥

Cf. also III·113·23 :

अरुन्धतीव सुभगा वसिष्ठं लोपामुद्रा वा यथा ह्यगस्त्यम् ।

(135) *MBh.* III·226.

(136) *MBh.* XIII·130·1–12 *et. seq.*

(137) *MBh. Anuśasana parvan*, 142·39.

(138) *Vāyu P.* 2·9·79–83. The *Bhāgavata* 3·24·23, however, says that she was the daughter of Kardama Prajāpati and Devahūti.

(139) In the *srāvaṇī*-ceremony (renewal of the sacred thread) of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the *ṚV*, the seven *ṛṣis* are worshipped and along with them Arundhatī also is invoked as follows :

अत्रेर्यथाऽनसूया स्याद् वसिष्ठस्याप्यरुन्धती ।
कौशिकस्य यथा सती तथा त्वमपि भर्तरि ॥

It should be noted that, in the *ṛṣi-tarpaṇa*, Arundhatī is worshipped but not as a *ṛṣi*. The question, therefore, is : why is it that Arundhatī alone is invoked and not Anasūyā, Satī etc. ? **Chapekar,** *Tarapaṇa*, pp. 43–44, says that among the *saptarṣis* (The Great Bear), in the sky, there is a small star, called Arundhatī, which appears near Vasiṣṭha. This might have tempted people to include Arundhatī in the *ṛṣi-pūjana*. There is a reference in the *MBh* VI·2·31 to an omen concerning the stellar movement between the stars Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī :

या चैषा विश्रुता राजंस्त्रैलोक्ये साधुसम्मता ।
अरुन्धती तयाप्येष वसिष्ठः पृष्ठतः कृतः ॥

Thus the estrangement between the two stars (suggesting the disregard shown by a dutiful wife for her saintly husband) indicated an ill omen foreboding calamity, as observed by Bhīṣma before Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the eve of the Great Bharata war.

(140) Arundhatī, as the name of a star is often referred to in the *sūtra* literature, but only once in a late *Āraṇyaka*, namely the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (III·9·2). In the *AV*, however, ndhatī is the name of a plant possessing healing properties (cf. *AV* IV·12·1, V·5·5·9 etc.). *Lākṣā* (*AV* 4·12) appears to have been a product of this plant, which is often a climber to trees like Plakṣa, Nyagrodha and Parṇa.

Now turning to an estimate of the religious ideology of Vasiṣṭha, we must begin with the consideration of the hymns addressed by him to Varuṇa. The first striking thing that would emerge out of a critical study of the Varuṇa-*sūktas* in the seventh *maṇḍala*, is that the Vasiṣṭhas must, in a sense, be regarded as the pioneers of the *bhakti*-cult. These hymns are some of the loftiest and the most inspired in the whole of the *ṚV*. The poet approaches Varuṇa in all-surrendering humility and pleads for forgiveness of his sins. The hymns, in general, are full of pathos and are more devout in tone than any others. They are surcharged with a deep sense of complete self-surrender and a passionate longing for close personal communion with god—the two principal characters of true *Bhakti*. With all the reverence and all the awe which Varuṇa inspires, there is, at the same time, an element of nearness and compassion in those hymns. The relations between Varuṇa and his worshipper are often described as being very intimate. Varuṇa takes the devotees with him in a boat and the latter is, as it were, in a mystic spiritual communion with the former.[141] Varuṇa's love for his *bhakta* is indeed very genuine. Sometimes a devotee feels sad because he is reminded of the days when he could enjoy the company of Varuṇa.[142] The devotee pathetically asks Varuṇa what his sin is for which he is being punished.[143] The worshipper is often likened to little child committing offences through ignorance and temptation.[144] The devotee requests Varuṇa not to send him to the house of clay.[145] There is, in fact, no hymn addressed to varuṇa in this *maṇḍala* in which the prayer for forgiveness does not occur. An atmosphere of calmness and intense devotion is often discernible in the *sūktas*.[146] In the history of the *bhakti*-cult, therefore, the Varuṇa-hymns in the seventh *maṇḍala* must be definitely regarded as representing a distinct landmark.[147]

The Vasiṣṭhas are also responsible for bringing about a compromise between the old Asura-Varuṇa-cult and the later Indracult.[148] A critical study of the *ṚV* would show that, in the Veda, three distinct phases of the relation between the ancient Varuṇa-cult and the new Indra-cult can be clearly marked, namely, (a) the glorification of Varuṇa;[149] (b) the supersession of all religious cults, including the Varuṇa-cult by the Indracult–a phase which is prominently reflected in a major portion of the *ṚV*;[150] and (c) a kind of compromise between the

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(141) *ṚV* VII·88·3.

(142) *ṚV* VII·88·5.

(143) *ṚV* VII·86·4.

(144) *ṚV* VII·86·5.

(145) *ṚV* VII·89·1.

(146) *ṚV* VII·86·6.

(147) **Velankar,** *Ṛgvedāntīla bhakti-mārga*, Kauśika Lecture Series Publication No. 2, p·89, has tried to show that it is only in the Indra-*sūktas* that we find *bhakti* of a pure indigenous type and that, in the Varuṇa-*sūktas*, the devotee thinks of the god with a feeling of awe—a feeling which is detrimental to the pure type of *bhakti*. Cf. also **Velankar's** "*ṚV Maṇḍala VII*" published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963—Introduction, p. IV. However, in view of what has been said above, it would be difficult to agree with **Velankar.**

(148) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Vṛtrahā Indra", *ABORI* XXXI, pp·37–40 and *Vaidika devatāñce abhinava darśana*, Kauśika Lecture Series, Publication No. 1, pp·63–65 and 99–100.

(149) Cf. *ṚV* I·25·10, 34·6; II·27·10; VII·87·5, 6; VIII·41·7, and X·132·4.

(150) Cf. *ṚV* IV·42, and X·124. A major portion of the *ṚV* is constituted by the Indra-*sūktas*.

two cults.[151] It is with the third phase that we are particularly concerned here, as it is this phase, to the accomplishment of which the Vasiṣṭhas have contributed most. It must be remembered that even among the Vedic Indians, there were some tribes, who , in spite of the growing popularity of the Indra-cult continued to adhere to the old Varuṇa-cult. They must have, however, seen the signs of the changing times. Instead of either giving up the Varuṇa religion altogether or dogmatically sticking to it, in the face of the prevailing Indra-cult, they, very wisely tried to bring about an honourable compromise between the two cults. They argued that after victory is won by the war-god Indra, Varuṇa is needed to establish law and order. 'Indra *conquers* and Varuṇa *rules*' (VII. 83·9) – –was their slogan. Such attempts at a religious compromise seem to have been made more particularly by the Vasiṣṭhas. There is, in the *ṚV*, sufficient evidence in support of this assumption. It would be interesting to study the thought-process of the Aryans before they came to such a compromise.[152] It was but to be expected that, when the religious outlook of the Vedic Aryans had been essentially cosmic, they should have regarded Varuṇa, the great administrator of the cosmic law, as their highest divinity. In the course of the cultural history of the Vedic age when this cosmic religious outlook was superseded by what may be called the heroic outlook, Varuṇa had to make way for another god, namely, Indra. Thus, for some time there was a sort of rivalry between the two religions and the last phase of that rivalry, as indicated before became possible through the efforts made by certain Ṛgvedic poet-priests, particularly the Vasiṣṭhas, to bring about a kind of compromise between the two mythologies. Passages which mention Indra and Varuṇa in juxtaposition and in which the respective functions and fields of activity of those two gods are more or less clearly defined, abound in the seventh *maṇḍala* of the Vasiṣṭhas. In VII.82·2, for instance, Varuṇa is called a (universal) sovereign and Indra, an (earthly) monarch.[153] In the fifth stanza of the same *sūkta*, it is said that Mitra waits on Varuṇa in peace and security, while Indra, the aweful, seeks renown with the Maruts.[154] In the next stanza it is pointed out that Varuṇa subdues the destructive enemy (*ajāmim*) and Indra, with a few furthers many a man.[155] In the eightythird *sūkta*, it is said that one, that is Indra, destroys the Vṛtras while the holy laws are maintained by the other that is Varuṇa.[156] In the next *sūkta* it is pointed out that Varuṇa cuts short

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(151) Cf. *ṚV* VII·82·2, 5, 6; 83·9; 84·2, 4; and 85·3.

(152) Cf. **Dandekar,** "some aspects of Vedic Mythology : Evolutionary Mythology", *University of Ceylon Review,* XII, p·10.

(153) *ṚV* VII·82·2 : सम्राळन्यः स्वराळन्य उच्यते वां

(154) *ṚV* VII·82·5 : क्षेमेण मित्रो वरुणं दुवस्यति मरुद्भिरुग्रः शुभमन्य ईयते ।

(155) *ṚV* VII·82·6 : अजामिमन्यः श्नथयन्तमातिरद्दभ्रेभिरन्यः प्र वृणोति भूयसः । **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda,* II, p·79, translates it as follows : "The one subdueth the destructive enemy; the other with a few furthereth many a man."

(156) *ṚV* VII·83·9 : वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यो अभि रक्षते सदा ।

crimes and Indra gives them boundless wealth.[157] In the second stanza of this *sūkta* the poet requests that he be freed from Varuṇa's displeasure and that Indra should give spacious room to dwell in.[158] In the eightyfifth *sūkta*, it is said that Varuṇa holds the folk distinct and sundered, while Indra smites and slays resistless foemen.[159] We, thus, see that in the new socio-religio-political set up, both Indra and Varuṇa had distinct functions of their own. Indra blessed conquests and annexation while Varuṇa blessed the enforcement of law and order. Undoubtedly, the Vasiṣṭhas were responsible in bringing about this compromise. It may, indeed be presumed that this unique achievement bacame possible on account of the two-fold personality of the Vasiṣṭhas, namley, the Vasiṣṭhas as the sponsors of the ancient Varuṇa-cult and the Vasiṣṭhas as the *purohitas* of the warring Bharatas.

It would certainly be interesting critically to study, in this context, the references occurring in the seventh *maṇḍala* to people belonging to religious cults other than those of the Aryans. The *rakṣasas*[160] are mentioned in VII.104. They seem to have been more precisely defined as *Yātudhānas*[161] and *yātus* which as we have already seen, denoted sorcerers or perpetrators of black magic. They appear as dogs, vultures, owls. Like most evil spirits they are often described as loving the night.[162] With the *Yātus* the *rakṣasas* taint the sacrifice and throw it into confusion.[163] There is a pair of demons, *kimīdinau*[164] who are mentioned in VII.104·2,23. Contrary to the normal practice of grouping the demons in sets, the *kimīdinau* are mentioned in dual, perhaps because of the influence of dual deities. Some of the rakṣasas are referred to as *mūradevāḥ*.[165] It appears that they are here conceived as embodied in plants. The expression *mūradevāḥ* seems to denote that the root (*mūla*) was the actual demon, rather than that the demon was supposed to have taken up his abode in the root.[166] In this connection, a reference must also be made to the *Śiśna-*

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(157) *ṚV* VII·84·4 : प्र य आ॑दि॒त्यो अनृ॑ता मि॒नात्यमि॑ता॒ शूरो॑ दयते॒ वसू॑नि ।

(158) *ṚV* VII·84·2 : परि॑ नो॒ हेळो॒ वरु॑णस्य वृज्या उ॒रुं न॒ इन्द्रः॑ कृणवदु लो॒कम् ।

(159) *ṚV* VII·85·3 : कृ॒ष्टीर॒न्या धा॒रय॑ति॒ प्रवि॑क्ता वृ॒त्राण्य॒न्यो अ॑प्र॒तीनि॑ हन्ति ।

(160) Cf. *ṚV* VII·104·21–23. **Venkataraman**, "The Rakshas", *Rangaswami Aiyangar Comm. Vol.*, suggests that *rakṣasas* must have been racially identical with the Dasyus in the *ṚV*. The meaning of the term is doubtful. The root *rakṣ*, to protect, is obvious, in which case the word must apparently mean 'that which is to be guarded against.'

(161) Cf. *ṚV* VII·104·15, 16, 24.

(162) *ṚV* VII·104·16, 20, 22.

(163) *ṚV* VII·104·18.

(164) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* , VSM, III, pp·509 and 516 : *kim idānīm iti piśunāya carati, kim idam kim idam iti jighāṅsayā vartamānāni bhavanti*

(165) *ṚV* VII·104·24.

(166) It may be incidentally pointed out that attempts are made to identify the *mūradevas* with the followers of the proto-Dravidian Mūrugan-cult.

devāḥ.[167] The word, *śiśnadeva,* obviously means, 'one whose god is the phallus.'[168] In ancient times phallism was a wide-spread cult and in one form or another it survived in many Roman Catholic countries[169] and also in India. **Roth**[170] thinks that the word is a scornful appellation for priapic or sensual demons. The attitude of the Vedic poet-priests vis-a-vis the proto-Indian phallus-worshippers seems to have been positively antagonistic as is evidenced by VII.21·5 and X.99·3. It is a well-established anthropological fact that phallus-worship, which has indeed prevailed in all primitive communities, is closely connected with the fertility-cult. It is quite natural that the Vedic poet-priests, like the Vasiṣṭhas should have looked upon such fertility-gods and their cults with great disfavour.[171]

Another instance of this attitude of the Vedic hieratic priests is seen in connection with the use of the epithet *Śipiviṣṭa,*[172] which is exclusively employed with

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(167) *ṚV* VII·21·5— मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः ।
(Let not the lascivious wretches approach our sacred rite.).They are also referred to in X·99·3.

(168) Yāska in the *Nirukta* IV·19 and Durga in his *bhāṣya* on the same explain the phrase as *abrahmacaryāḥ* denoting 'profligate persons whose sole aim in life is to gratify their senses'. Sāyaṇa also (*ṚV* VSM, III, p·320) follows them. **Banerjea,** 'The development of Hindu iconography', (Calcutta University, 1941), says that the expressions *Siśnadevāḥ* and *Mūradevāḥ* are examples of approbrious epithets applied by the Indo-Aryans to the children of the soil.

(169) In countries like Belgium, France, Italy, phallism survived down to the middle of the eighteenth century. Phallic remains are discovered all over the world, especially in Ireland. According to some scholars, the May-pole and the cross are also phallic survivals. The worship of Śiva as the *liṅga* can also be connected with it. **Dandekar,** "Rudra in the Veda", *JUP,* I, p·47, points out that there is sufficient evidence to show that in India, in very early times phallism must have spread far and wide. **Bhattacharya,** "Phallus-worship in the Veda", *IHQ.* 9, however, points out that the word *śiśnadeva* means 'lustful' and that *liṅga* worship was not in vogue in Vedic times.

(170) **Roth,** *Illustration of Nirukta,* p·47. He translates the word śiśnadevāḥ as "Schwanz-gotter".

(171) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Viṣṇu in the Veda", *Kane Comm. Vol.* pp·95–111. **A.P. Karmarkar,** "The age of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation", *PIHC,* VI , is, however, of the opinion that the words *śiśnadevāḥ* and *mūradevāḥ* show that the *ṚV* knew of Indus-Valley Civilisation. **Karmarkar,** "The *liṅga*-cult in ancient India", *B. C. Law Comm. Vol.,* refers to **Kittel's** view that the *śiśnadevāḥ* is formed from the Dravidian *Śunni,* which shows that the non-Aryan nature of the phallic cult, and also to the view of **Heras ,** who says that the word suggests the existence of the *liṅga*-cult in Vedic times. **Karmarkar,** rejects these views. According to him, *śiśnadeva* is a god possessed of *Śiśna* and that is the curt way of abusing the nude god Śiva.

(172) *ṚV* VII·99·7; 100·5–7. **Dandekar,** "Viṣṇu in the Veda", *Kane Comm. Vol.* pp·108–9, points out that many attempts have been made to explain the word *śipiviṣṭa.* The commentary on *TS* 5·5·5, for instance, says, '*śipiśabdaḥ paśuvācī*' while that on TMB IX·7·8, says, '*śipayo raśmayaḥ, taiḥ āviṣṭaḥ*'. The *Nirukta* V·8·9 states : *śipiviṣṭo viṣṇur iti viṣṇor dve nāmāni bhavataḥ kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati iti aupamanyavaḥ* and also *śepa iva nirveśṭitaḥ asmi iti.* According to the *MBh, śipiviṣṭa* = bald; cf. *śipiviṣṭeti cākhyāyām hīnaromā ca yo bhavet.* According to **Oldenberg,** *RdV,* 223, the word probably indicates baldness or skindisease. **Hopkins,** *Religion of India,* 56, supports the meaning given by the *MBh.* **Geldner,** *Ved. Stud.,* III, 81, fn 1, thinks of Vāmana being meant; cf. *yad kṣodiṣṭham tat śipiviṣṭam.* According to **Charpentier,** *KB* 54; *WZKM* XXV, 427; *KZ* XLVI, 22, *śipiviṣṭa* = hairy dwarf. **Tilak,** *The Arctic home in the Vedas,* pp·331 ff., understands it as suggesting the sun's going below the horizon and therefore being temporarily concealed in a dark cover. According to **A. C. Das,** *Ṛgvedic India,* I·547–8, the word implies that the sun's rays are obscured during night or rainy season. **Johansson,** *solfageln i Indien,* pp·1 ff., makes *śipiviṣṭa* = appearing in phallic form.

reference to Viṣṇu. This epithet of Viṣṇu does not, as a matter of fact, fit in with his solar character. It is interesting to note that the passages where the word occurs are, perhaps purposefully, shrouded in obscurity.[173] Presumably the Vasiṣṭhas wanted to refer to Viṣṇu's personality, indicated by that epithet, in as guarded and vague a manner as possible. Many attempts have been made (see footnote 172) to explain the word *śipiviṣṭa* but few satisfy the requirements of philology and none brings out the true nature of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to separate philologically the word *śepa* (=penis) from *Śipi*.[174] Even the *Nirukta* V. 7,seems to be vaguely supporting this view though its further explanation is not clear. Added to that word is a form the root *viṣ*, thus making the whole word mean, 'the swelling and diminishing penis'. The epither *Śipiviṣṭa* thus indicates the basic and the essential character of Viṣṇu, namely, as a god of fertility and productivity. Obviously, in the view of the sophisticated, hieratic, Vedic poet-priests, the concept of *Śipiviṣṭa* must have been regarded as taboo. Interesting in this connection is the statement of the *Nirukta* (V.8-9). *kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati*, which is the view of Aupamanyava. According to him, that epithet of Viṣṇu has a censurable implication. But the fact that only the Vasiṣṭhas should have made bold to characterise Viṣṇu, albeit guardedly, with the epithet *Śipiviṣṭa*--an epithet which presumably, the other hieratic Vedic seers have deliberately avoided as having censurable implication, is indeed significant. Can this fact not be understood to indicate the essentially liberal and unbiased religious attitude of the Vasiṣṭhas? They have hereby obviously attempted to accommodate a non-hieratic religious concept into a hieratic religious ideology.[174a]

The same tendency on the part of the Vasiṣṭhas to reconcile religious idealogies of different nature is observable in another context also, namely, in the reference to *Tryambaka*.[175] The influence of the proto-Indian mother-cult can be clearly traced in this reference made by the Vasiṣṭhas. It is well known that, in the Veda Rudra is either called Tryambaka or is associated with *Ambikā*.[176] It seems that Tryambaka had been an ancient epithet of Rudra, a name, which, even in the early Vedic period had dropped out of vogue. It is, however, significant that the name is preserved in conection with a fertility-rite, which must have been pre-Vedic in origin but which was adapted into the Vedic ritual, — namely *Traiyambaka homa*.[177] Various attempts have been made to interpret the name,[178] *tryambaka*, but

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(173) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Some aspects of Vedic Mythology : Evolutionary mythology", *Ceylon University Review*, XII, p·21 and *Vaidika devantānce Abhinava darshan*, Kauśika Lecture Series, Publication No. 1., p·139.

(174) Other similar forms are *śiphā* (= a root), Pkt. *Chepa*, lat. *Cippus*, scipio (= staff) etc.

(174a) **Kosambi,** "Urvaśī and Purūravas", *JBBRAS*, 27, suggests that the hymns of Agastya, the brother of Vasiṣṭha also show the character of the compromise. The expression *ubhau varṇau ṛṣir ugraḥ pupoṣa ṚV* I·179·6, means thus, that both the Aryans and non-Aryans were favoured by Agastya.

(175) *ṚV* VII·59·12.

(176) Cf. *TS* I·8·6; *VS* III·5·7, and *MS* I·10·4.

(177) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Rudra in the Veda", *JUP*, I, p·51.

(178) Cf. Commentary on TS II·87 which says that Tryambaka is a god having three eyes (*tri* + *ambaka*). **Keith,** *RPVU*, 149, interprets it as a god connected with three seasons or three worlds. *SB* II·6·2·9, by implication, understands the word as *stryambaka*.

the only interpretation, which is really satisfactory, is that Tryambaka represents Rudra as connected with three mothers (*ambikās*). The creation-mother *ambā* and the creation-god Rudra are thus brought together in connection with a popular fertility-cult. And the Vasiṣṭhas with their usual open-mindedness in religious matters, have glorified this *Tryambaka*-worship. Indeed, through the mention of *Śipiviṣṭa* and *Tryambaka* in their hymns, the Vasiṣṭhas have shown themselves to be highly responsive to the religious idealogies of the children of the soil.

Vasiṣṭha figures prominently also in the Vedic ritual. In TS VII.4·7, the *ekonapañcāśadrātrayāga* is ascribed to his authorship. He is represented as the norm of a *Purohita* in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. In the *ŚB*,[179] for instance, the following legend is given: Sage Vasiṣṭha knew the Virāj. Even Indra coveted its knowledge from Vasiṣṭha, who communicated the same to him and, in return, obtained the knowledge of the expiation for the whole Soma-sacrifice. For some time indeed the Vasiṣṭhas alone possessed that knowledge and so they alone were qualified to officiate as *Brahman*-priests. But later on, any priest who may have acquired that knowledge, bacame entitled to become *Brahman*-priest.[180] The *TS*[181] narrates another interesting legend. It tells us that the *ṛṣis* could not see Indra face to face; Vasiṣṭha, however, could do so and could address Indra thus: I shall proclaim to you the holy lore. In return should proclaim me to the other *ṛṣis*. Vasiṣṭha then, proclaimed these *stomabhāgās*. The legend finally concludes by saying that a member of the family of Vasiṣṭha alone should be appointed as a *Brahman*-priest. We have already seen elsewhere, that, at the sacrifice of king Hariścandra, Vasiṣṭha was the *Brahman*-priest and Viṣvāmitra was the *Hotṛ*.

Vasiṣṭha is said to have received the *Rathantara Sāman* from Dhātā, Savitā and Viṣṇu.[182] The *PB*[183] tells us that concetrating all the greatness of that *Sāman*, Vasiṣṭha chanted it and went to the world of heaven. The *PB*[184] speaks of another *Sāman*, which is called *vasiṣṭhasya priyam* by means of which Vasiṣṭha is said to have won Indra's favour. The *PB*, further tells us that Vasiṣṭha also saw a *Sāman* called *Nihava*.[185] The occasion on which this happened is described by the *Brāhamaṇa* as follows: The *ṛṣis* could not see Indra directly. Indra said to him, " I shall declare to you the *Brāhmaṇa* by means of which the Bharatas will prosper under your priesthood. Do not, however, disclose this to other *ṛṣis*. " The *Sāman* is thus useful for securing the friendship of Indra.

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(179) *ŚB* XII·6·1·38–40.

(180) *Op. cit.* तस्माद् ह स्म पुरा वासिष्ठ एव ब्रह्मा भवति यतस्त्वेनाप्येतर्हि य एव कश्च अधीते ततोऽप्येतर्हि य एव कश्च ब्रह्मा भवति ।
Cf. also *Śaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* I·5.

(181) *TS* III·5·2 : ततो वसिष्ठ-पुरोहिताः प्रजाः प्रजायन्त तस्माद् वासिष्ठो ब्रह्मा कार्यः प्रैव जायते । Cf. also in this connection the *BD* V·156–159.

(182) *ṚV* X·181·1.

(183) *PB* XII·12·9–10.

(184) *PB* XII·12·9–10.

(185) *PB* XV·5·24.

Vasiṣṭha is said to have seen other *Sāmans* when he was afflicted by the death of his son, Śakti. The purpose of these *Sāmans* was not only to console himself but also to avenge the murder of his son by the Saudāsas, who were instigated by Viśvāmitra. Vasiṣṭha saw the *Pragātha, indram kratum na ā bhara,*[186] and is then said to have become rich in progeny and cattle. The purpose of the *pragātha* is thus stated to be the acquisition of progeny.[187] To achieve the same end, Vasiṣṭha is stated to have seen another *Sāman*, called the *janitra-sāman* which is said to be a kind of *brahama-Sāman*[188] and is constituted of two chants.

Vasiṣṭha is described to have seen and practised a fourday rite called the *Catūrātra Yāga,*[189] along with the chanting of two *janitra-sāmans* of Vasiṣṭha, will, it is said, elevate the man in distress and bring him progeny as well.[190] The *PB*, thus generally provides us with much biographical information about Vasiṣṭha and speaks particularly about his contribution to Vedic ritual.

The *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhamaṇa* mentions *Vāsiṣṭham ājyām, vāsiṣṭham pṛṣṭham,*[191] *Vāsiṣṭhaḥ praugaḥ*[192] and *Vāsiṣṭham āprīsūktam.*[193] Curiously enough Vasiṣṭha is associated with Viśvāmitra in certain invocations.[194] Particularly noteworthy is the performance of a *yajña* by Vasiṣṭha which later on became known as *Vasiṣṭha Yajña*. This *Yajña* was performed by him in order to avenge the death of his son Śakti by the Saudāsas.[195]

In the *JB*[196] Vasiṣṭha is described to have promoted his progeny by means of an after-verse (*anumantra*) of the *stomabhāga*. The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[197] describes how Indra imparted the *uktha* to Viśvāmitra and *brahma* to Vasiṣṭha. *Uktha* is here interpreted as *vāk* and *brahma* as *manas*. *Vāk* and *manas* are further graphically described as the two peripheries (*vartani*) of the wheel of a chariot, namely, the sacrifice.

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(186) *ṚV* VII·32·26.

(187) *PB* IV·7·3—*eṣa pragātho bhavati prajātyai.* The *Sarvāukranmaṇī* while commenting on this *pragātha* says that Śakti was thrown into the fire by the Saudāsas and began to recite *pragātha.* By the time it was half recited, however, he was completely burnt. Vasiṣṭha, therefore, recited the remaining part. The *PB* IV·7·3 further tells us that Vasiṣṭha saw this *pragātha* to make up for the loss of his son, by obtaining progeny. Cf. also in this connection *KS* XII·10, *TS* II·5·2·1 and VII·4·7·1, etc.

(188) *PB* VIII·2·3–4.—*vasiṣṭhasya janitram prajākāmāya brahmasāma kuryāt.*

(189) *PB* XXI·11·2–3. We have seen in the third chapter that Atri performed this Yāga and acquired *teja, indriyadārḍhya, brahmavarcas* and *annādyatva.* A mention is made in the *sūtras* of another *catūrātra yāga* named after Jamadagni (**Ketkar,** *Jñānakośa*, II·404).

(190) *PB* VIII·2·3–4 and XIX·3·8.

(191) *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* XXII·7.

(192) *Op. cit.* XXV·2 : *eṣa vā u sūryavān traiṣṭubhaḥ tṛcaklupto vāsiṣṭhaḥ.*

(193) *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* XXV·10.

(194) *Op. cit.* XXVI·14, *etena ha viśvāmitraś ca vasiṣṭhaś ca samajānatām, abhiṣañjānate ha vā asmai svaśreṣṭhyāya ya evam veda.* Cf. also XXVIII·10.

(195) *Op. cit.* IV·8.

(196) *JB* III·18·6.

(197) *Śaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* I·5 : *Indro ha vai viśvāmitrāya uktham uvāca vāsiṣṭhāya brahma, vāg uktham ityeva viśvāmitrāya, mano brahma vasiṣṭhāya tad vā etad vāsiṣṭham brahma.*

The *GB*[198] tells us that Vasiṣṭha performed penance at two places in the midst of the river Vipāś, the places being known as Vasiṣṭhaṣilā and Kṛṣṇaśilā. Vasiṣṭha's name is further associated with the *hiṅkāra*[199] which is sacred to the sacrifice and is to be sung in the performance of a sacrifice. By its composition Vasiṣṭha is said to have become eminent among all the *ṛṣis*. Vasiṣṭha and viśvāmitra are further mentioned as the seers of the *Sampāta* stanzas.[200]

To philosophy as such the Vasiṣṭhas in the *ṚV* seem to have contributed very little. The *saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* do not refer to any special philosophical speculations of the Vasiṣṭhas. Significant again, is the fact that the Vasiṣṭhas do not figure at all in the *Upaniṣads* which are mainly the philosophical treatises of the Veda. The probable reason for this seems to be that in the days of the *Upaniṣads*, the philosophers from among the indigenous people of the country, mainly came into prominence. Later on, however, with the revival and consolidation of Brahmanism in the *sūtra*-period, Vasiṣṭha figures as the author of the *dharma-sūtra*. It may also be incidentally pointed out that later on the famous philosophical treatise, namely the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* also came to be ascribed to his authorship.

The seventh *maṇḍala*, however, gives some inkling into the worldly wisdom of the vāsiṣṭhas. In VII.23·2,[201] for instance, the poet says : None among men knows his own life's duration. At another place,[202] the *ṛṣi* says : Only the active conquer, dwell in peace and thrive; the gods are not for the sluggish. Between truth and untruth, according to Vasiṣṭha, there goes on an eternal strife and out of these two god protects that which is true and honest and brings the false to nothing.[203] of a general sociological significance is the reference in VII.4·7 where an unequivocal preference is shown for *aurasa* children as agsinst adopted ones.[204] In that passage, Vasiṣṭha says: "The treasure of the stranger is to be avoided, may we be the masters of our own (*nitya*) wealth. (The child) begotten by another is no son; he is so far the fool only. O Agni, do not corrupt our paths."

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(198) *GB* I·2·8.

(199) *GB* II·3·9 : *atho khalvāhur maharṣir vā etad yajñasya agre geyam apaśyat*

(200) Cf. *GB* II·6·1 which is almost a repetition of *AB* VI·18–20. About *Saṁpāta*-stanzas see also chapters two and three.

(201) *ṚV* VII·23·2, नहि स्वमायुश्चिकिते जनेषु ।

(202) *ṚV* VII·32·9, तरणिरिज्जयति क्षेति पुष्यति न देवासः कवत्नवे ।

(203) *ṚV* VII·104·12, सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते ।
तयोर्यत्सत्यं यतरदृजीयस्तदित्सोमोऽवति हन्त्यासत् ।

(204) **Karandikar,** in his *dāśarājña yuddha*, p·43, tries to account for Vasiṣṭha's condemnation of the system of adoption as follows : The Vasiṣṭhas and the Iranians were hostile to each other and were contesting for the rights of succession. The former being discomfited came to the land of the five rivers with the reminiscences of their mal-treatment in Iran at the hands of those who were not lineal successors. Hence they request Agni for lineal successors.

Durga,[205] the commentator of the *Nirukta*, remarks that this stanza forms a part of dialogue between Agni and Vasiṣṭha. The latter implored the former to grant him a son, as all his sons had been killed. The former asked him to get a son by adoption or by purchase etc. whereupon he denounced all but his own *aurasa* son. According to *Oldenberg*[206] this view of Durga is correct. He further suggests that the stanza can also be explained with reference to religious practices. Agni should belong to oneself and not to others. But the next stanza, namely, VII.4·8 condemns adoption explicitly. That stanza may be translated as follows : The stranger, however delightful, should not be adopted. Begotten in another's womb, (*anyodaryaḥ*)[207] he should not be regarded (as one's own son) even in thought. To his own abode he certainly goes back. Let the new (hero), impetuous and irresistible, come to us As indicated eleswhere, brave progeny and lineal successors seem to constitute the main contents of the longings of the Vasiṣṭhas, and, often the burthen of their prayer is : Let us not sit in want of men, O Agni, without descendants, heroless, about thee, but O housefriend, in houses full of children."[208]

Even as works of poetic art the Ṛgvedic hymns deserve a prominent place in the world literature. It would, therefore, be interesting to study the compositions of the Vasiṣṭhas from the literary and poetic points of view. It should be noted at the outset that there appears to be a kind of correspondence between the third and the seventh *maṇḍalas* both as regards the thought[209] and the style and arrangement of the hymns.[210] The two *maṇḍalas*, appear to have been mutually

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(205) **Durga** on the *Nirukta* (III·2) says :
मा पथो वि दुक्षः मास्मानेतस्मात्पितृपितामहानुसन्ततात्पथो मार्गाद्येन केनचित् प्रत्याख्यानद्वारेण विदूदुषः । त्वं देहि नः पुत्रमौरसमित्यभिप्रायः ।

(206) *Noten* II, p·8.

(207) **Durga** (*Nirukta*, ed. by **Bhandarkar,** p·249) gives two interpretations of the word *anyodaryaḥ*, namely, (1) a child begotten on one's own wife from the seed of another, (2) a child begotten on a woman other than one's own wife. An illegitimate son is already denounced in VII·4·7 (*na śeṣo agne anyajātamasti*). Therefore, in the next stanza, the adopted child is the object of denunciation. Durga's second interpretation, therefore, of the word, *anyodaryaḥ*, is more appropriate.

(208) *ṚV* VII·1·11. Cf. also VII·1·12 and 19.

(209) In the *ṚV* III·53·15, for instance, the *Sasarparī* stanzas which Visvāmitra received from Jamadagni are described as dispelling *amati* (*amatim bādhamānāḥ*), while in the *ṚV* VII·1·19 Vasiṣṭha entreats the god Agni not to give him over to *amati*.

(210) In his monumental work *Ṛgveda Repetitions* (*HOS* Vols. 20 and 24), pp·XVIII, 492 and footnote; 646–47, **Bloomfield** has pointed out how as many as four consecutive stanzas are common to the *maṇḍalas* of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra : (VII·2·8–11 = III·4·8–11). Both are *Āprī*-hymns. Besides the two books share no less than fourteen lines in common. **Bloomfield**, therefore, hesitates to hold that the traditional hostility between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra is as old as the *ṚV*. He says, "But the hymns do not express it. At least it is strange that their two *Āprī*-hymns III·4 and VII·2 share no less than four stanzas word for word. We should expect diversity there if anywhere." It is, however, difficult to agree with **Bloomfield** because the *Āprī*-hymns are, as a matter of fact, late attempts at reconciliating all the *maṇḍalas* and as regards the fourteen common lines it can be said that the *ṛṣis* were drawing upon the old stock and naturally a few lines, here and there, are common borrowals. As we have pointed out elsewhere both in the second and the sixth chapters, there is sufficient evidence in the *ṚV* and a long period of tradition to prove the existence of the feud between the two sages.

influenced. The findings of **Bloomfield** (see foot-note 210) are very valuable. Besides four common stanzas in the *Āprī*-hymns, the two *maṇḍalas* have fourteen lines in common.[211] A peculiar refrain, *yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ*, is repeated at the end of a number of *sūktas*[212] in this *maṇḍala*. In a *śānti-sūkta* (VII. 35) which is peculiar to this *maṇḍala* the words *śaṁ naḥ* are repeated a number of times. In a *sarpamantra* (VII.50) which contains references to different kinds of diseases and poisons the sentence, *mā mān padyena rapasā vidat saruḥ* is repeated three times.

The compositions of the Vasiṣṭhas can be divided broadly into five main categories, namely, lyrics of nature (the *uṣas sūktas*, *parjanya-sūktas* etc.), religious lyrics (lyrics to Indra and Varuṇa), ritualistic hymns (like the *Āprī-sūkta* VII.2 and the *śānti-sūkta* VII.35), historical war-songs (the hymns relating to *dāśarājña* war , VII.18 VII.33 and VII.83) and songs of everyday sentiments (the Agni-sūktas etc.). A reference may now be made to certain salient features of the thought expressed by the Vasiṣṭhas in their poetic compositions.

Among the loftiest and the most inspired poems of the Vasiṣṭhas are indisputably the hymns addressed to Varuṇa. The poet approaches Varuṇa and pleads for forgiveness of his sins. The charge that the Vedic hymns lack in a deep sense of piety is rendered nugatory at least in the case of these hymns. The urge of a devotee burning with a longing for personal communion with god is beautifully reflected in a few stanzas.[213] Some of the stanzas in the Varuṇa-hymns, again constitute the best examples of the utterances of a penitent sinner. The relations between Varuṇa and his worshipper are often described as being very intimate. In an extremely pathetic tone the devotee entreats Varuṇa not to send him to the house of clay[214] and by means of the repetition of the words *mṛḷā sukṣatra mṛḷaya*, at the end of each of the four stanzas in this *sūkta*, the very height of pathos is reached.

As nature-lyrics, the Uṣas-hymns are the most graceful creations of the Vasiṣṭhas. There is no more charming figure than Uṣas in the religious lyrics in any other literature. The freshness and sweetness of the Uṣas-hymns are indeed quite

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(211) Cf. also **MaxMüller**, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p·465.

(212) e. g. *ṚV* VII·34–49; 51–54; 56–65 etc.

(213) Cf. *ṚV* VII·86·2 :

उ॒त स्वयां त॒न्वा॒ ३॒॑ सं व॑दे॒ तत्क॒दा न्व १॒॑ न्तर्वरु॑णे भुवानि ।

A. P. Karmarkar, "Vasiṣṭha's remorse over the death of his son", *ABORI*, XXII, pp. 120–122, points out that Vasiṣṭha himself must have committed some sin (cf. VII·86·6–7). *MBh.* Vanaparva Adh. 132·8–9 seems to have rightly preserved the tradition of the episode :

एषा रम्या विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ।।
अत्र वै पुत्रशोकेन वसिष्ठो भगवानृषिः ।
बद्ध्वात्मानं निपतितो विपाशः पुनरुत्थितः ।।

The expression '*Vipāśaḥ punarutthitaḥ*' read with *ṚV* VII·86·6 gives us the right clue namely that Vasiṣṭha himself was partly responsible for the death of his son and it is on this account that he is entreating Varuṇa in a pathetic tone.

(214) *RV* VII·89·1. मो षु व॑रुण मृ॒न्मयं॑ गृ॒हं रा॑जन्न॒हं ग॑मम् । मृ॒ळा सु॑क्षत्र मृ॒ळय॑ ॥

appealing. The Vasiṣṭhas, here, seem to vie with one another in the matter of employing magnificent metaphors which are intended to depict the splendour of the rising dawn. " The dawn, born in the heaven has flushed and showing her majesty she has come as Law ordains ".[215] says the poet. The everlasting splendour of lovely Uṣas, bright with varied colours, are referred to by the same poet.[216] She is described as the fair one, coming on her lovely car and bringing rich treasures for her faithful devotee[217]. She has been compared to a lady repairing to her lover, or to a chaste lady, unwilling to leave her husband.[218] At another place, she is likened to a youthful woman stirring to motion every living creature.[219] She is said to have risen and shone in brightness with white robes and beaming forth with lovely golden colours.[220] She is always described as blithe and hilarious. All the Uṣas-*sūktas* of the Vasiṣṭhas are, more or less, full of rich poetical fancies. Her effulgence in peerless beauty, her royal splendour, her unfailing regularity, her unhindered progress, and pleasant physical effects make one think that the Vedic Vāsiṣṭha poet approached the ideal of beauty through these hymns. The Vasiṣṭhas, especially, seem to pride themselves on saying that they are the first to wake up for singing her praises.[221]

Some pearls of lyric poetry, which appeal to us as much on account of their comprehension of the beauties of nature, as of their flowery language, are to be found among the songs to Sūrya.[222] In VII·63·1, for instance, god Sūrya, is said to have rolled up darkness like a piece of leather. Sūrya is said to have risen refulgent from the bosom of Uṣas and the poet says that the god is his chief joy and pleasure.

As regards the stylistic peculiarities of the seventh *maṇḍala* it may be pointed out that the Vasiṣṭhas are adept in changing the diction and imagery according to the subject which is dealt with. The war-songs, (VII·18 and 33) for instance, breathe of a martial atmosphere, while the last *sūkta* in the *maṇḍala*, namely, the *Rakṣoghna-sūkta* (VII·104) contains words and phrases which conjure up an atmosphere fit for sorcery and exorcism.

The similes used by the Vasiṣṭhas are quite apt and natural. The 'so called' humorous and satirical *sūkta*, namely the *Maṇḍūka-sūkta* (VII·103), which, as we have seen, is, as a matter of fact, a rain-inducing charm, contains a number of appropriate similes. The frogs, for instance, lying in the pool's bed are compared with a dry skin and the croaking of the frogs at the time of the descent of rain is likened to the lowing of the cows with their calves beside them.[223] The

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(215) *ṚV* VII·75·1.
(216) *ṚV* VII·75·3.
(217) *ṚV* VII·75·6.
(218) *ṚV* VII·76·3.
(219) *ṚV* VII·77·1.
(220) *ṚV* VII·77·2.
(221) *ṚV* VII·80·1 : प्रति स्तोमेभिरुषसं वसिष्ठा गीर्भिर्विप्रासः प्रथमा अबुध्रन् ।
(222) *ṚV* VII·62–63.
(223) *ṚV* VII·103·2.

frogs greeting each other at the coming of rains is said to be like the son greeting his father with cries of pleasure.[224] One frog respecting the croaking of the other is likened to a student learning the lessons from the teacher.[225] Frogs gathering round the pool to honour the first rain are compared to the Brahmins sitting round the brimful vessel and talking at the Soma-rite of *Atirātra*.[226]

In one of the Agni-*sūktas*, the ladles are said to ply the fire with ghee at sacrifices, as the cows lick the calf or as rivers water the fields.[227] Indra's exploit in the Dāśarājña War which helped Sūdas to win victory is described with two beautiful *dṛṣṭāntas* in the eighteenth *sūktas*. **Griffith** translates the stanza as follows : Even with the weak he wrought this matchless exploit, even with a goat he did a death to a lion. He pared the angles of the pillars with a needle.[228] Indra taking possession of the castles of the enemies is likened to one common husband taking possession of his spouses.[229] Priests sitting near the Soma-juice are compared to flies sitting on honey.[230] The defeated Bharatas are likened to the sticks (for driving the cattle) which are stripped bare.[231] A devotee requests Indra to be pleased with him as a father with his sons.[232] In the *Mahāmṛtyuñjayamantra*,[233] the *ṛṣi* requests Tryambaka : Like a cucumber from its stem, may I be released from death and united with immortality (*amṛta*). In a Varuṇa-*sūkta*, (VII·86·5) Vasiṣṭha requests Varuṇa to free him as a calf is freed from its fetters.

We may conclude the 'biography' of this eminently picturesque personality of the early Vedic age with brief sketches of the careers of the few members of his family, who are mentioned by name, either in the text of the *mantra* or by tradition.

(1) Śakti— He is said to be the seer of VII·32 and IX·97·19–21, 108·3, 14–16 and the *Anukramaṇī* says that he is the son of Vasiṣṭha. The legends given by the *BD* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, as we have already indicated, tell us that he was killed by the Saudāsas. His wife's name is mentioned in the *MBh.* as Adṛśyantī. Śakti is said to have defeated Viśvāmitra in a sacrificial disputation in the house of the Saudāsas. But Jamadagni secured *Sasarparī*

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(224) *ṚV* VII·103·3.
(225) *ṚV* VII·103·5.
(226) *ṚV* VII·103·7.
(227) *ṚV* VII·2·5.
(228) *ṚV* VII·18·17.
(229) *ṚV* VII·26·3.
(230) *ṚV* VII·32·2.
(231) *ṚV* VII·33·6.
(232) *ṚV* VII·54·2.
(233) *ṚV* VII·59·12. त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।
उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ॥

There is no *padapāṭha* of this *mantra* in the ṚV. The *mantra* occurs along with the *padapāṭha* in the *TS* I·8·6·2. The *Ṛgvidhāna* 2·27 gives the *viniyoga* as follows :

समुद्दिश्य महादेवं त्र्यम्बकं त्र्यम्बकेत्यृचा । एतत्पर्वशतं कृत्वा जीवेद्वर्षशतं सुखी ॥

Vidyā from the sun and gave it to Viśvāmitra, who, then managed to burn down Śakti with the help of Saudāsas.

(2) Parāśara—He is said to be the seer of I·65–73. He is referred to only in VII·18·21 and VII·104·21. The *Nirukta*[234] explains the word, Parāśara as *parāśīrṇasya sthavirasya jajñe* i.e. he was born to his father who was old. *The Sarvānukramaṇī* says that he is the son of Śakti but the *ṚV* does not corroborate it. In VII·18·21 he is mentioned along with Vasiṣṭha and Śatayātu.

(3) Mṛḷīka—He is the seer of X·150, and IX·97·25–27. The word, *Mṛḷīka* occurs a number of times in the *ṚV*, but in a majority of cases it is used as a common noun. The *Anukramaṇī* says that Mṛḷīka is the son of Vasiṣṭha. But the *ṚV* does not corroborate it. In X·150·5, Vasiṣṭha is referred to by Mṛḷīka.

(4) Citramahas—He is the seer of X·122 and the *Anukramaṇī* says that he is the son of Vasiṣṭha. The word Citramahas occurs in this *sūkta* but it does not seem to be the name of the seer. It rather appears to have been used as an epithet of Agni.

(5) Gaurivīti—He is the seer of V·29 and IX·108·1–2, X·73, 74 and the *Anukramaṇī* says that he is the son of Śakti. He is mentioned by name in V.29.11. The *AB*[235] and the *PB*[236] mention him as a *Sūktadraṣṭā*. A *Sāman* is also named after him and is known as the *Gaurivīta Sāman*. Gaurivīta is said to have been the priest of Ṛṣabha Yājñatura.[237]

The genealogy of the Vasiṣṭhas as reconstructed from the data supplied by literature and tradition would be as follows.[238]

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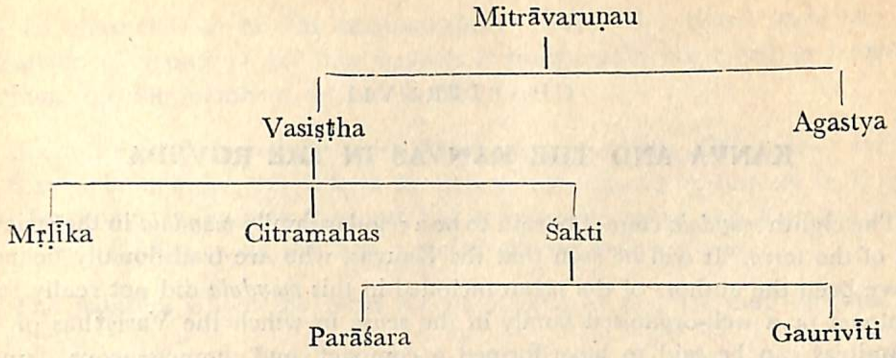
(234) *Nirukta* VI·30.

(235) *AB* 3·19.

(236) *PB* 11·5.

(237) *ŚB* 12·8·3·7.

(238) It would be helpful to compare this genealogy with the *pravaras* of the Vasiṣṭhas given by the *ĀśŚS* 12·15·1–2. Upamanyu, Parāśara and Kuṇḍina have only one *parvara* namely Vasiṣṭha. The Upamanyus have three *pravaras* : Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada. The Parāśaras have three : Vasiṣṭha, Śakti and Parāśara. The Kuṇḍinas have also three : Vasiṣṭha, Mitrāvaruṇau and Kuṇḍina. **Kosambi** *JBBRAS* "Pururavas and Urvaśī", *JBBRAS* (Vol. 27, 1951), points out that the *gotra* lists mention a Pauṣkarasādī *gotra* among the Vasiṣṭhas. The *gotra* is historical , as a Brahmin priest of that gens was the priest of king Pasenadi (*Dīghanikāya*, 4) and a grammarian of that name is also known. The name, Puṣkarasad, means, he who resides in the *puṣkara*, which clearly indicates Vasiṣṭha (cf. *viśve devā puṣkare tvādadanta*, *ṚV* VII·33·11).


Mitrāvaruṇau
Vasiṣṭha
Agastya
Mṛlīka
Citramahas
Śakti
Parāśara
Gaurivīti

The authorwise analysis of the seventh *maṇḍala*

Sūkta	*Seer*
1–31	Vasiṣṭha
32	Vasiṣṭha or Śakti
33	*ṛks* 1–9—Vasiṣṭha
	ṛks 10–14—son of Vasiṣṭha
34–100	Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvāruṇiḥ
101–102	Kumāra (son of Agni) or Vaisṣṭha
103–104	Vasiṣṭha

CHAPTER VII

KANVA AND THE KAṆVAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

The eighth *maṇḍala* cannot be said to be a regular family-*maṇḍala* in the strictest sense of the term. It will be seen that the Kaṇvas, who are traditionally believed to have been the authors of the *sūktas* included in this *maṇḍala* did not really form a compact or a well-organised family in the sense in wihch the Vasiṣṭhas or the Viśvāmitras can be said to have formed a compact and homogeneous family. They seem to have been bound together by means of rather loose ties of relationship. Indeed, from this point of view, the Kaṇvas may be said to have constituted a ' tribe ' rather than a ' family '. Naturally enough, the *maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā*, which characterises the arrangement of the *maṇḍalas* forming the nucleus of the Ṛ*V*, that is *maṇḍalas* 2-7, is not strictly followed in the *maṇḍala* of the Kaṇvas. So far, therefore, as the authorship of this *maṇḍala* is concerned, it is the individual seers, rather than the family as such, who have to be taken into account. In the traditional enumeration of the *ṛṣis* of the different *maṇḍalas* of the Ṛ*V*, the eighth *maṇḍala* is significantly indicated by the word *pragāthāḥ*.[1] It is further very significant that the seers in this *maṇḍala* do not all belong to the same family. Moreover, Kaṇva who is the traditional seer of this[2] *maṇḍala* actually figures, as an individual, more prominently in *maṇḍalas* other than the eighth. The majority of the seers of this *maṇḍala*, however, belongs to the larger family-unit collectively named as Kaṇva. To that much extent, therefore, this *maṇḍala*,

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(1) Cf. *BD*, VI·39 :

स (प्रगाथ:) घौरो वाऽथ काण्वो वा वंशजैर्बहुभि: सह ।
ददर्शान्यैश्च सहित: ऋषिर्मण्डलमष्टमम् ।।

The *BD* tells us that Kaṇva and Pragātha were the two sons of Ghora. After having completed their education in the preceptor's house, they lived together in the forest. Once Pragātha, the younger brother, was sleeping with his head on the lap of Kaṇva's wife. Kaṇva, suspecting that his younger brother had sinful intentions regarding his wife, became enraged and awakened Pragātha with his foot. The latter fearing that the elder brother would curse him, stood up with folded hands and implored that Kaṇva and his wife would become his father and mother. The seer, being thus the son of either Ghora or Kaṇva, saw in company with other members of his family the eighth *maṇḍala*. The *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, Bibl. Ind., ed. by **Mitra** p. 255 says :

मा चिदन्यदिति त्वेतदष्टमं मण्डलं प्रति ।
प्रगाथाद्यृषयो ज्ञेया: शृणु वक्ष्यामि तानिह ।।१।।
अनुक्तगोत्रो यस्त्वत्र मण्डले लक्ष्यते मुनि: ।
स तु काण्व इति ज्ञेय: प्राङ्मत्स्यात्सांमदादृषे: ।।२।।
मण्डलाद्यद्वृचस्यायं प्रगाथो घोरजो मुनि: ।
स हि घोरस्य कण्वस्य भ्राता सन् पुत्रतां गत: ।।३।।

It can be seen from this passage that the *ṛṣis* beginning with Pragātha are the seers of this *maṇḍala*. All those *ṛṣis* up to Matsya Sāmmada, the seer of the 67th *sūkta*, whose *gotra* is not mentioned are to be regarded as Kāṇvas.

may be characterised as the *kaṇva-maṇḍala*. Besides the eighth *maṇḍala*, the authorship of a part of the first *maṇḍala* is traditionally attributed to Kaṇva or to some specific members of his family.

Six different forms of the name Kaṇva occur in the *ṚV-saṁhitā*, namely, (1) Kaṇva in singular, (2) Kāṇva in plural, (3) Kāṇva, exclusively in singular (4) Kāṇvāyana, exclusively in plural, (5) as *kaṇvasya sūnavaḥ* and *Kaṇvasya putrāḥ*, and lastly (6) Kaṇva as the first member of compound words.

The passages where the word Kaṇva is used in singular may be tabulated as follows :

(1)	Kaṇvaḥ	I·36·10,11;48·4;139·9.
(2)	Kaṇvam	I·39·9;47·5;112·5; VIII·5·25;7·18;8·20; X·31·11;150·5.
(3)	Kaṇvāya	I·36·17;39·7;117·8;118·7; VIII·5·23.
(4)	Kaṇvasya	I·45·5; VIII·8·4;34·1.
(5)	Kaṇve	I·36·8,19; VIII·49·10,50·10.
(6)	Kaṇvatamaḥ	I·48·4; X·115·5.
(7)	Kaṇvamantam	VIII·2·22.
(8)	Kaṇvavat	VIII·6·11;52·8.

Kaṇva as the first member of a compound occurs as follows :

(1)	Kaṇvasakhā	X·115·5.
(2)	Kaṇvahotā	V·41·4.

Applying the criteria discussed elsewhere, it may be generally said that the name Kaṇva, occurring in I·139·9 denotes the progenitor of the family. For there, he is mentioned along with other ancient seers like Atri, Dadhyañ etc. In the two other passages, namely, I·36·10-11 and I–48·4, where Medhyātithi is referred to as Kaṇva, the word has to be taken to denote a member of the Kaṇva family.[2] In all the other references in singular, namely, *Kaṇvam*, *Kaṇvāya*, *Kaṇvasya* and *Kaṇve*, the eponym of the Kaṇva-family seems to have been referred to, because there Kaṇva is mentioned as having first enkindled Agni or as being a protege of either Agni or of the Aśvins. *Kaṇvatamaḥ*,[3] which occurs in I·48·4, would also seem to denote the first or the foremost among the Kaṇvas. In X·115·5, however, the word *Kaṇvatama* is used with reference to Agni. It may mean Agni kindled by the first of the Kaṇvas. In VIII·6·11 and VIII. 52·8 the expression *Kaṇvavat* is used, that is to say, Kaṇva is there mentioned as a model worshipper of Agni. Naturally the most ancient ancestor of the family is introduced in that context. The word, *Kaṇvamantam* occurring in VIII·2·22 also seems to refer to the eponym. Agni is described as *Kaṇvasakhā*[4] in X·115·5 and as *Kaṇvahotā*[5] in V·41·4, that is, Kaṇva, as one of the earliest worshippers of Agni, was rightly regarded as the first typical *hotā* of Agni. Correspondingly Agni became a special friend of Kaṇva. Thus in both these contexts, the word Kaṇva may be safely taken to refer to the progenitor of the Kaṇva-family.

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(2) A descendant of Kaṇva also is, thus, denoted by the name Kaṇva used in singular (as in the *ṚV* I·48·4, VIII·34·1) or accompanied by a patronymic as Kaṇva Nārṣada (as in the *ṚV* I·117·8; *AV* IV·19·2; V·19·2) as Kaṇva Śrāyasa (*TS* V. 4·7·5, *Kāṭhaka saṁ* XXI·8, *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ* III·3·9). The *Kāṭhaka saṁ* XIII·12 mentions *Kāṇvāḥ sauśravasāḥ*. The *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* of Mādhava (V·8·12 and 15) quotes from *Śāṭyāyanaka* and gives further details about Kaṇva Nārṣada mentioned above :

अत्र शाटचायनकम् ।
कण्वो वै नार्षदो बकस्य असुरस्य दुहितरमविन्दत ।
तस्यां हास्य त्रिशोक–नाभाकौ पुत्रौ जज्ञाते ।

It is interesting to note in this connection that **Bhagavadatta Vedalankara** in (*Gurukul Patrikā* IV·1·14–16, IV·4·16–18) ("Kaṇvavaṁśī ṛṣi") says that Kaṇva Śrāyasa and Nārṣada etc. are not historical names but epithets of Agni. **Chapekar,** "Kaṇva in the *ṚV*", *JRAS*, 27, pp·31–37, also says that Kaṇva was not the name of any person but a general appellation for poets.

The words, *Kāṇvam* (VIII·2·40) and *Kāṇvasya* (VIII.1·8; 4·20; 7·19; 9·3; 9; 10·2), obviously denote a member of the Kaṇva-family. It may be noted that this is the only *maṇḍala*, where a derivative from the name, Kaṇva is used to denote a member of that family. The expression occurs exclusively in singular, thus implying that some specific members of the Kaṇva-family is intended in these contexts.

The word Kaṇva is used in plural in the following passages :

(1)	Kaṇvāḥ	I·14·2;37·1;49·4; VIII·2·16;3,8,21,34,43; 32·1.
(2)	Kaṇvāḥ iva	VIII·3·16.
(3)	Kaṇvāsaḥ	I·14·5;44·8;46·9·47·2,4; VIII·2·38;4·2;5·4;6·311. 7·32.
(4)	Kāṇvāyanāḥ	VIII·55·4.
(5)	Kaṇvebhiḥ	VIII·33·3.
(6)	Kaṇvānām	I·47·10;VIII·8·3.
(7)	Kaṇveṣu	I·37·14; VIII·4·3; 9·14; 49·5.

There is no doubt that all these references in plural refer to the members of the Kaṇva-family. The name Kāṇvāyanāḥ, derived from the name of the progenitor is rather peculier to this *maṇḍala*.[5a] There is also another way in which the members of the Kaṇva-family are referred to. They are described as *Kaṇvasya sūnavaḥ* (I·45·5) and as *Kaṇvasya putrāḥ* in VIII·8·4,8. It may be generally stated that, in the passages where the Kaṇvas are referred to, they are mentioned either as praying to some god or as singing a song to some god or entreating gods to drink Soma at their sacrifice. It should, however, be remembered that in the *AŚGS* (III·4) the seers of this *maṇḍala* are referred to as Prāgāthāḥ i. e. the descendants of Pragātha, who is the brother of Kaṇva.[5b]

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(3) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·732 who interprets it as *atiśayena stotā* from *Kan* to sound, with the particle *va* forming a noun like *aśva*. **Sūryakānta** in his *Dictionary of Vedic Sanskrit* says that *ṇ* in place of *n* here is inexplicable.

(4) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·732 : कण्वाः सखायः यस्य सः ।

(5) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p·840 : कण्वा होतारः यस्य सः ।

(5a) Such *āyana*-ending forms, indeed, occur, frequently in the *vālakhilya*-hymns (cf. Ukṣaṇyāyana VIII·25·22).

It would be possible to collect some data of sociohistorical import about Kaṇva and the Kaṇvas from the passages which have been referred to so far. As indicated above, Kaṇva seems to have been one of the earliest sponsors of Vedic fire-worship. His descendants also seem to have actively promoted that worship. In I·39·6, for instance, Agni is described as flaring up in the house of Kaṇva and thereby becoming adorable to people. Quite naturally he is mentioned as an ancient *ṛṣi* along with Dadhyañ, Aṅgiras, Priyamedhas, Atri and Manu[6]. In another context Kaṇva is mentioned as having been frightened and having received help from the Maruts.[7] In some passages he is also referred to as the protege of the Aśvins.[8] When he became blind he is said to have been endowed with eyesight by the Aśvins.[9] Turvaśa and Yadu are mentioned as his patrons, who bestowed ample wealth on him.[10] Incidentally the association of Kaṇva with the early Vedic Aryan settlers, like Turvaśa and Yadu, would further confirm his comparative anitiquity. Kaṇva is mentioned along with kings Trasadasyu, Daśavraja, Gośarya, and Ṛjiśvan to have received cows and gold from the Aśvins.[11]

Quite a different aspect of Kaṇva's character is represented in the *AV*. As was but to be expected the early fire-worshippers were also great adepts in the popular religious practices pertaining to magic. The Atharvans, who may be characterised as fire-worshippers *par excellence*, were also masters of magical incantations. Similar must have been the case in respect of the Kaṇvas. In *AV* IV·37·1, for instance, Kaṇva is mentioned along with the *rakṣasas*. The efficacy of the *mantras* of Kaṇva to destroy germs has been referred to, along with that of atri and Agastya, in *AV* 2·32·3 and 5·23·10· Bādarāyaṇi refers to a plant which Kaṇva and Agastya used to destroy germs.[12] Bhāgali refers to a medicinal plant used by kaṇva, which, as its name *viśvabheṣajī* indicates, seems to have been a panacea for all diseases.[13] It is suggested that, in the *AV* 2·25, which is a *sūkta* in honour of the goddess pṛśniparṇī (a creeper of that name), the Kaṇvas are referred to as enemies and that the *garbhāda* (devourers of foetus)

(5b) See foot note 1. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2·2·2, however, points out that the *pragāthas* are peculiar type of *mantras*.

(6) *ṚV* I·139·9.

(7) *ṚV* I·39·7.

(8) *ṚV* I·47·5. Cf. also *ṚV* I·112·6; VIII·5·23.

(9) *ṚV* I·118·7.

(10) *ṚV* VIII·7·18; VIII·9·14.

(11) *ṚV* VIII·49·10. In VIII·50·10 Kaṇva is mentioned with Gośarya, while in X·150·5 he is mentioned along with Atri, Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, and Trasadasyu by Mṛḷīka Vāsiṣṭha.

(12) *AV* IV·37·1.

(13) *AV* VI·52·3.

Kaṇva and *jīvitayopana* Kaṇva are cursed.[14] Obviously these curses were given by a seer against whom the Kaṇvas had exorcism.[15] Like all other Ātharvaṇic priests, Kaṇva also must have been an eminent medicine-man.[16]

The *Vājasaneyī saṁhitā* refers to Kaṇva in XVII.24. In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* XXVIII·8 Kaṇva is mentioned as a seer of *praiṣa* for the seasonal sacrifices and Medhātithi Kaṇva as a seer of the ' offering verses (*ṚV* VIII·38·7) Both Kaṇva and Medhātithi are said to have done away with evil by means of their compositions.

The Ṛgvedic passages where the word Kaṇva occurs in plural, would, if studied closely, give us information about the customs, habits and religious inclinations of the members of the Kaṇva-family. Just as the Kaṇvas were some of the earliest Vedic fire-worshippers, they also seem to have helped develop the Soma-ritual. A frequent reference is made to two things— to the fact that gods delighted in the *Soma* offered by the Kaṇvas and to the excellence of their poetic compositions. An assembly of the Kaṇvas (*Kaṇvānām sadaḥ*) is referred to by Praskaṇva Kāṇva,[17] who says that the Aśvins have drunk *Soma* in the house of the Kaṇvas. At another place Sadhvaṁsa Kaṇva refers to the *Savana* of the Kaṇvas where the Aśvins are implored to come.[18] The Kaṇvas are referred to as *sutasomāsaḥ* at two places in the first *maṇḍala*.[19] All this would indicate their special partiality for the Soma-cult. While eulogising Indra, Vatsa Kaṇva tells us how the Kaṇvas carry the performance of their sacrifice to the end by means of their laudations. In *ṚV* VIII.6·3 and *AV* 20·138. 2, it is said: " Since the Kaṇvas have made Indra complete the sacrifice, with their prayers, words are their own appropriate arms". The words, '*jāmi bruvata āyudham*,' occurring in these passages clearly show the efficacy of the *mantras* composed by the Kaṇvas as also their confidence in the magic powers of their hymns. Very significantly, Praskaṇva refers to the composition of *sūktas* by the Kaṇvas with the words, *brahma kṛṇvanti*.[20] At another place, Vatsa Kaṇva uses the expression, *Kaṇvā ukthen vāvṛdhuḥ*.[21] In this connection, it is further significant that the very name Kaṇva is interpreted by Sāyaṇa to mean

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[14] *AV* 2·25 :

ग॒र्भा॒दं कण्वं॑ नाशय॒ पृश्निपर्णि॒ सह॑स्व च ।
गि॒रिमे॒नाँ आ वे॑शय॒ कण्वा॑न् जीवित॒योप॑नान् ।
परा॑च एना॒न् प्र णु॑द॒ कण्वा॑न् जीवि॒तयोप॑नान् । 3–5

[15] **Satavalekar,** *Kāṇva saṁhitā*, suggests (introduction, p. 12) that the germs which destroy life (*jīvitayopana*) or which destroy the foetus (*garbhāda*) were named as Kaṇva after their inventor. Kaṇva, here, seems to have been referred to as the inventor of Pṛśniparṇī which was effective as a germicide and a tonic.

[16] *Apāmārga*, a medicinal plant is said to have been blessed by Kaṇva Nārṣada (*AV* 4·19·2). Sāyaṇa understands this creeper to be *śamī* or *śāntā*.

[17] *ṚV* I·47·10.

[18] *ṚV* VIII·8·3.

[19] *ṚV* I·44·8 and I·47·4.

[20] *ṚV* I·47·2.

[21] *ṚV* VIII·6·43. Cf. also VIII·8·8, 15, 19 where the expression *gīrbhir avīvṛdhat* is used.

stotā (see footnote 3) and that Mādhava, in the *nāmānukramaṇī* section of his *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, gives *kaṇvāsaḥ* as a synonym of *stotāraḥ*.[22]

It has been already noted that, besides the eighth *maṇḍala*, the hymns of the members of the Kaṇva-family occur in the first *maṇḍala* and that the Kaṇvas are referred to also in the tenth *maṇḍala*. As the result of this it is possible to study the main branches of the Kaṇva-family and the relations of the Kaṇvas with other families, tribes and kings. There appear to be in all four branches of the larger family-unit of the Kaṇvas which are referred to in the Kaṇva-*sūktas*, namely, (1) the Vyaśvas, (2) the Priyamedhas, (3) the Upastutas, (4) and the Sobharis. *ṛṣi* Vyaśva is the first ancestor of the Vyaśva-family and he is referred to as a protege of the Aśvins.[23] His name is mentioned in several hymns of the eight *maṇḍala*.[24] These hymns in the eighth *maṇḍala*, in which Vyaśva's name occurs, are the compositions of Viśvamanas who is a descendant of Vyaśva (Vaiyaśva). Vyaśva is referred to as an ancient *ṛṣi* also in two other hymns.[25] But as **oldenberg**[26] points out, none of his own compositions appears in *ṚV-saṁhitā*. In VIII.24, which is traditionally regarded as an Indra-hymn, we come across some interesting references to the sons of Vyaśva.[27] In stanza of that hymn, the blessed lady who presumably denoted Uṣas, is said to have brought them great riches as unto Varosuṣāman.[28] In the next stanza, a reference is made to rich *dakṣiṇā* which the *Soma*-bearing sons of Vyaśva received from Nārya, who had presumably been one of his patrons. It would further appear that, as the result of these gifts, the Vyaśvas were enabled to colonise on the banks of the Gomati.[29] The ancestor of the Priyamedha-family is Priyamedha who is mentioned as a seer along with Kaṇva.[30] There are numerous references to the family of the Priyamedhas in the *ṚV*.[31] Praiyamedha, a descendant of Priyamedha is mentioned in *AB*[32] as one of the priests who sacrificed for Udamaya Ātreya. The Praiyamedhas appear as priests also in the *saṁhitās* of the *Yajurveda*.[33] Three Praiyamedhas are referred to in the *TB'*.[34] The third branch of the Kaṇva-family, which appears in the eighth *maṇḍala*, is

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(22) *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, *Nāmānukramaṇī* p·CXXXXII and stanza 290.

(23) *ṚV* I·112·15.

(24) *ṚV* VIII·23·16, 23; 24·22 and 26·9.

(25) *ṚV* VIII·9, 10; IX·65·7.

(26) *ZDMG* 42, p·217.

(27) **Ludwig,** *Translation of the Rigveda*, 3. p. 106 connects the Vyaśvas with Vaśa Aśvya who is the author of VIII·46 and who is mentioned in the *Śaṅkhāyana ŚS* (XVI·11·13) as having received bounty from Pṛthuśravas Kānīta. The *PB* (XIV·10·9) mentions an Āṅgirasa Vyaśva as a seer of the *Sāmans* and chants.

(28) **Ludwig** originally understood this word as *varo* and *suṣāman* and explained it as a goodly knower of the *sāman*. From the context, however, it would appear that Varosuṣāman is the name of a person.

(29) *ṚV* VIII·24·30.

(30) *ṚV* I·139·9, VIII·5·25. The expression *priyamedhavat* occurs in I·45·3 and *priyamedha-stuta* in VIII·6·45·.

(31) *ṚV* I·45·4; VIII·2·37; 3·16; 4·20; 8·18; 69·8; 87·3 and X·73·11.

(32) *AB* VIII·22.

(33) *Kāṭhaka saṁ* VI·1, *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ* 1·8·7.

(34) *TB* II·1·9 et seq. In the *GB* I·3·15, however, the Praiyamedhas are called Bharadvājas.

that of the Upastutas. Upastuta, the ancestor of the family, is mentioned several times in the *ṚV*,[35] as an ancient *ṛṣi* usually in connection with Kaṇva, who was aided or favoured by Agni, the Aśvins, and other gods. In one passage, the Upastutas are styled as ' sons of Vṛṣṭihavya'[36] because Upastuta himself was the son of Vṛṣṭihavya.[37] The Upastutas are mentoned as singers in VIII 103·8 [38] and X·115·9. The fourth sub-family of the Kaṇvas is that of Sobharis. Sobhari, the ancestor of this family, is the seer of VIII·19-22, and is frequently mentioned in the *ṚV*.[39] The family is referred to as *Sobharayaḥ* at two places.[40] **oldenberg**[41] says that the eponym is here referred to as *pitā sobhariḥ*[42] But the interpretation appears to be doubtful. The actual words heie are, *have piteva sobharī*. **Oldenberg** does not seem to have taken into consideration the word *iva* here. The same mistake seems to have been committed by **Potdar.**[43] Sāyaṇas commentary on this passage (*ṚV*, VSM, III, p. 659) is quite perspicuous. He says: सोभरी सोभरिरहं हुवे युवामाह्वयामि : तत्र दृष्टान्त । पितेव यथा मम पिता (वृष्टिहव्यः) आजुहाव तद्वत् अहमाह्वयामि । A derivative adjective *sobharyā suṣṭutiḥ* occurs in VIII. 103.14. The sobharis appear to have been special worshippers of the Maruts in as much as the Maruts are referred to as *sobharīyavaḥ*.[44]

We have seen elsewhere[45] that, among the various *ṛṣi*-families, the Atris are more closely connected with the Kaṇvas, especially the Priyamedhas. In I·45·3, for instance, the expressions, *priyamedhavat* and *atrivat* occur together in one stanza. Priyamedha, Kaṇva, and Atri are mentioned side by side as ancient seers in I·139·9. In a hymn which refers to the proteges of the Aśvins, Atri is mentioned together with Kaṇva, Priyamedha and Upastuta.[46] In I·118·7, Atri and Kaṇva are stated to have received succour from the Aśvins, while they are again mentioned together in X·150·5. Significant in this connection is the fact that Bhauma Atri characterises Agni as *Kaṇva-hotā* (that is one whose priests are the Kaṇvas).[47] The fact that some of the Atri-*sūktas* (e. g. those of Śyāvāśva VIII. 35 ff.)[48] are included in the eighth *maṇḍala* speaks volumes for the close relation between the two families. Particular attention may

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(35) *ṚV* I·36·10, 17; VIII·5·25, X·115·8.

(36) *ṚV* X·115·9.

(37) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·729.

(38) Sāyaṇa, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·964, here interprets *upastutaḥ* as *upastotāraḥ*.

(39) *ṚV* VIII·5·26; 19·2; 20·19; and 22·2. In the *AV* XVIII·3·15 he is mentioned as an ancient sage with Kaṇva, Kakṣivān, Agastya, Viśvāmitra etc.

(40) *ṚV* VIII·19·32; 20·8. **Śrīkaṇṭhasāstrī,** in *IHQ*, 1936 Sept. suggests that the Sobharikāṇvas must be the inhabitants of the vast country of the *Subaris*, which was conquered by the Assyrian kings.

(41) *ZDMG*, 42, p·217.

(42) *ṚV* VIII·22·15. Note the form Sobharī instead of Sobhariḥ (metricausa).

(43) *Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*, p. 149.

(44) *ṚV* VIII·20·2. Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·643,

सोभरिमृषिं मां कामयमानाः ।

(45) Cf. Ch. IV.

(46) ṚV VIII·5·25.

(47) *ṚV* V·41·4.

(48) Cf. also VIII·73–74 which are ascribed to Gopavana Ātreya.

also be drawn to the fact that the Atris and the Kaṇvas have one stanza common in their *Aprī-sūktas*.[49] Some names of kings appear only in the only in the Atri-*maṇḍala* and the Kaṇva-*maṇḍala*. Purumīḷha, for instance, is mentioned in V. 61.9, as well as VIII·71·74. King Aṅga is mentioned in the Kaṇva-*sūktas*,[50] while the *AB* (8·22) tells us that Udamaya Ātreya was Aṅga's *purohita* and the Praiyamedhas[51] also are mentioned there. Again, certain names occur in the *ṚV* only in the Atri-*maṇḍala* and the Kaṇva-*maṇḍala*. Ruśama is mentioned in V·30·12· ff. while the Ruśamas occur in VIII.3·12,4.2,51·9. Babhru appars in V·3011,14 and VIII·22·10. Aśvamedha is mentioned in V.27·4 ff. as also in VIII.68·15-16. We have pointed out in the chapter relating to the Atris that the kings and tribes mentioned in the Atri-hymns are generally connected with the party antagonistic to Sūdas and the Bharatas (e.g. Trasadasyu VIII.36·7, Anu V. 31·4). As will be shown later on, Trasadasyu is closely connected with Kaṇva and his family.[52] The relations between Turvaśa, Yadu, and the Kaṇvas, again are very important in this context. In VIII.7·18 Turvaśa, Yadu, and Kaṇva are said to have together received protection from the Maruts. In another passage in this *maṇḍala*, the Aśvins are implored to drink *Soma* with Turvaśa, Yadu, and the Kaṇvas.[53] Again in VIII.4·19, the Kaṇvas are described to have received gifts from king Kuruṅga among the Turvaśa. Praskaṇva Kāṇva entreats the Aśvins to come to him even though they be at Turvaśas.[54] Yadu by himself also occurs together with the Kaṇvas at three places. In VIII.1·37, for instance, king Āsaṅga, the patron, is described as *Yādva* (i.e. belonging to the Yadus). Vatsa Kaṇva says that he received wealth of the Yadus (*Yādvānām*) from king Tirindira and Parśu.[55] He further refers to his people as *Yādvam janam* (VIII.6·48). Yadu and Turvaśa, who are antagonistic to the Bharatas and the Sṛñjayas,[56] appear to be friendly with the Kaṇvas. The same is the case with Anus. The Anus are the enemies of the Bharatas.[57] But they seem to have had friendly relations with the Kaṇvas.[58] and the Atris.[59] As regards the Purus also it can be said that they are friendly towards the Kaṇvas. In VIII·3·12, for instance, Medhātithi Kaṇva implores the god for wealth which the progeny of the Purus (*pauram*) was protected. In VIII·50·5

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(49) V·5·8 (*Ātreya*) = I·13·9 (*Kāṇva*).

(50) *ZDMG*, 42, p·214.

(51) *AB* VIII·22.

(52) *ṚV* VIII·8·21, VIII·49·10, X·150·5.

(53) *ṚV* VIII·9·14.

(54) *ṚV* VIII·47·7.

(55) *ṚV* VIII·6·46.

(56) Cf. *ṚV* VI·27·7; VII·18·6, VII·19·8 and IX·61·2.

(57) Cf. *ṚV* VII·18·13, 14.

(58) *ṚV* VIII·74·4. Here Gopavana Ātreya entreats the *Ānava* Agni to come.

(59) *ṚV* V·31·4. Here Avasyu Ātreya says that the Anus have fashioned out a chariot for Indra. Like the Anus the Bhṛgus also are skilful in fashioning out chariots. So **Zimmer**, *Altindisches Leben*, p·125, suggests that the Bhṛgus must have belonged to the Anus. **Oldenberg**, *ZDMG*, 42, p·221, n. 1, however, does not agree with him. It should be noted that the Anus appear to be inimical even towards the Bharadvājas as towards the Vasiṣṭhas. Bārhaspatya Bharadvāja, for instance, refers to the words of the Anus as *droghāya ānavāya vacase*(*ṚV* VI·62·9).

and VIII·54·1 Puṣṭigu Kaṇva and Matariśvā Kaṇva refer to the Pauras.[60] The Gotamas also are friendly towards the Pūrus as would be clear from several passages,[61] such as those occurring in the fourth *maṇḍala*, where Purukutsa and the Purus are referred to as being on friendly terms. The conclusion, therefore, becomes irresistible, namely, that the Gautamas must have been closely related to the Atris and the Kaṇvas. As against this it is suggested[62] that the Kaṇvas were not on good terms with the Pajras as indicated at VIII.4·17 where a Kaṇva poet expresses his unwillingness to sing a *pajra-sāman*.[63]

One thing that strikes us when we consider the question of the Kaṇvas and their patrons is that, of all the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*, the Kaṇvas seem to have enjoyed the richest royal patronage. In VIII.1·30-33, for instance, Medhyātithi Kaṇva praises the generosity of Āsaṅga, the son of Playoga and of Svanadratha, the son of Āsaṅga who gave him ample wealth, two horses, and a large number of cows. The words *ninditāśva*, *prapathī*, and *paramajyā*, occurring in VIII.1·30, are interpreted by Sayaṇa[64] to mean 'one who outstrips a horse in speed', 'one who follows the right path', and 'one who bears the best arms' respectively. **Griffith,**[65] however, says and rightly so --that they are the names of the donors. Āsaṅga, again, who is mentioned as a descendant of the eponymous Yadu, is, in VIII.1·33, said to have surpassed all other donors. The word *svanadratha*, which occurs in VIII.1·32, is interpreted by Sāyaṇa[66] as *śabdāyamānarathaḥ*, and is regarded as an epithet of the Āsaṅga. **Griffith,**[67] however, says that it is the name of the son of Āsaṅga. The 34th stanza in this *sūkta* refers to a legend about Āsaṅga who had been changed into a woman by the imprecation of the gods and afterwards restored to manhood in consequence of his repentance and the intercession of Medhātithi and Medhyātithi, whom he richly rewarded. In VIII.1·34, Śaśvatī, his wife, congratulates him on his restoration to manhood. Medhyātithi Kaṇva praises the liberality of king Vibhindu, who performed a sacrifice and gave him 48000 cows.[68] At another place,[69] Medhyātithi praises Pākasthāman for having given him the best horses Sāyaṇa, in his commentary[70] adds the epithet *kurayāṇa* before the name of Pākasthāman, but the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, as quoted by Sāyaṇa, designates Pākasthāman as *Kaurayāṇa* i.e. the son of Kurayāṇa. It seems that the seer praises him for having given him food which is verily the soul

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(60) Incidentally it may be pointed out that, though in a few passages (VII·5·3; 19·3; 96·2) the Purus and the Vasiṣṭhas appear to be friendly, the relations between the two were, as can be easily understood naturally antagonistic (VII·18·3–4).

(61) *ṚV* I·59·6; 63·7; IV·21·10; 38·1, 3; 39·2; 42·8, 9.

(62) **Potdar,** "*Sacrifice in the Rigveda*", p. 148.

(63) This emphatic statement of the Kaṇva poet indicates the existence of priestly rivalries.

(64) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·526.

(65) *Hymns of the ṚV.* II, p. 106.

(66) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p· 527.

(67) *Hymns of tne Ṛgveda*, II, p. 106.

(68) *ṚV* VIII·2·42.

(69) *ṚV* VIII·3·21–22. According to **Ludwig** III·, 160, Pākasthāman was the king of the Anus.

(70) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·545, शत्रून् प्रति युद्धाभिमुख्येन कृतं यानं हस्त्यश्वादिकं येनासौ कुरयाणः ।

(*ātmā pituḥ*), garments which are verily the body (*tanūrvāsaḥ*), ointment which gives strength (*ojodā abhyañjanam*) and bay steeds (*rohitasya dātāram*). Devātithi Kaṇva eulogises king Kuruṅga[71] for having given him a hundred horses and abundant wealth as sacrificial fee.[72] The last stanza of the *sūkta*, wherein this eulogy occurs, reveals the jocund and jubilant mood of Devātithi. That stanza is generally translated as follows: When I got the wealth the trees cried, '(how fortunate they are) they have received cows in plenty and steeds in plenty'.

Brahmātithi Kaṇva[73] eulogises the generosity of Kaśu, the king of Cedis (or, the son of Cedi), who bestowed on him hundred camels and ten thousand cows and ten kings as attendants.[74] The seer prasies the Cedis in the last stanza of VIII·5 with the words : No one could follow the path followed by the Cedis[75] Vatsa Kaṇva speaks in eulogistic terms about Tirindira, the son of Parśu, for having given him wealth[76]. **Griffith**[77] points out that both the names, Tirindira and Parśu, are Iranian (Tirindates and Persa). **Zimmer**[78] draws attention to the fact that, in this passage Tirindira and Parśu are said to have been accompanied by the Yadu princes. **Weber**[79] says that the Yadus are the poets and not the princes, and that the other two names do not appear to be Indian. He suggests that they may be Iranian. He sees in this fact an evidence of continual close relations between India and Iran. **Hillebrandt**[80] also agrees in favour of an early connection of Iranians and Indians in Arachosia, where he places part of the action of the ṚV. **Hopkins**[81] suggests that the traces of Iranian connection are signs of late date. According to **Ludwig,**[82] VIII·6·46 refers to a big booty, taken from the Parśus out of which the Yadus gave a major portion to the priest and to the fact that the prince of the Parśus was called Tirindira. **Potdar,**[83] however, says that Tirindira and Parśu are here referred to as belonging to the *Yādva* group.[84] The *Śāṅkhāyana ŚS* (16·11·20) narrates a story

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(71) Sāyaṇa *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·553 says : कुरून् जेतुं गच्छति कुलं गच्छति वा ।

(72) *ṚV* VIII·4·19.

(73) *ṚV* VIII·5·37–38.

(74) Sāyaṇa, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·563 says : दशसंख्याकान् राज्ञो युद्धे पराजितान् गृहीत्वा दासत्वेनास्मै दत्तवानित्यर्थः ।

(75) माकि॑रे॒ना प॒था गा॒द्ये॒ने॑मे यन्ति॑ चे॒द॑यः । *ṚV* VIII·5·38.

(76) *ṚV* VIII·6·46.

(77) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, II, p·123.

(78) *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 136–37.

(79) *Episches im Vedischen Ritual*, pp. 36–38, *SBPAW*, 1891, XXXVIII.

(80) *VM*, I·94 *et seq.*

(81) *JAOS*, 17, 16, 277.

(82) As quoted by **Patel,** *Die Dānastuti's des Rigveda*, p·49.

(83) *Sacrifice in the Rigveda*, p·177.

(84) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, III, p·573) comments on *rādhāṁsi yādvānām* as— याद्वानां यदुकुलजानामन्येषां राज्ञां स्वभूतानि राधांसि बलादपहृतानि तिरिन्दिरे वर्तमानान्यहं प्राप्नोमि ।

in which Vatsa Kāṇva is said to have received a gift from Tirindira Pārśavya It seems that Tirindira donated 300 horses and 10,000 cows also to Pajra.[85]. The word *Kakuha*, which occurs in VIII·6·48, is interpreted by Sāyaṇa[86] as *ucchritaḥ san* (being elevated) and is taken by him as an epithet of Tirindira. **Griffith**[87] takes it to denote a king of that name who gave four camel-loads of gold. In VIII·19·36 Sobhari Kaṇva eulogises Trasadasyu, a scion of the Puru-family, and the son of Purukutsa (*paurukutsyaḥ*) for having given him fifty female slaves (perhaps the wives or daughters of the conquered Dāsas).[88] Trasadasyu's mother, Purukutsānī, is said to have received Trasadasyu as her son, as a reward for her worship of Indrāvaruṇau[89] This Trasadasyu appears to have been a very keen sacrificer from the mention of Agni as *trāsadasyava samrāṭ*.[90] Trasadasyu is also associated with the Atris,[91] Sobhari Kaṇva describes him as the most liberal (*maṅhiṣṭha*) person (VIII·19·36). In course of time Trasadasyu appears to have become a family-name. Sāyaṇa, taking into account the word *Gairikṣita* occurring in V·33·8, believes that Trasadasyu is the successor of Girikṣit[92] It may, however, be pointed out that in no genealogy is Girikṣit mentioned as an ancestor of Trasadasyu.[93] Gairikṣita, thus, seems to be the name of another donor. In VIII·19·37, Sobhari praises the gift of Śyāva who gave him 210 cows and a strong steed on the bank of the river Suvāstu.[94] Futrher in VIII·21·17–18, Sobhari eulogises the generosity of king Citra in superlative terms : " Citra is the king and only kinglings are the rest who dwell beside Sarasvatī. Like Parjanya with his shower, he has spread himself with thousand and myriad gifts ".[95] The *BD*,[96] however, tells a different story. We are told here when Sobhari Kāṇva was performing a sacrifice at Kurukṣetra, rats began to harass him by snatching away his corn and various oblations. He, therefore, praised Indra, Citra, and Saraswatī. The king of rats was pleased with him and gave him abundant cows and instructed him to praise some other deity instead of him.

In VIII·25·22 the seer Viśvamanas praises the gifts of Suṣāman and also of Ukṣaṇyāyana and Harayāṇa. Ukṣaṇyāyana and Harayāṇa may either be the

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(85) *ṚV* VIII·6·47.

(86) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·574.

(87) *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, II, p·123.

(88) According to **Roth,** *vadhūnām* refers to mares or other female draught animals. Cf. in this connection, also the *BD* VI·50–53.

(89) *ṚV* IV·42·9.

(90) *ṚV* VIII·19·32.

(91) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·36·7; 37·7. **Ludwig,** III, p·127, suggests that this reference indicates the contemporaneity of Śyāvāśva Ātreya and Trasadasyu. **Oldenberg,** *ZDMG*, 42, p.214, however, does not agree with this view.

(92) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p·820. **Patel** *Die Dānastuti's des Rigveda* p·45. **Keith** and **Macdonell** also follow Sāyaṇa (*Vedic Index*, I, p·231).

(93) Cf. *JRAS*, XVII, p·27.

(94) This river is usually identified with Soastos of Arrian (Suwad or Swat).

(95) *ṚV* 8·21·18. चि॒त्र इद्राजा॑ राज॒का इद॑न्य॒के य॒के सर॑स्वती॒मनु॑ ।
प॒र्जन्य॑ इव त॒त॒नद्धि वृ॒ष्ट्या स॒ह॒स्र॑म॒यु॒ता दद॑त् ।

(96) *BD* VI·50–53.

patronyms of Suṣāman or as **Griffith**[97] points out they may be the names of some other kings from whom the seer received a gift of bay and white steeds.

The bounteous gifts of Pṛthuśravas Kānīta[98] are praised by Vaśa Aśvya whom that patron gave 60,000 horses, 20,000 camels, 10,000 kine, 1,000 black mares and 1,000 red mares. Vaśa and his donor Pṛthuśravas are also said to have received help from the Aśvins in I.116·21. In VIII·46·32 Vaśa eulogises the gifts of Dāsa Balbūtha and Tarukṣa. **Zimmer**[99] suggests that the mention of Balbūtha as a *dāsa* indicates that he had a non-Aryan mother or that he was indigenous to India. **Griffith**[100] suggests that Tarukṣa and Balbūtha might perhaps have been the allies of Pṛthuśravas. In the stanza under consideration Tarukṣa and Balbūtha seem to have been referred to as the people of Vāyu who is an Aryan god. Does it indicate the gradual aryanisation of *Dāsa* tribes?[101]

Priyamedha Kaṇva[102] praies the gifts of Indrota, the son of Atithigva,[103] Śrutarvan the son of Ṛkṣa (cf.VIII·74·13) and the son of Aśvamedha who gave him pairs of white, green, and red horses respectively. The *Aunkramaṇī* as quoted by Sāyaṇa,[104] mentions only the latter two patrons. Sāyaṇa adds that Indrota was present at the sacrifice of Ārkṣa and Āśvamedha as a spectator and that he was urged by his father to give a pair of horses to the priest on the spur of the moment. His gift, thus, was incidental as would become clear from its separate mention in VIII·68·17. Nīpātithi Kaṇva mentions Vasurocis as his patron (VIII·34·16) from whom he is said to have received 1,000 horses. But the *Anukramaṇī* quoted by Sāyaṇa[105] says that the *vasurociṣaḥ* (plural) are the Āṅgirasa seers of stanzas VIII·34·16–19 and Sāyaṇa accepts this view. In VIII·34·18, Vasurocis is characterised as a *pārāvata*, perhaps thereby indicating that non-Aryan people from beyond the borders were gradually taking up to Vedic ways of life. Praskaṇva seems to eulogise a patron called Dasyave Vṛka[106] (wolf to the Dasyu?). In VIII·51, this patron is described as a *ṛṣi*, but in two others,[107] he is clearly a prince victorious over the Dasyus and also a generous patron of the singer. There is no necessity to assume different persons especially as the name occurs only in a small collection of Kaṇva-hymns forming the *vālakhilya* group in the eighth *maṇḍala*. He is the son of Pūtakratā.[108] Poet Puruhanmā seems to eulo-

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(97) *Hymns of the Riðveda*, II, p·156, Cf. also **Roth,** *PW*.

(98) Cf. *Śāṅkhāyana ŚS* XVI·11·23. As the patronym Kānīta would show, Pṛthuśtravas was the son of Kanīta. **Patel,** *Die Dānastuti's des Rigveda*, p·49, suggests that he was probably non-Indian. **Justi,** *Namenbuch* (p·55) mentions a scythian king, by name Kanīta (2nd century B. C.). But it is not likely that the two are identical.

(99) *Altindisches Leben*, p·117.

(100) *Op. cit.* p·196. **Weber,** *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 30, expresses the same opinion.

(101) *ṚV* VIII·46·32. **Roth,** (*PW*, s. v. *Dāsa*), however, was inclined to amend the text so as to mean that the singer received a hundred *Dāsas* from Balbūtha.

(102) *ṚV* VIII·68·15, 16.

(103) Cf. *ṚV* I·51·6 and VI·26·3.

(104) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·865.

(105) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, III, p·715.

(106) The name occurs in VIII·51·2; 55·1; 56·1, 2.

(107) *ṚV* VIII·55, 56.

(108) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·56·2, 4 and VIII·68·17.

gise Śara, the son of Śuradeva.[109] His gifts are, according to some scholars ironically referred to, since he is said to have given only a single calf to three priests. It appears, however, that some misunderstanding has caused this impression.[110] In VIII·74·13–15, Gopavana Ātreya praises Śrutarvan Ārkṣa. In X·49·4, the victory of Śrutarva over Mṛgaya is mentioned. The abode of this patron seems to have been on the river Paruṣṇī.[111]

Some significant facts would emerge from the foregoing account. It will be seen, for instance, that the Kaṇvas were patronised by Aryan as well as non-Aryan chieftains. This fact would seem to indicate that the Kaṇvas actively promoted the movement of the gradual Aryanisation of the non-Aryan tribes. Of course, it would be wrong to suppose that all the Kaṇva seers mentioned in this connection belonged to some compact family-unit. Different seers belonging to different branches of a common stock are evidently intended here. Such an assumption would seem to get confirmation from the fact that the patrons whose gifts are praised by these Kaṇva seers so enthusiastically, themselves belonged to different families and to different geographical regions. Sobhari Kaṇva, for instance, refers in VIII·19·37, to the gifts which he received from king Śyāva on the banks of the river Suvāstu. In VIII.21·17–18, the same seer mentions the gifts received on the banks of the Saraswatī. The lake Śaryaṇāvat[112] is mentioned in VIII·7·29. In VIII·24·27 Saptasindhu[113] occurs as the name of a distinct geographical region. Agaion Sobhari mentions the rivers Sindhu and Asiknī in VIII·20·25, while Viśvamanas mentions Śvetayāvarī[114] and Sindhu. Saptasindhu and the river Sarasvatī are further mentioned in VIII·54·4. In VIII·24·30 the river Gomatī is mentioned.[115] From these references to the various geographical region it would appear that the branches of the Kaṇva-family had spread in different parts of the early Vedic Aryandom, presumably from the river Swat in the West[116] up to the river Gomatī and perhaps beyond in

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(109) *ṚV* VIII·70·13–15. Sāyaṇa, however, is of the opinion that, in these stanzas, Indra alone is praised and no king is eulogised.

(110) Scholars differ as regards the interpretation of the stanzas, (VIII·70·13–15). **Macdonell** as well as **Pischel** consider them to constitute an ironical *dānastuti*. It must, however, be remembered that an ironical reference can seldom occur, especially in a *dānastuti*. The very purpose of *dānastuti* would fail if it contains irony. **Potdar,** *Sacrifice in the ṚV* p·188, rightly points out that the priest, on the other hand, is enthusiastic in his eulogy of the patron whose liberality, he says, cannot be adequately praised (VIII·70·13). Moreover he is praised by a number of priests (VIII·70·14). The patron is handing over the calves one by one (*ekaekaḥ* VIII·70·14). The patron himself was doing honour to the priests by picking up calves by the ear (*karṇagṛhyā* VIII·70·15) and offering them. The stanzas, thus, do not contain any irony. It is a simple eulogy in the usual Ṛgvedic strain.

(111) *ṚV* VIII·74·15.

(112) The lake is supposed to be situated in the river Suṣomā which flows through the country of Arjikīyā in Kashmir (VIII·64·11) on the west of Kurukṣetra.

(113) According to **MaxMüller,** *Chips*, I· p·63, the five rivers of the Punjab, namely, Paruṣṇī, Śutudrī, Asiknī, Irāvatī, Vitastā and the Indus and the Sarasvatī.

(114) It may be the river Śvetyā mentioned in the *Nadī-sūkta* X·75·6 and a tributary of the Indus.

(115) According to **Geldner,** *Vedische Studien*, III, p. 152, the plural *gomatīḥ* means the streams of that river in Kurukṣetra.

(116) In *JAOS*, Vol. 17, pp·23 ff., **Hopkins** has suggested that the Kaṇvas belong to the west· If that is so, we have to assume that the Turvaśas and the Yadus who were the close associates of the Kaṇvas, also belonged to the west, especially to the Northwestern steppes.

the east. It is possible to assume that, during the major migrations of the Vedic Aryans, the larger main tribe of the Kaṇvas left back some of its branches at all the important settlements through which it passed.

As seers, the Kaṇvas figure in three *maṇḍalas* i.e. in the first and the ninth *maṇḍalas* in addition to their own *maṇḍala*, the eighth. It would be helpful, at this juncture, to see who, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the different members of the Kaṇva family are and what part they have played as seers.

(1) Āyu—He is the seer of VIII·58.

(2) Bharga—He is the seer of VIII·49–50 and is said to be the son of Pragātha.

(3) Brahmātithi—He is the seer of VIII.7 and is said to be a Kaṇva. Kaṇva's name is mentioned in VIII·7.23,25.

(4) Devātithi—He is the seer of VIII·4 and is said to be a Kaṇva. In VIII·4·20 there is a mention of the progeny of Kaṇva. The *PB*[117] says that Devātithi was the author of a *Sāman* by means of which he turned a pumpkin into a cow and then with her milk, satisfied the hunger both of himself and his son.

(5) Goṣūkti and Aśvaśūkti—These are the seers of VIII·14–15 and are said to be the Kāṇvāyanas. The *ṚV*, however, does not mention their names.

(6) Haryata—He is said to be the seer of VIII.72 and is a Kaṇva. His name is mentioned in VIII·72·18.

(7) Irimbiṭhi—He is the seer of VIII·16–18 and is said to be a Kaṇva. The *ṚV* does not mention his name.

(8) Kali—He is the seer of VIII·66 and is said to be the son of Pragātha. His name is mentioned in VIII·66·12 and I·112·15.

(9) Kurusuti—He is said to be the seer of VIII·76–78 and is styled as Kaṇva. The *ṚV* does not mention his name.

(10) Kuśika—He is said to be the seer of X·127 and is said to be the son of Sobhari.

(11) Kusīdī—He is the seer of VIII·80–83 and is said to be a Kaṇva.

(12) Kṛṣa—He is the seer of VIII·55.

(13) Mātariśvā—He is the seer of VIII·54. He refers to Saṁvarta in VIII·54·2.

(14) Medhātithi, Medhyātithi—Medhyātithi is referred to only in VIII·1·13. Both names, however, seem to denote the same person. He is the seer of I·12·–23; VIII·1–3, 32,33; IX·2,41–43 and is said to be the son of of Kaṇva. In VII·2·40 he refers to himself as *Kāṇvam medhyātithim.* The legend in VIII·2·40, where Indra is referred to as becoming a goat, is connected with the *Subrahmaṇya mantra.* The same legend is repeated in later literature.[118] The *PB*[119] mentions another legend where he figures as a rival of Vatsa.

(15) Medhya—He is the seer of VIII·53, 57, 58.

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(117) *PB* IX·2·19.

(118) *JB* 2·79; *Sadviṁśa B,* 1·1·15, *ŚB* 3·3·4·18, *Bāśkala* I, *TA* 1·12·3.

(119) *PB* 14·6·6.

(16) Nābhāka—He is the seer of VIII·39–42 and is said to be a Kaṇva. His name mentioned in VIII·41·2. The expression *nabhākavat* in VIII·41 4–5 seems to suggest that Nabhāka was his father.

(17) Nārada—He is the seer of VIII·13 and is a Kaṇva. Both Parvata and Nārada are mentioned in the legend of Hariśchandra Vaidhasa and Śunaḥśepa, occurring in the *AB* (VII·13·14; VIII·21).

(18) Nīpātithi—He is the seer of VIII·34 and is said to be a Kaṇva. His name is mentioned in *Vālakhilya* hymns VIII·49–9 and VIII·51·3 but not as a Kaṇva.

(19) Parvata—He is the seer of VIII·12 and is a Kaṇva.

(20) Puṣṭigu—He is the seer of a *Vālakhilya*-hymn (VIII·50) and is said to be the son of Kaṇva.

(21) Pṛṣadhra—He is the seer of VIII.56 and appears to be a contemporary of Dasyave–vṛka.

(22) Pragātha—He is the seer of VIII·10,48,62–65 and is said to be the son of Ghora.

(23) Praskaṇva—He is the seer of I·44–50 and IX·95 and is said to be the son of Kaṇva. In I·45·5 he refers to himself as the son of Kaṇva.

(24) Sadhvaṁsa—He is the seer of VIII·8 and is said to be a Kaṇva. In VIII·8·7 the expression, *Kaṇvasya putraḥ* occurs. Vatsa Kaṇva's name occurs in the *sūkta* four times and so the *sūkta* seems to belong to him.

(25) Śaśakarṇa—He is said to be the seer of VIII·9 and is a Kaṇva.

(26) Suparṇa—He is the seer of VIII·59.

(27) Sobhari—He is said to be the seer of VIII·19–22 and 103 and is said to be a Kaṇva. His name is mentioned in VIII·19·2,8,32; 20·2; 22·2,15; 5.56;103·14.

(28) Śruṣṭigu—He is the seer of a *Vālakhilya* hymn (VIII·51) and is said to be a Kaṇva.

(29) Triśoka—He is the seer of VIII·45 and is said to be a Kaṇva. His name is mentioned in VIII·45·30,I·112·12, X·29·2. In the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* of Mādhava (V·8·12–12) a quotation is given from the *Śāṭyāyanaka* according to which Triśoka and Nābhāka are the sons of Kaṇva Nārṣada and the daughter of Baka, the Asura.[120]

(30) Vatsa and Punarvatsa—He is the seer of VIII·6,11 and is said to be Kaṇva. In VIII·8·8[121] he refers to himself as the son of Kaṇva. Punarvatsa Kaṇva is the seer of VIII·7.

On the basis of the information given above we may tentatively reconstruct the various branches of the Kaṇva-family as follows :

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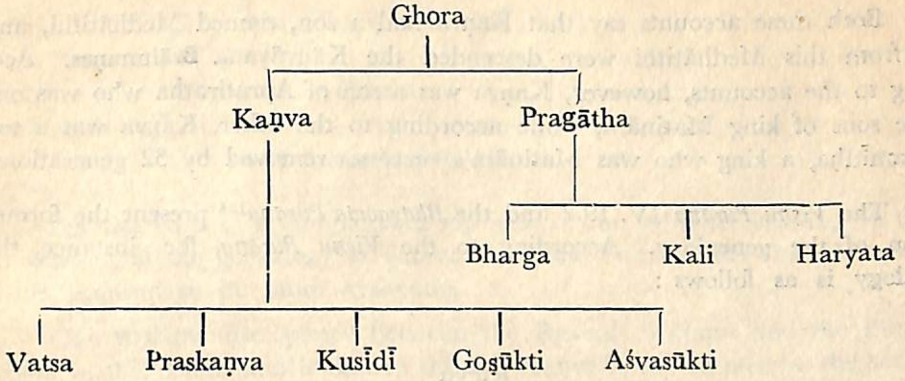
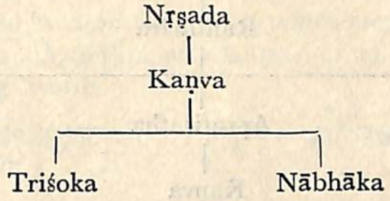
[120] अत्र शाट्यायनकम् । कण्वो वै नार्षदो बकस्यासुरस्य दुहितरमविन्दत ।
तस्यां हास्य त्रिशोकनाभाकौ पुत्रौ जज्ञाते इति ।

[121] *ṚV* VIII·8·8 : पु॒त्रः कण्व॑स्य वा॒मृषि॑र्गी॒र्भिर्व॒त्सो अ॑वीवृधत् ।





Kunhan Raja [122] entertains a doubt as to whether the Kaṇvas at all belonged to the same ethnic group as the Aryans. If the Kaṇvas were all Aryans belonging to the same ethnic group, how, he asks, can one account for some discordance in their names ? Most of the names of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* are purely Aryan with a definite meaning. But what can the name Kaṇva itself mean ? He further says that Irimbiṭhi, Praskaṇva, Vatsa, Punarvatsa, Parvata, Nārada, Śaśakarṇa, Aśvasūkti, Goṣūkti, Puṣṭigu, Śruṣṭigu etc. appear to be strange names. These names, according to **Kunhan Raja**, give an impression of a group that is different from other ethnic groups and this leads us to the hypothesis that even at the time of the *ṚV* the Aryan culture had ceased to be purely Aryan.

The point, which has been raised by **Kunhan Raja**, is certainly interesting, but the conclusion which he draws is not quite convincing. There is no necessity of assuming that the Kaṇvas formed an ethnic group distinct from the other Aryans. The strangeness in their names can be accounted for by assuming some non-Aryan influence. In other words, the difference between the Kaṇvas and the other Aryan tribes is not ethnic but one relating to the extent of non-Aryan influence on them.

According to the Purānic genealogy[123] of the Aṅgirasas there were fifteen branches of them, namely Ayāsya, Utathya (Ucathya), Vāmadeva, Auśija, Bhāradvāja, Saṅkṛti, Garga, Kaṇva, Rathītara, Mudgala, Viṣṇuvṛddha, Hārīta, Kapi, Ṛkṣa (Urukṣaya), Bharadvāja, Ārṣabha, and Kitu. It would appear from this genealogy that, like the Bharadvājas, the Kaṇvas were an offshoot of the Āṅgirasa family through the Paurava line. Their branching off has been assigned to two distinct points in two different accounts.

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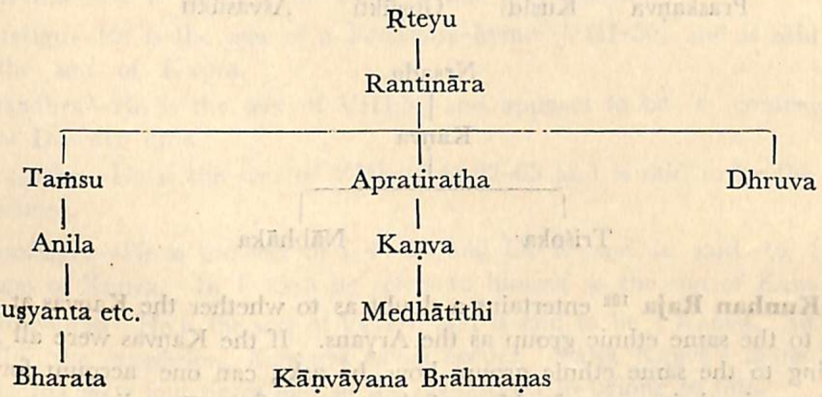
(122) *Rangaswami Ayyangar Comm. Vol.*, p·386.

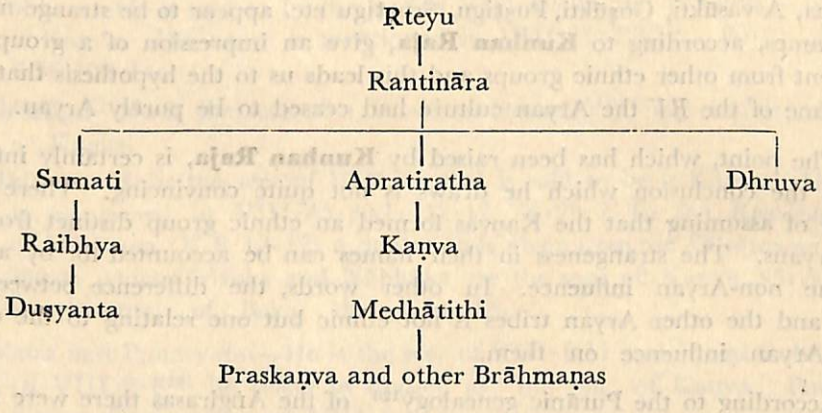
(123) **Pargiter,** *CAI*, p·225.

Both these accounts say that Kaṇva had a son, named Medhātithi, and that from this Medhātithi were descended the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas. According to the accounts, however, Kaṇva was a son of Apratiratha who was one of the sons of king Matināra, while according to the other, Kaṇva was a son of Ajamīḍha, a king who was Matināra's successor removed by 32 generations.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV. 19.2 and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[124] present the former version of the genealogy. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, for instance, the genealogy is as follows :


Ṛteyu
Rantināra
Taṁsu
Apratiratha
Dhruva
Anila
Kaṇva
Duṣyanta etc.
Medhātithi
Bharata
Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas

The *Bhāgavata* introduces the Puru dynasty as follows :


Ṛteyu
Rantināra
Sumati
Apratiratha
Dhruva
Raibhya
Kaṇva
Duṣyanta
Medhātithi
Praskaṇva and other Brāhmaṇas

The other genealogy is given by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* at IV. 19.10,[125] as follows :

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(124) *Bhāgavata* IX·20·6–7.

(125) Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 99·169–70 :

अजमीढस्य केशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ।।

Ajamīḍha (m. Keśinī)
|
Kaṇva
|
Kāṇvāyana Brāhamaṇas

On the basis of a comparative estimate of the evidence relating to these two versions of the genealogy of Kaṇva **Pargiter**[126], concludes that the second version appears to be more authentic.

One striking discrepancy between the Ṛgvedic account and the Purāṇic account in this connection is that in the *ṚV* Kaṇva is represented as the son of Ghora while in the Purāṇas he is the son either of Apratiratha or Ajamīḍha. This discrepancy is also reflected in *AśŚS* (12·13·1), which mentions the *pravaras* of the Kaṇvas either as 'Āṅgirasa, Ājamiḷha, and Kāṇva' or as 'Āṅgirasa, Ghaura, and Kāṇva' in the following words :

> कण्वानामाङ्गिरसाजमीळ्हकाण्वेति । घोरमु हैके ब्रुवतेऽवक्रुष्याजमीळ्हम्,
> आङ्गिरसघौरकाण्वेति ।

According to VIII·65·12, Pragātha was clearly a contemporary of Durgaha's grandsons[127] and so the chronological positions of Pragātha's father Ghora, brother Kaṇva, and three sons can be fixed. Pṛṣadhra Kaṇva was a contemporary of Dasyavevṛka (VIII·56·1–2). Sobhari Kaṇva's position is fixed in accordance with his contemporaneity with Trasadasyu Paurukutsa[128]. Praskaṇva Kaṇva is later than Priyamedha.[129] Devātithi Kaṇva (VIII·4·17), Vatsa Kaṇva (VIII·6·17), Sadhvaṁsa Kaṇva (VIII·8, 4, 7, 8) and Medhātithi Kaṇva (I·18·1) can be placed, through Kakṣīvan Pajriya, as having been later than Ajamīḍha. It would thus generally appear that the Kaṇvas sprang from Ajamīḍha and not from Matināra's son Apratiratha. From **Pargiter's** genealogical table,[130] it can be seen that Sobhari Kaṇva is a contemporary of Vadhryaśva and Divodāsa on the one hand and of Arcanānas Ātreya on the other. The eponymous Kaṇva far antidates Sobhari and so Kaṇva seems to precede Atri. As indicated elsewhere, the antiquity of Kaṇva is confirmed by many Vedic passages. In the *AV*,[131] for instance, Atharvā, while praising Yama, invokes the aid of various *ṛṣis* for his protection and here he invokes Kaṇva first of all. In *ṚV* I.139.9, Parucchepa, the son of Divodāsa, says that his birth, was known to Dadhyañ, Aṅgiras, Priyamedha Kaṇva, Atri and Manu. That the Kaṇvas preceded the Bhṛgus and the Priyamedhas becomes clear from VIII 3.16.[132]

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[126] **Pargiter,** *CAI,* p. 227.

[127] Cf. also *BD* VI·35–39.

[128] **Pargiter** Op. cit. p. 170.

[129] Cf. *ṚV* I·45·3–5, I·47·2, 5, 6.

[130] Op. cit., p. 192.

[131] *AV* 18·3·15.

[132] *ṚV* VIII·3·16 : कण्वा॑इव॒ भृग॑व॒ः सूर्या॑इव॒ विश्व॒मिद्धी॒तमा॑नशुः ।
इन्द्रं॒ स्तोमा॑भि॒र्महयन्त आ॒यव॑ः प्रि॒यमे॒॑धासो अस्वरन् ॥

One of the recensions of the *Śukla Yajurveda* is known as the *Kāṇva saṁhitā*. We have alreday seen that Kaṇva is the seer of several *sūktas* in the first, the eighth, and the ninth *maṇḍalas* of the *ṚV*. So the question may now be posed : Are these two Kaṇvas identical ? In the *Kaṇva-saṁhitā* edited by him, **Satavalekar** had calculated the number of the *yajus-mantras* which are directly borrowed from the *Śākalya saṁhitā* of the *ṚV*. About 703 *ṛks* have been directly taken from the *ṚV*, out of which only 62 are Kaṇva-*ṛks*.[133] The total number of Kaṇva *ṛks* in the *ṚV* is 1344. The very small number out of this fairly large total occurring in the *Kaṇva saṁhitā* of the white *YV* would clearly go against the assumption of that *saṁhitā* having been the work of the Ṛgvedic Kaṇva. Moreover, in the *Āditya Purāṇa*, the following information is given about the parentage of the seer of the *Kāṇva saṁhita* of the *śukla Yajurveda* :

बोधायनपितृत्वाच्च प्रशिष्यत्वाद्बृहस्पतेः ।
शिष्यत्वाद्याज्ञवल्क्यस्य कण्वोऽभून्महतो महान् ।।

Thus the Kaṇva of the white *YV* is said to be the disciple of Yājñavalkya, the grand-disciple of Bṛhaspati and the son of Bodhāyana. According to the ancient tradition, Yājñavalkya, who is mentioned as the preceptor of this Yajurvedic Kāṇva, was a disciple of Śākalya, who taught him the *ṚV*. It is suggested that the Śākalya *saṁhitā* of the *ṚV* is accordingly earlier than Yājñavalkya, who was the teacher of the Yajurvedic Kaṇva. If this be so, Kaṇva Ghaura of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* could not have been identical with Kaṇva of the *Śukla Yajurveda*. Kaṇva Nārṣada precedes even this Kaṇva Ghaura, so, he too cannot be identified with the Yajurvedic Kaṇva. The latter is, as the name indicates, the Baudhāyana Kaṇva.[134]

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(133) Medhātithi 26, Kaṇva 4, Praskaṇva 8, Medhyātithi 3, Vatsa 4, Sobhari 3, Śṛṣṭigu 2, others 12.

(134) Assuming that Baudhāyana Kaṇva is a disciple and, therefore, a contemporary of Yajñavalkya, an attempt is made tentatively to fix his date. The well-known passage in the *ŚB*, 2·2·1–2 referring to the fixed position of the Kṛttikās in the eastern direction and a little change (requiring mathematically a period of 5000 years) in their position since then, led S. B. **Dixit** in his *Bhāratiya Jyotiṣaśāstra* p. 129 to fix the date of the *ŚB* and of Yājñavalkya at 3000 B. C. Viśvāmitra is believed to have preceded this Yājñavalkya by five genealogical steps :

Viśvāmitra (the seer of the third *maṇḍala*)

Śunaḥśepa Devarāta (adopted son and a seer of a few *sūktas* in the first *maṇḍala*)

Kati

Śunaḥputra

Cārāyaṇa (Yajñavalka) Devarāta

(He is the eponym of the Cārāyaṇiya *śākhā* in the *YV* and known by different names as Brahmarāta, Yājñavalka and Vājasani.)

Yājñavalkya (The eponym of the Mādhyandina branch of the *YV* and the teacher of Baudhāyana Kaṇva)

The Ṛgvedic Kaṇva precedes even Viśvāmitra (*AV* 18·3·15) and so the approximate date of that Kaṇva would be 4000 B. C. So the Ṛgvedic Kaṇva, the seer of the VIII *maṇḍala*, is supposed to have preceded Baudhāyana Kaṇva, the seer of the Kāṇva-saṁhitā, by about 1000 years. **Citarav,** however, says in his *Prācīnacaritrakośa* (p·96) that both these Kaṇvas are identical.

A reference may be incidentally made at this stage to two peculiar views about the personality of Kaṇva. In a Ṛgvedic passage,[135] Kaṇva is said to have had his sight restored by the Aśvins. **Bergaigne**[136] takes this fact in conjunction with Kaṇva's close connection with fire-worship and suggests that Kaṇva is really the sun during the night, or more generally the hidden Agni. It has, however, been already pointed out elsewhere that such symbolic-naturalistic interpretation of events mentioned in the *ṚV* is not always convincing. As against **Bergaigne, Oldenberg** [137] says that Kaṇva was merely an eponymous hero and that nothing said of him can be taken to prove his contemporaneity with any Ṛgvedic poet. The evidence which we have considered so far would, however, make it possible to assume that Kaṇva was a historical figure and that he belonged to a period of high antiquity.

As for the legends relating to Kaṇva we have already seen[138] how Pragātha Kaṇva and his descendants came to be the seers of the eighth *maṇḍala.* Another legend is referred to in I.117.8 about Śyāva, who, according to Sāyaṇa,[139] was suffering from leprosy. He was cured by the Aśvins, and Ruśatī, a girl of fair complexion, was given to him. Further a story about Kaṇva is narrated by Sāyaṇa in this context as follows : In order to test his brāhmaṇahood, the Asuras threw Kaṇva Nārṣada in a dungeon full of darkness and said to him, "If you are a real Brāhmaṇa you should know at this place itself the time of dawn". In this predicament, the Aśvins helped him by indicating to him the time of dawn by the notes of their lutes.[140] The word *Nārṣadāya,* occurring in this context, is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *nṛṣadaḥ putrāya.* Sāyaṇa further adds that Kaṇva Nārṣada was deaf but was endowed with the power of hearing. It is possible that the whole of this stanza (1.117.8) refers only to Kaṇva Nārṣada, who was endowed with the power of hearing[141] and seeing, was cured of leprosy and was given a beautiful girl Ruśatī by the Aśvins. The Śāṭyāyanaka story (quoted in footnote 2) seems ,to corroborate this.

The Kaṇvas seem to have devoted themselves more specially to the Indra-worship. Out of the ninety hymns in the whole of the *ṚV-saṁhitā* ascribed to them nearly thirtyfive are in honour of Indra. Among the Ṛgvedic seers

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(135) *ṚV* I·118·7 : युवं कण्वा॒यापि॑रिप्ताय॒ चक्षु॒ः प्रत्य॑धत्तं सुष्टु॒तिं जु॑जुषा॒णा ।

(136) **Bergaigne,** *La Religion Vedique,* II, p. 465.

(137) **Oldenberg,** *ZDMG,* 42, pp. 216–217.

(138) Foot-note 1 of this chapter.

(139) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya ṚV,* VSM, I, p. 731. **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda,* I, p. 158, however supposes that the words *śyāvāya kaṇvāya* here refer to the same person. Sāyaṇa indicate. that two separate legends are referred to about Śyāva and Kaṇva in the first line of the stanza.

(140) Sāyaṇa, here, interprets the word *kṣoṇasya* as *kṣoṇāya* meaning 'to one who is blind' i. e. Kaṇva. **Griffith,** however, interprets it as 'of the mighty people' and connects it with Ruśatī.

(141) It seems that, on the strength of this evidence, *Satyāṣāḍha śrauta sūtra* 10.4, forbids the gift of *dakṣiṇā* to the kaṇvas, for Gopīnātha Bhaṭṭa says, *Kaṇvam tu badhiram vidyāt,* but he himself is not satisfied as to the genuineness of this argument.

the Kaṇvas thus have the largest number of Indra-*sūktas* to their credit. It is significant that no Kāṇva-hymns appear in the tenth *maṇḍala* except, perhaps, the one attributed to Kuśika, the son of Sobhari, who is the traditional author of X.127. It seems that the Kaṇvas had been gradually falling in the estimate of the people and were at one stage actually regarded with hostility.[142] As devout worshippers of Indra they invoke him in such a pressing manner that they entreat him to leave others and come to them only.[143]. The Kaṇvas have eight Aśvin-hymns to their credit and a few of the members of that family are actually referred to as the proteges of the Aśvins.[144]

The Kaṇvas seem to have played a significant role also in connection with the Vedic ritual. There are frequent references to the *kaṇvānām sadas* and *kaṇvānām savanam.* They are often described as *sutasomāsaḥ*. Their keenness for performing sacrifices is reflected in the word *Kaṇvamantam* (VIII.2.22) which denotes an oblation of the Kaṇvas. The same is suggested by the word *Kaṇvahotā* (V.41.4). By means of their *sūktas* they are said to have made Indra an instrument of sacrifice.[145]

Kaṇva is referred to in the *AV*[146] as the knower of the milking of the earth-cow. It seems that he was the first to know it.[147] The same fact is referred to also in the *Kaṇva saṁhitā*,[148] the *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā*,[149] the *Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā*[150] and the *Kāpiṣṭhala saṁhitā*.[151] Further the *mantras* are said to be their very weapons (*jāmi bruvata āuydham* VIII.6.3).[152] In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.[153] Kaṇva is mentioned as the seer of the *Praiṣas*[154] for the seasonal sacrifices. In the same context, Medhātithi Kaṇva is said to be the seer of the 'offering stanzas' (*ṚV* VIII.38.7) and both Kaṇva and Medhātithi are stated to have smitten away evil by means of them. A kind of hostility is suggested between the Pajras and the Kaṇvas as the composers of *Sāmans*. Devātithi, a poet of a Kaṇva family, for instance, expresses his reluctance to sing a *Sāman* of the Pajra family.[155]

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(142) *AV* II.25. Cf. The *Vārtika* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* III.1.14. Cf. also the views of **Bergaigne**, *Religion Vedique*, 2, p. 465; **Hillebrandt** *VM*, p. 207, **Oldenberg**, *Rigveda Noten*, I, p. 110.

(143) Cf. *ṚV* VIII.4.2, 5.13, 32.22, 33.14, 49.7, 65.1, 66.12, and 82.1.

(144) Cf. *ṚV* I.112.5; 39.7, 47.5; VIII.5.25, 49.9–10; X.150.5 and *AV* 4.29.5–6.

(145) *ṚV* VIII.6.3 and *AV* 20.138.2.

(146) *AV* 7.15.1.

(147) In the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa, however, Pṛthu Vainya is said to be the first man to do it (I.2).

(148) *Kāṇva saṁhitā* 18.74.

(149) *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā* 18.4.9, 21.2 and 13.12. In the last (13.12) passage the Kaṇvas are referred to as *Sauśravasāḥ* while in (21.2) Kaṇva is said to be *Śrāyasa.*

(150) *Maitrāyaṇī saṁhitā* 2.10.6.

(151) *Kāpiṣṭhala saṁhitā* 28·4.

(152) **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·119, translates it as "words are their own appropriate arms". **Griffith** quotes **Wilson's** translation as, "they, declare all weapons needless."

(153) *KB* XXVIII·8.

(154) *Praiṣa* is a liturgical term meaning 'direction' or 'invitation', repeatedly found in the later *saṁhitās* (*AV* V·26·4; XI·7·18, 16·7·2; *TS* , VII·3·11·2; *VS* XIX·19 etc.) and the *Brāhmaṇas* (*AB* II·3; III·9; V.9; *SB* IV·1, 3, 15; XIII·5, 2, 23; *KB* XXVIII·1, etc.).

(155) *ṚV* VIII·4·17 : न तस्य॑ वे॒म्यर॑णं॒ हि तद्व॑सो स्तु॒षे प॒ज्राय॒ साम्ने॑ ।

An attempt may now be made to form an estimate of the compositions of the Kaṇvas from the literary point of view. It has been already noted that the Kaṇvas refer to themselves as 'composing poems' with various expressions like *brahma kṛṇvanti, īḍate, gīrbhir ahūṣata, matim vardhayanti, suṣṭutiḥ, ukthena vāvṛdhuḥ, gāthayā vocata, abhi anūṣata, abhi pra gāyata, ukthebhir jarante, brahmabhir yacchanti,* etc. In comparison with the other *maṇḍalas* it would appear that these expressions are more emphatic, clear, and showing a kind of self-confidence of the Kaṇvas. The *sūktas*, indeed, are their varitable weapons. The word *Kaṇva* itself is interpreted as *stotā*[156]. The spontaneous character of the Kaṇva-*sūktas* is suggested by a Kaṇva poet who says : "These *sūktas* were concealed in our hearts and they flashed forth of their own accord, and the Kaṇvas shone with the lustre of Ṛta".[157]

It would be interesting to study the various similes and metaphors used by the Kaṇvas. The boldness of similes used by them seems to distinguish them from other Ṛgvedic poets. A Kaṇva poet, who has received ten black horses from his patron, describes them as, 'these horses have come out like ten lotuses from a lake".[158] Indra delaying to favour the worshipper is compared by another poet to an insolent and wicked son-in-law who spurns the frequent invitations of the father-in-law.[159] Another poet compares the two horses of Indra with the two wings of a hawk.[160] A few bold metaphors also are interspersed here and there in the Kaṇva-*sūktas*. The hymn, for instance, is compared by a Kaṇva poet with a boat with which he would safely cross over the sea of sins[161] while another poet compares his hymn to a cow giving milk when desired.[162] Agni is called the auspicious messenger of the sun (VIII.39.3). A cow is used as a common symbol for denoting the liberality of gods. A poet, for instance, likens the worshippers to milkmen and Indra to a cow.[163] The flames of Agni are likened to his tongue (VIII.72.4). Agni is likened to a charioteer and the

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(156) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, III, p·533 : *kaṇatiḥ śabdakarmā kaṇvāḥ stotāraḥ*

(157) *ṚV* VIII·6·8 : गुहा सतीरुप त्मना प्र यच्छोचन्त धीतयः । कण्वा ऋतस्य धारया ॥

Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·120, translates it as follows : "When hidden thoughts, spontaneously advancing, glow, the Kaṇvas shine with the stream of sacrifice (*ṛta*)."

(158) *ṚV* VIII·1·33 अधोक्षणो दश मह्यं रुशन्तो नळा इव सरसो निरतिष्ठन् ।

(159) *ṚV* VIII·2·20 मो ष्व १ द्य दुर्हणावान् त्सायं करदारे अस्मत् । अश्रीर इव जामाता ।

Sāyaṇa explains the simile (*ṚV*, VSM, III, p·533) as,"

गुणैर्विहीनः कुत्सितः जामाता असकृदाहूयमानोऽप्यासायंकालं विलम्बते
तद्वत् कालविलम्बं मा कृथा इत्यर्थः ।

(160) *ṚV* VIII·34·9 : आ त्वा मदच्युता हरी श्येनं पक्षेव वक्षतः ।

(161) *ṚV* VIII·42·3 : ययाति विश्वा दुरिता तरेम सुतर्माणमधि नावं रुहेम ।

(162) *ṚV* VIII·14·3 : धेनुष्ट इन्द्र सूनृता यजमानाय सुन्वते । गामश्वं पिप्युषी दुहे

(163) *ṚV* VIII·52·4 : तं त्वा वयं सुदुघामिव गोदुहो जुहूमसि श्रवस्यवः ।

gods to horses by another poet.[164] The gifts of Indra are compared to a big stream of water (*urudhārā*) at VIII.93.3.

This *maṇḍala* is, in a sense, peculiar in style. There are, for instance, many out of the way metres used in this *maṇḍala* like the Bārhata Pragātha, Kakubha Pragātha, Atijagatī, Bṛhatī and Uṣṇih[165]. Prākṛtisms constitute another stylistic peculiarity of this *maṇḍala*. Again the *Brahmodyas*[166] (theological riddles) which became a special feature of the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts like the *ŚB*, the *BĀU* and the *AB*, seem to have their beginnings in some of the *mantras* in the eighth *maṇḍala*. The author of a well-known hymn in the ṚV, namely, VIII.29, has mentioned, in the right *brahmodya*-fashion, in each stanza of that hymn only the most distinctive characteristics of a particular god without mentioning the name of that god. He has thus left the reader to infer the identity of the god from those distinctive characteristics.[167] It may further be pointed out that in style and arrangement of hymns this *maṇḍala* corresponds to the portion of the first *maṇḍala* which contains *sūktas* 51–191. This fact suggests its contemporaneity with that portion of the first *maṇḍala*.

Important, in this connection, is also the question of the Vālakhilya-hymns (VIII.49–59). All these hymns are supposed to have been composed by the members of the Kaṇva-family. It is not quite clear as to why they should have been considered as apocryphal to the Ṛgvedic collection, particularly when they are placed in the midst of the eighth-*maṇḍala*. **Velankar** (*JUB*, XV, p.11, f.n.) suggests that the purpose of such a construction of a group of hymns was evidently sacrificial (cf. also **Bloomfield,** *Rigveda Repetitions*, p.13; pp.640–43) though its exact nature is not very clear. The artificiality of the composition of these *sūktas* cannot be the reason for their being regarded as an appendage, because the Parucchepa-group in the first *maṇḍala* is more artificial in that sense. There appear to be four groups among the Vālakhilya-hymns, namely 49–50, 51–52, 53–54, and 55–56. While hymn 58 is fragmentary in character, hymns 57 and 59 are independent. It is suggested[168] that the construction of the four groups gives clear indications that one of these groups had attained some sacrificial significance, and hence, with the idea of maintaining a similar effect, the hymn was almost maintained intact in its imitation, though certain words were substituted to give the latter an appearance of a new hymn. Thus the same idea which must have prompted the authors of the Āpri-hymns in the different families to imitate each other seems to have prompted a limited group of poets in the Kaṇva family.

Certain references occurring in the hymns of the Kaṇvas are quite important from the sociological point of view. In the thirteenth *sūkta* of the eighth

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(164) *ṚV* VIII·75·1.

(165) Vide *ṚV*, VSM, *Sūcīkhaṇḍa, Chandaḥsūcī* pp·1040–1048.

(166) **Luders** in his posthumous publication on Varuṇa has pointed out that, according to Indo-Aryans, the utterance of eternal verities had certain magical effect.

(167) In VIII·29·5, for instance, a god is described who is at once ferocious and bright and holy and who wields in his hand a sharp weapon and at the same time possesses marvellous healing powers. Obviously the god is Rudra.

(168) **Potdar,** *Sacrifice in the Rigveda*, p·234.

maṇḍala, for instance, we come across some interesting observations about women. In VIII.13.19 it is said : "(Plāyogi), look down. Do not look up. Let not your ankles be seen, for, being a man you have been turned into a woman (now)".[169] A sententions maxim about women occurs in VIII.13.17 where it is said : "Indra himself hath said, the mind of woman brooks not discipline and her intellect hath little weight".[170] Two classes of persons namely, those who believed in the Indra-cult and those who had no faith in the Indra-cult, are mentioned in VIII.6·12. That there were some people who came to have disbelief in the existence of Indra himself is suggested by VIII.100·3. That passage is generally translated as follows : "Striving for strength, bring forth a laud for Indra, a truthful hymn, if he in truth existeth. Nema says, 'verily there is no Indra'. Who has beheld him ? Whom then shall we honour ?"[171] The Yatis and the Bhṛgus seem to have been regarded with disfavour by Vatsa Kaṇva in VIII.6.18.[172]

The boastfulness of a priest about his own vocation is seen in a *sūkta* of Medhya Kṇava who says : "The wise priests arranging the sacrifice in many ways carry it to the gods. Of what avail is the wisdom of *Yajamāna* where the priest is learned in sacrificial lore ?"[173]

In the various stories, which are referred to by the Kaṇvas in the eighth *maṇḍala*, it is possible to trace the beginnings of the concept of *avatāras* of the Hindus. In VIII.14.13, for instance, Indra's killing of Namuci is referred to in such a manner that it appears to be a base for the Nṛsiṁhāvatāra of the *Purāṇas*. The legend in VIII 78 may be at the base of the Varāhāvatara of the *Purāṇas*.

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(169) *ṚV* VIII·13·19 : अ॒धः प॑श्यस्व॒ मोप॑रि संत॒रां पा॑द॒कौ ह॑र ।
मा ते॑ कशप्ल॒कौ दृ॑श॒न् स्त्री हि ब्र॒ह्मा ब॒भूवि॑थ ॥

(170) *ṚV* VIII·13·17 : इन्द्र॑श्चिद् घा॒ तद॑ब्रवीत् स्त्रि॒या अ॑शा॒स्यं मनः॑ ।
उ॒तो अह॒ क्रतुं॑ र॒घुम् ।

(171) *ṚV* VIII·100·3 : प्र सु स्तोमं॑ भरत वा॒जय॑न्त॒ इन्द्रा॑य स॒त्यं यदि॑ स॒त्यमस्ति॑ ।
नेन्द्रो॑ अ॒स्तीति॒ नेम॑ उ त्व आह॒ क ईं॑ ददर्श॒ कम॒भि ष्ट॑वाम ॥

(172) *ṚV* VIII·6·18 : य इ॑न्द्र॒ यत॑यस्त्वा॒ भृग॑वो॒ ये च॑ तुष्टु॒वुः । ममेदु॑ग्र श्रुधी॒ हव॑म् ।

Yati is the name of an ancient clan which is connected with the Bhṛgus in the passage quoted here and in VIII·3·9. In the *Yajurveda saṁhitās*, the *AV* II·5·3, *SV* II·304, and the *AśŚS* VI·3·1 the Yatis appear as a race whom Indra gave over to the hyaenas (*indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prādāt AB*, VII·28·1. **Dandekar**, *Rudra in the Veda*, *JUP* I p·44, points out that the Yatis were *niragni*, that is having no faith in the Vedic ritual and that they seem to have regarded isolation from normal social life as a *sine qua non* of truly spiritual life.

(173) *ṚV* VIII·58·1 : यमृ॒त्विजो॑ बहु॒धा क॒ल्पय॑न्त॒ः सचे॑तसो य॒ज्ञमि॒मं वह॑न्ति ।
यो अ॑नूचा॒नो ब्रा॑ह्म॒णो युक्त आ॑सी॒त् का स्वि॒त्तत्र॒ यज॑मानस्य सं॒वित् ॥

The cow, it seems, had come to be regarded in those days as the divine, the holiest and an *ahiṁsya* animal.[174] It is interesting to note that Priyamedha refers to various musical instruments, such as *gargara* (viol), *godhā* (lute), and to the string of the musical instrument (*piṅgā*) being played upon at the time of singing a hymn to Indra.[175] There is a very interesting reference to the healing of Etaśa's wound by Indra in VIII.1·12.[176] Etaśa was seriously wounded in the neck but his wound was closed and healed by Indra without letting a drop of blood to ooze out. A philosophically elevated thought is expressed by Medhya Kaṇva in VIII.58.2 as follows :

> एक एवाग्निर्बहुधा समिद्ध एकः सूर्यो विश्वमनुप्रभूतः ।
> एकैवोषाः सर्वमिदं वि भात्येकं वा इदं वि बभूव सर्वम् ॥

" Kindled in many a spot still Agni is one. Sūrya is one, though he shines high over all. Uṣas is one though she illumines all. That which is one has developed into all."[177] Thoughts like these appear to be the seeds of the later *advaita* philosophy propounded in the *Upaniṣads*.[178]

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(174) *Ṛ V* VIII·101.15 : माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसादित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः ।
प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥

(175) *Ṛ V* VIII·69·9.

(176) *Ṛ V* VIII·1·12 : य ऋते चिदभिश्रिषः पुरा जत्रुभ्य आतृदः ।
सन्धाता सन्धिं मघवा पुरूवसुरिष्कर्ता विह्रुतं पुनः ॥

(177) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *Ṛ V*, VSM, III, p·802—
यदाग्न्यादयो देवा अप्येकाकिनः सन्तोऽनेकभवनसमर्थास्तदा
परं ब्रह्म एकं सदनेकं भवेदिति किमु वक्तव्यमित्यभिप्रायः ।

(178) It should be noted that, in the eighth *maṇḍala*, there are 32 *ṛṣis* belonging to the Kaṇva-family. But there are *ṛṣis* belonging to other families also. The following are the *ṛṣis* belonging to the Āṅgirasa family : Priyamedha (VIII·2·1–40, 68, 69), Sahasram Vasurociṣaḥ VIII·34·16–18, Virūpa (VIII·43, 44, 75), Puruhanmā (VIII·70), Sudīti (VIII·71), Purmīḷha (VIII·71) Kṛṣṇa (VIII·85–87), Viśvaka Kārṣṇi (VIII·86), Nṛmedha (VIII·89, 90, 98, 99) Purumedha (VIII·89, 90,98, 99), Śrutakakṣa (VIII·92), Sukakṣa (VIII·92, 93), Bindu (VIII·94), Pūtadakṣa (VIII·94), Tiraścī (VIII·95, 96). There are two Ātreya *ṛṣis* namely Gopavana (VIII·73, 74) and Apālā (VIII·91). The following are the *ṛṣis* belonging to other families. Āsaṅga Plāyogi (VIII·1·30–33), Śaśvatī (VIII·1·34), Viśvamanas (VIII·23–26), Manu Vaivasvata (VIII·27–31), Kaśyapa Mārīca (VIII·29), Vaśa Āśvya (VIII·46), Trita Āptya (VIII·47), Matsya Sāmmada (VIII·67), Mānya Maitravaruṇa VIII·67 (Perhaps Agastya), Saptavadhri (VIII·73), Kṛtnu Bhārgava (VIII·79), Ekadhyu (VIII·80), Uśanā Kāvya (VIII·84), Dyumnīka Vāsiṣṭha (VIII·87), Nodhas (VIII·88), Dyutāna Māruta (VIII·96), Rebha Kāśyapa (VIII·97), Nema Bhārgava (VIII·100), Jamadagni (VIII·101), Prayoga (VIII·102), Pavākāgni Bārhaspatya (VIII·102), Gṛhapati Sahasaḥ Putraḥ (VIII·102). Out of 71 *ṛṣis* in this *maṇḍala*, thus, 32 are Kaṇvas, 15 Āṅgirasas, 2 are Ātreyas and 22 belong to various other families. The *ṛṣis* belonging to families other than that of the Kaṇvas are dealt with in the relevant chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ŚATARCINS IN THE ṚV

Maṇḍalas 1 and 10 are generally believed to constitute the latest strata of the Ṛgvedic composition. On a careful examination of the *sūktas* in these *maṇḍalas*, however, it would seem that the above statement applies to the process of *saṁhitīkaraṇa* in respect of these *sūktas* rather than to their actual composition. The *ṛṣis* of the first *maṇḍala* are referred to as '*Śatarcinaḥ*'.[1] They are so referred to under the assumption that each of these *ṛṣis* (or the whole miniature family-group relating to that *ṛṣi*) has contributed hundred *ṛks* to the *ṚV-saṁhitā*. But, as will be seen from the following list[2] of the *ṛṣis* of the first *maṇḍala*, with the number of *ṛks* contributed by each of them, such an assumption is not substantiated by actual facts.

Group No.	Name of the *ṛṣi*	Patronym	*Sūktas*	No. of *ṛks*
1	Madhucchandas	Viśvāmitra	1–11	102
2	Medhātithi	Kaṇva	12–23	146
3	Śunaḥśepa	Ajīgarta	24–30	96
4	Hiraṇyastūpa	Aṅgiras	31–35	71
5	Kaṇva	Ghora	36–43	96
6	Praskaṇva	Kaṇva	44–50	82
7	Savya	Pajra	51–57	72
8	Nodhās	Gotama	58–64	74
9	Parāśara	Śakti	65–73	91
10	Gotama	Rahūgaṇa	74–93	204
11	Kutsa	Aṅgiras	94–115	192
12	Kakṣīvat	Dīrghatamas	116–126	153
13	Parucchepa	Divodās	127–139	100
14	Dīrghatamas	Ucathya	140–164	237
15	Agastya	Māna	165–191	222

It will be seen that only one *ṛṣi*, namely, Parucchepa, has contributed exactly 100 stanzas or *ṛks*. The contribution of five others roughly approximates hundred stanzas each; but that of the remaining seers varies between the wide limits of 71 and no less than 237 stanzas.

(1) *AśGS*, III·4. Cf. also *Ārṣānukramaṇī* pub. by *Bibl. Ind.* p·241 :

अत्राग्निमीळ इत्यादि प्रथमं मण्डलं प्रति ।
शतर्चिनस्तु विज्ञेया ऋषयः सुखसिद्धये ।।

(2) **F. Pincott** (*JRAS* XVI, 382) thinks of 19 *ṛṣi*-groups in the first *maṇḍala*. He adds Jetṛ after Madhucchandas and Kutsa, Kaśyapa, and five *ṛṣis* (वार्षागिराः) between Gotama and Kutsa.

The first *maṇḍala* contains fifteen miniature family-groups, each designated after one common *ṛṣi* and generally arranged in accordance with the *maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā*. Thus, for instance, the first group in this *maṇḍala* is made up of eleven hymns, all ascribed to the family of Vaiśvāmitra Madhucchandas. According to the tradition, the first ten hymns are composed by Madhucchandas himself, while the eleventh is composed by his son, Jetṛ. Obviously, in respect of the *ṛṣis* of the first *maṇḍala* it is not possible to adopt the same method of treatment as was adopted in respect of the bigger and better-organised families of *maṇḍalas* 2–7, and, to some extent, also of *maṇḍala* 8. In most cases, it would be necessary to deal with individual seers, though it must be always remembered that the manner in which their hymns are presented in the *saṁhitā* necessarily implies that they too were regarded, albeit in a limited sense, as progenitors of specific families of seers. It would be convenient to discuss the role of these seers in the cultural history of Vedic India in the order in which they occur as seers in the first *maṇḍala*.

Vaiśvāmitra Madhucchandas

Vaiśvāmitra Madhucchandas is traditionally mentioned as the author of the first ten hymns of the first *maṇḍala* of the ṚV[3]. He is mentioned as a *ṛṣi* also in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[4] and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*,[5] According to the *AB*, he is the fiftyfirst son of Viśvāmitra.[6] While dealing with the Śunaḥśepa-legend, in the second chapter, we saw that the first fifty sons of Viśvāmitra did not accept Śunaḥśepa as their elder brother but the next fifty-one, among whom Madhucchandas was the leader, accepted his seniority. Viśvāmitra, being pleased at this, showered blessings on Madhucchandas. In the *ŚB*,[7] the name of Madhucchandas is connected with the *Praugaśastra*.[8] Madhucchandas is traditionally mentioned as the composer also of the first *sūkta* in the ninth *maṇḍala*.[8a]

In I.1.2, Madhucchandas refers to the *pūrva* (ancient) and *nūtana* (modern) *ṛṣis*[9]. Sāyaṇa,[10] while commenting on the same stanza, remarks that the seers belonging to the Bhṛgu and the Aṅgiras families were more ancient than Madhu-

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(3) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, ṚV, VSM, I, p·32. Cf. also *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, *op. cit.* p·242 :

तत्र त्वादित आरभ्य सूक्तानां दशकं प्रति ।
वैश्वामित्रो मधुच्छन्दा ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥

(4) XXVIII·2.

(5) I·1·3.

(6) *AB* 7.6 :

तस्य ह विश्वामित्रस्यैकशतं पुत्रा आसुः पञ्चाशदेव ज्यायांसो मधुच्छंदसः पञ्चाशत्कनीयांसः

(7) *ŚB* 13·5·1·8.

(8) The *praugaśastra* consists of *mantras* to be chanted in the morning. According to Madhucchandas, it must be in *gāyatrī* metre (cf. *AĀ*. I·1·3.)

(8a) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·1.

(9) **Kapāliśāstrī**, while commenting on I·1·2 in his *Siddhāñjanabhāṣya* on the ṚV, part I, says that the words *pūrva* and *nūtana* suggest a continuous tradition of the ancient fire-worship.

(10) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, Vol. I, p. 36.

cchandas. In I.10.11 Madhucchandas refers to Indra as Kauśika.[11] The significance of this reference would be clear when we remember that Madhucchandas himself belonged to the family of the Kuśikas.[12] We hear of three sons of Madhucchandas. Jetā, who is the seer of I.11, is traditionally described as the son of Madhucchandas.[12a] Aghamarṣaṇa,[13] the traditional author of X.190.[13a] is also said to be the son of Madhucchandas. Further Mādhavabhaṭṭa[14] mentions one Dhanañjaya as the son of Madhucchandas.

The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[15] gives the etymology of the name Madhucchandas as follows :

"मधु ह स्म वा ऋषिभ्यो मधुच्छन्दाश्छन्दति तन्मधुच्छन्दसो मधुच्छन्दस्त्वम् ।" (He desires to acquire sweet joys of life for the *ṛṣis* and so he is called Madhucchandas[15a]) In another context, Madhucchandas implores Indra that he be made a *ṛṣi* "for a *ṛṣi* obtains a thousand benefits".[16] This longing of Madhucchandas is also referred to by Mādhavabhaṭṭa[17] who quotes from the *Śāṭyāyanaka* "Madhucchandas, the son of Viśvāmitra, desired that he should acquire the highest *brahmavarcas*."

It is possible to fix at least tentatively the period in which Madhucchandas must have flourished. Tradition tells us that Madhucchandas was a son of Viśvāmitra. The genealogies mention seven generations from Jahnu to Viśvāmitra and eight generations from Trasadasyu to Triśaṅku.[18] Madhucchandas would accordingly appear to have been a contemporary of Triśaṅku, who latter is said to have lived 39 generations anterior to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha.

As a poet, Madhucchandas must be said to rank quite high. The fact that his *mantras* have been placed at the very beginning of the *Ṛksaṁhitā* may be regarded as possessing some significance in this connection. Indeed, in one ancillary text, he is styled as *madhurottama-mantradṛk* (the seer of the meleodious and the best *mantras*) by Mādhavabhaṭṭa[19] Even a casual consideration of a few similes employed by Madhucchandas would convince us of his being no mean poet. In one context, for instance, the poet entreats Agni to become easy of

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(11) For the significance of this epithet see chapter II.

(12) The *Matsyapurāṇa* (132·112) mentions Madhucchandas among the Kuśikas and describes him with the epithet *vidvān*.

(12a) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·106.

(13) He too is mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (*op. cit.*) as a '*kuśika*'.

(13a) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM,. IV, p. 886.

(14) *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* V·8·2.

(15) *AĀ* I·3. The word *madhu* is further explained by this *Āraṇyaka* as :
अथो अन्नं वै मधु, सर्वं वै मधु, सर्वे वै कामा मधु ।

(15a) **Keith,** *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 167.

(16) *ṚV* I·10·11. This indicates that ṛṣihood was not the monopoly of any particular class in those days and that it could be obtained by anyone who strove hard for it.

(17) *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, V·8·2 : अत्र शाटचायनकम् । वैश्वामित्रो मधुच्छन्दा अकामयत मुख्ये ब्रह्मवर्चसि स्यामिति ।

(18) **Pargiter,** *AIHT*, p·152.

(19) *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* V·8·2 : आसीदृषिर्मधुच्छन्दा मधुरोत्तममन्त्रदृक ।

approach to him as a father is to his son.[20] At another place, the poet says that he calls on Indra, for the fulfilment of his desires, in the same manner as one does a cow to him who milks.[21] In I.7.8 he compares Indra to a bull approaching a herd of cows. Indra's favour is compared in the next *sūkta* with a branch full of fruits.[22] "As a bamboo grows high up," says Madhucchandas elswhere, "so do the poets raise you high up by lauds, O Indra".[23] The martial inclinations of Madhucchandas are reflected in I.8.1–4, where he implores Indra for the annihilation of his enemies and for victory in battle. **Griffith**[24] translates these stanzas as follows :

> (1) Indra, bring wealth that gives delight, the victor's ever-conquering wealth, most excellent to be our aid.
>
> (2) By means of which we may repel our foes in battle hand to hand, by thee assisted with the car.
>
> (3) Aided by thee, the thunder-armed, Indra, may we lift up the bolt, and conquer all our foes in fight.
>
> (4) With thee, O Indra, for ally, with missile-darting heroes, may we conquer our embattled foes."

As a reference having some special significance in this connection may be mentioned also the poet's entreaty to Indra that he be theirs and theirs alone.[25]

Medhātithi Kāṇva[26]

Medhātithi Kāṇva is a famous *ṛṣi* of the *ṚV* and the authorship of I.12-23.[26a] VIII. 1–3,22–23; and IX.41–43 is ascribed to him. The usual form in which his name occurs in the *ṚV* is Medhyātithi,[27] though, in the later texts and in *ṚV* VIII.8.20, it occurs as Medhātithi. There is, however, hardly any doubt that both the names denote the same *ṛṣi*, a descendant of Kavṇa.

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(20) *ṚV* I·1·9 : स नः पितेव सूनवेऽग्ने सूपायनो भव ।

(21) *ṚV* I·4·1 : सुरूपकृत्नमूतये सुदुघामिव गोदुहे । जुहूमसि द्यविद्यवि

(22) *ṚV* I·8·8.

(23) *ṚV* I·10·1.

(24) *Hymns of the Rigveda*, I, p·10.

(25) *ṚV* I·7·10 : अस्माकमस्तु केवलः ।

(26) See also chapter VII.

(26a) Cf. *Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ārṣanukramaṇikā op. cit.* p·242
अग्निं दूतमुपक्रम्य सूक्तद्वादशकं प्रति । काण्वो मेधातिथिर्नाम ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ।।

(27) Cf. *ṚV* I·36·10, 11, 17; VIII·1·30, 2·40; 33·4; 49·9; 51·1; IX·43·3.

In VIII.2.40[28] there is a reference to a legend about Medhātithi. Indra is here said to have come to him in the form of a ram. The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[29] seems to corroborate this legend. The same legend is perpetuated in the Subrahmaṇya formula recited by the priest, while the Soma is being carried to the sacrificial enclosure. In that context, Indra is hailed as 'the ram of Medhātithi.' The same legend is believed to have been referred to in *ṚV* I.51.1.[30] Another legend relating to Medhātithi occurs in the *PB*[31] where he appears as a rival of Vatsa, whom he accused of low birth. Vatsa, however, convinced Medhātithi of his error by undergoing a fire-ordeal.

In the *AV*[32] Medhātithi is mentioned together with many sages such as त्रिशोक, उशनस्, गोतम, and मुद्गल as a protege of मित्रावरुणौ. In the *JB* he occurs as a *gṛhapati* at the sacrifice of the Vibhindukiyas[33] and is described as having obtained cows. Āsaṅga and his son Svanadratha appear to be his patrons.[33a] In VIII.2.42 he praises the liberality of Vibhindu and in VIII.3 21–22, he praises Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa for having bestowed on him best horses.

It is significant that, out of 320 *ṛks* which are ascribed to Medhātithi, about 220 have a reference, in one way or another, to Soma. This fact would naturally lead us to the conclusion that Medhātithi was a staunch and active sponsor of the Soma-cult. Medhātithi mentions Kakṣīvān Auśija in I.18.1. This proves that Medhātithi was posterior to Kakṣīvān, the son of Uśik and the grandson of Dīrghatamas. We come across two appropriate similes in the *sūktas* of Medhātithi in the first *maṇḍala*. In I.16.5 Indra is entreated to come to drink Soma like a thirsty beast. Pūṣan is implored in I.23.13 to bring Soma as he would bring lost cattle. The fact that his *sūktas* appear in the three *maṇḍalas* speaks volumes for his being a good poet.

The other *ṛṣis* of the Kaṇva-family who occur as *śatarcins* in the first *maṇḍala* are Kaṇva and Praskaṇva. A separate chapter (VII) is devoted for discussing the role of Kaṇva and the Kaṇvas in the *ṚV*. Praskaṇva is credited by the *Anukramaṇī* with the authorship of I.44–50, VIII.49, IX.95. *Śāṅkhāyana śrauta sūtra*[34] states that Praskaṇva received bounties from Pṛṣadhra, Medhya and Mātariśvan.

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(28) *ṚV* VIII·2·40 : इ॒त्था धीव॑न्तमद्रिवः का॒ण्वं मेध्या॑तिथिम् । मे॒षो भू॒तो॒ऽ॒३॑भि॒ यन्नयः : ॥

(29) *Śaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* I·1 : मेधातिथिं हि काण्वायनिं मेषो भूत्वाजहार ।
Cf. also *JB* II·79; *ŚB* III·3, 4, 18; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* I·12·3.

(30) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·352.

(31) *PB* XIV·6·6.

(32) *AV* IV·29·6.

(33) *JB* III·233.

(33a) *ṚV* VIII·1·32–33.

(34) *Śāṅkhāyana ŚS*, 16·2·26.

Śunaḥśepa[35]

Śunaḥśepa is credited with the authorship of I.24–30[36] and IX.3. He is referred to by name in three stanzas in the *Ṛksaṁhitā*.[37] The *Kāthaka saṁhitā*[38] tells us that he was the son of Ajīgarta and that I.24.15 (*uduttamam varuṇa* etc.) was composed by him when he was bound by the fetters of Varuṇa. Eventually he was released from the fetters.

The story of Hariścandra Vaidhasa, occurring in *AB* 7.3, has already been discussed in the second chapter. It is clear that between the age of the *ṚV* and that of the *Brāhmaṇa*, the popular element had evidently full sway and a more or less harmonious account has been presented in the *AB*. The narrative is a mixture of Brahmanic prose and popular *gāthā*. It has been supposed that the legend perhaps existed in the form of a ballad even before the *AB* version.

The ancillary texts belonging to the *ṚV*, namely, the *Nirukta* III.4, the *Sarvānnkramaṇī*,[39] the BD I.33–40 repeat the story given in the *AB* (7.13–18). The same is repeated also by Sayaṇa, Ṣadguruśiṣya,[40] and Dyā Dviveda.[41] The *Rāmāyaṇa* (61.5–24 and 62.1–28), the *MBh* (13.3.6–8), the *Harivaṁśa*[42] and the *Vāyu P.* (29.89.92) present a different version of the story. The *Brahma P.* (Chs. 104 and 150), and the *Devī Bhāgavata* (*Skandha* VII, Chs. 14–17) repeat the *AB*-version.[43]

A critical study of the seven *sūktas* in the first *maṇḍala*, which are ascribed to the authoriship of Śunaḥśepa, would, however, show that originally they had hardly anything to do with the story as given in the *AB*. There is, in these *sūktas*, no trace whatsoever of Harischandra, Rohita, the latter's purchase of Śunaḥśepa from his father, Ajīgarta and several other motifs which characterize the Brahmanic legend. All that the *sūktas* unequivocally imply is that Śunaḥśepa was bound down to a post by means of fetters and that, as the result of the prayers addressed to various gods, but more particularly to Varuṇa, he got himself released from these fetters. While trying to supply a historical-legendary

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(35) A detailed study of the Śunaḥśepa legend through the ages has been attempted by **Hariyappa,** *BDCRI*, XI, pp·184–240.

(36) Cf. Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Ārṣānukramaṇīkā* op. cit. p·242 :

कस्य नूनमुपक्रम्य सूक्तानां सप्तकं प्रति ।
आजीगर्तिः शुनःशेप ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥

(37) *ṚV* I·24·3, 12; V·2·7. The first two of these three passages represent him in bondage and as appealing to Varuṇa for release. The last passage, which is composed by Kumāra Atri, informs us that Agni released Śunaḥśepa from a thousand stakes. **Hariyappa,** therefore, rightly points out (*Ṛgvedic legends through the ages, BDCRI*, XI, p·184) that Śunaḥśepa's release from the *Yūpastambha* is undoubtedly a Vedic fact.

(38) *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā* 19·11·27.

(39) **Macdonell,** *Sarvānukramaṇī*, pp·6–7.

(40) **Macdonell's** preface to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* p·XX.

(41) *Nītimañjarī* (Benares Edition) p·20, stanza 11.

(42) Citraśālā Edition (Poona) I·27·54–58.

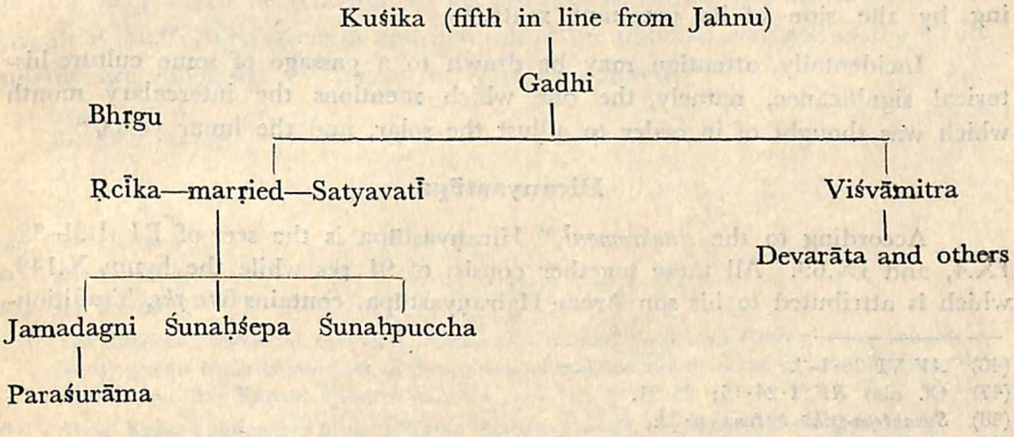
(43) Cf. **Hariyappa,** *op. cit.*, p·239.

background for these seven *sūktas* of the *ṚV*. The *AB* which belongs to the *ṚV* seems to have woven, round the Vedic fact of Śunaḥśepa's bondage and subsequent release, elements derived from various sources, such as history, ancient myth, rivalry of religious cults, popular worldly wisdom etc. The narrative-mozaic of the *AB* is thus clearly an afterthought and is but only distinctly connected with the *ṚV* I.24–30.

A doubt has been expressed also about the authenticity of tradition regarding Śunaśepa's authorship of these *sūktas*. It has been pointed out that Śunaḥśepa is twice referred to in the third person in this group of *sūktas*. Had Śunaḥśepa been really the author, it is argued, he would have referred to himself in the first person. When, however, one recollects the very common practice of Sanskrit-authors and poets of referring to themselves more or less impersonally in the third person, the doubt mentioned above loses all its force. There is, indeed, no valid ground to question the authenticity of the tradition in this regard.

The name Śunaḥśepa is certainly very unusual. It would appear from it that this seer originally belonged to a low stratum of the society and attained to *ṛṣi*-hood only at a subsequent stage in his career. The tradition regarding his adoption by Viśvāmitra is very significant in this connection.[44]

Śunaḥśepa's genealogy, as given by the *Harivaṁśa*[45] makes him the son of Ṛcīka and not of Ajīgarta. Further, the name Śuno-lāṅgūla does not occur here. The genealogy as given here is as follows :



It seems that the author of the *Harivaṁśa* simply appended the names of the three brothers to the illustrious Bhṛgu-line, substituting Jamadagni's name for that of the eldest.

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(44) **Hariyappa,** (*op. cit.*, pp·230–38), has suggested that the name Śunaḥśepa should be amended as Śunaśepa meaning 'a pillar of happiness.' He further points out that Śunaśśepa is the correct form whereas Śunaḥ-śepa is wrong, unscientific and pretentious.

(45) *Harivaṁśa* (I·27·12–35, 41–42, 54–58).

In addition to the *sūktas* in the first and the ninth *maṇḍalas*, Śunaḥśepa is credited with the authorship also of a few stanzas in a hymn of the *AV*.[46] It is a *gaṇḍamālā-vinaśana-sūkta*. The poet here seems to pray to god for the destruction of tonsils, in the throat, neck, and shoulder, and not for the removal of the fetters with which he was said to have been bound down. Of course, *gaṇḍamālā* must have been looked upon as a kind of physical bondage, and, since Śunaḥśpa was traditionally recognised as a seer who, through his prayers, secured release from bondage in general, his name must have come to be associated with these *mantras* in the *AV* more or less artificially. The authorship of these *mantras* ascribed to Śunaḥśepa is evidently an afterthought. In *AV* 7.83.4, Śunaḥśepa implores Varuṇa to free him from all kinds of bondages so that he may reach *sukṛta-loka*. "Freedom from bondage", thus, seems to be the chief motif of all compositions attributed to Śunaḥśepa[47] **Satawalekar**[48] suggests that the 'freedom from bondage' desired by Śunaḥśepa is not physical and personal but it is moral and universal.

Turning to the literary estimate of the *sūktas* of Śunaḥśepa, we may consider some of the similes used by him. In I.25.3, he says : we try to attract your heart, O Varuṇa, by our prayers as a charioteer yokes a horse to the chariot with goading words. In the next stanza the poet compares his longings to birds flying to their nests.[49] "Like cows hurrying towards the pasture", says the poet, "my prayers are going towards Varuṇa"[50] The wooden pestle and the pot in which the Soma is crushed are likened to Indra's horses devouring grass.[51] "We fill Indra with Soma," says the poet, "as the well is filled with water."[52] Indra hurrying towards Soma is likened to a person running down the slope.[53] In the next stanza, Indra staying near Soma is compared with a pigeon remaining by the side of its pregnant mate.[54]

Incidentally, attention may be drawn to a passage of some culture-historical significance, namely, the one which mentions the intercalary month which was thought of in order to adjust the solar, and the lunar years.[55]

Hiraṇyastūpa

According to the *Anukramaṇī*,[56] Hiraṇyastūpa is the seer of *ṚV* I.31–35; IX.4, and IX.69. All these together consist of 91 ṛks while the hymn X.149, which is attributed to his son Arcan Hairaṇyastūpa, contains five *ṛks*. Tradition-

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(46) *AV* VI·25·1–3.
(47) Cf. also *ṚV* I·24·15; 25·21.
(48) *Śunaḥśepa-ṛṣikā-darśana*, p·23.
(49) *ṚV* I·25·4.
(50) *ṚV* I·25·16.
(51) *ṚV* I·28·7.
(52) ṚV I·30·1.
(53) *ṚV* I·30·2.
(54) *ṚV* I·30·4.
(55) *ṚV* I·25·8.
(56) *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, *op. cit.* p·242.
त्वमग्न इत्युपक्रम्य सूक्तानां पंचकं प्रति । हिरण्यस्तूपनामायं ऋषिरङ्गिरसः सुतः ॥

ally Hiraṇyastūpa is described as a son or a descendant of Aṅgiras,[57] the first introducers of the sacrificial fire. The *AB*[58] tells us that he was the author of the *sūkta, indrasya nu vīryāṇi* etc. and further adds that, by means of that *sūkta*, Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa obtained the favourite abode of Indra and then reached a higher world. His authorship is also referred to in *ŚB*.[59] Arcan mentions the name of his father, Hiraṇyastūpa in X.149.5. The special longings of Hiraṇyastūpa may be said to have been reflected in IX.4.1–3. Here the poet entreats Soma as follows : "O victorious Soma, win thou and conquer high renown and make us better than we are. Win thou the light, and, O Soma, all felicities; and make us better than we are. Win skilful strength and mental power. O Soma drive away our foes."

Sūkta IX.69 is a fine specimen of Vedic poetry. The similes of the bow and an arrow, a child and its mother, a cow and its calf,[60] a young man and his wife,[61] and the ocean and its affluents[62] are all very cleverly and artistically employed.

Savya[63]

Savya is said to be the author of *ṚV* I.51—57[64] all of which relate to Indra.[65] Savya belongs to the Āṅgirasa family. He does not figure elsewhere either in the *Brāhmaṇas* or in the *Purāṇas*. The whole poetry of Savya, centering as it does round Indra may be taken to represent the typical Vedic concept of an ideal hero and war-god. Indra is, for instance, here described as being very wise and learned.[66] He is the possessor of abundant wealth.[67] Indra's exploits and the help which he rendered to his proteges constitute the central theme of Savya's *sūktas*.[68] The strength and heroism of the national war god of the Vedic Indians are eulogised by means of various epithets.[69]

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(57) Cf. *ṚV* I·31·1–2.

(58) *AB* 3·24.

(59) *ŚB* I·6·4·2.

(60) *ṚV* IX·69·1.

(61) *ṚV* IX·69·3.

(62) *ṚV* IX·69·7.

(63) The discussion about the two seers, Kaṇva Ghaura and Praskaṇva Kaṇva, whose miniature-family-groups come before that of Savya, has already occurred in the chapter dealing with Kaṇva and the Kaṇvas in the *ṚV*.

(64) About Savya's authorship of the *sūktas* in the first *maṇḍala*, the *Ārṣānukramaṇī* says :

अभि त्यं मेषमित्यादिसूक्तानां सप्तकं प्रति ।
सव्यो हि नामाङ्गिरस ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥

(65) Out of these *sūktas* I·53 is repeated in the *AV* XX·21.

(66) *ṚV* I·51·1; 52·1; 52·3.

(67) *ṚV* I·51·1; 52·3, 11; 53·3.

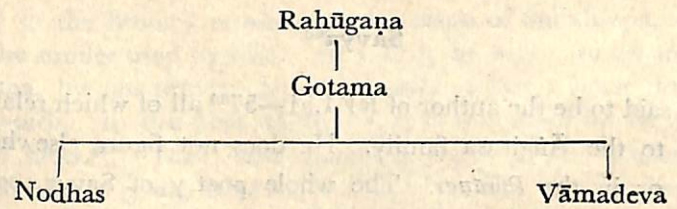
(68) *ṚV* I·51·1–2, 13; I·52·3–4, 5–10, 11–14; I·54·6.

(69) *ṚV* I·51·2; I·52·7; I·53·3; I·54·6; I·57·5.

Nodhas

The *Anukramaṇī* ascribes the authoriship of *ṚV* I.58–64, VIII.88 and IX.93 to Nodhas.[70] His name is mentioned at four places in the *ṚV*[71] and at three places in the *AV*.[72] In *ṚV* I.62.13, he is referred to as a Gotama. He also refers to himself as an Āṅgirasa four times in his *sūktas*.[73] In the *PB* Nodhas is called a Kākṣīvata,[74] that is, a son or a descendant of Kakṣīvat. **Ludwig** regards him as having been contemporaneous with the fall of Purukutsa.[75] The *AB* also mentions Nodhas at three places.[76] According to that *Brāhmaṇa*, the *ṛks* composed by him are to be recited at the royal coronation. It may be further pointed out that a particular *Sāman* is traditionally known as *Naudhasa*, presumably because it was believed to have been based upon *mantras* composed by this seer.

According to the *Anukramaṇī*, the genealogy of Nodhas may be reconstructed as follows :



Parāśara

The miniature family-group, comprising *sūktas* 65–73 in the first *maṇḍala*, is traditionally associated with the name of Parāśara. This seer is also credited with the authorship of IX.97. The *Ārṣānukramaṇī*[77] says that Parāśara is the son of Śakti and accordingly the grandson of Vasiṣṭha. Yaska[78] tries to explain the name etymologically as follows : He was born to Vasiṣṭha who was very old (*paraśīrṇaḥ*). Indra is also called *parāśara* because he vanquished his enemies.[79] It may, however, be pointed out here that, in the present context, it would

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(70) Cf. also the *Ārṣānukramaṇī* (p·242) about his authorship of I·58–64 :

नू चित्सहोजा इत्यादिसूक्तानां सप्तकं प्रति ।
गोतमस्य सुतो नोधा ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ।।

(71) *ṚV* I·62·13–14; I·64·1; I·124·4.
(72) *AV* XV·2·26–28.
(73) *ṚV* I·62·1, 2, 3, 5.
(74) *PB* VII·10·10; XXI·9·12.
(75) *Translation of the Rigveda*, III· p·110.
(76) *AB* 4·27; 6·18; 8·12, 17.
(77) *Op. cit.* p·243 :

पश्वा न तायुमित्यादिसूक्तानां विंशतिं प्रति ।
शाक्त्यः पराशरो नाम ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ।।

(78) *Nirukta* VI·30. Yāska thus seems to be of opinion that he is the son of Vasiṣṭha and not of Śakti.
(79) *ṚV* VII·104·21.

not be correct to understand the words of Yaska, namely, *parāśīrṇasya vasiṣṭhasya jajñe*, in their literal sense. What seems to be intended here is that Vasiṣṭha was really distressed because of the death of his hundred sons and that in Parāśara he found a solace and a support. The legend about Parāśara, as given in the *MBh.*,[80] tells us that he was born to Adṛśyantī from Śakti after Śakti's death. The *MBh*[81] further tells us that Parāśara became enamoured of Satyavatī on whom he begot Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. In the epic Parāśara is said to have been a great religious teacher.[82] He is also said to have preached '*Rudramāhātmya*' to Yudhiṣṭhira and is believed to have been present on the bank of the Ganges at the time of Parīkṣita's fast unto death.[83] The teaching imparted by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira[84] is characterised as just an echo of the teaching imparted by Parāśara to Janaka.

It is interesting to note that out of 105 *ṛks*, which are 'seen' by Parāśara, as many as 91 are devoted to the worship of Agni, while the remaining 14 relate to Soma. The *Agni-sūktas* of Parāśara are full of series of beatuiful similes and metaphors. Agni is, for instance, described, at one place, as eating the woods as a king eats the rich, that is supports his state by levying contributions from the wealthy.[85] In the next stanza, Agni is compared to a swan panting in the floods.[86] Agni speeding to the woods is variously described—as sun's glance, as wealth, as breath, as one's own son, as swift bird, and as of cow giving milk.[87] In I.66.2, it is said of Agni that "he offers safety like a pleasant home, like ripened corn, the conqueror of men. Like a seer lauding, famed among the folk; like a friendly steed he vouchsafes us power". Agni is also compared to a dart shot forth[88] or to an archer's arrow tipped with flame. Agni newly born is compared to a lovely child born in the house.[89]

The *Pravaras* of the Parāśaras are said to be three, namely, Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (200), however, says that the *Pravaras* are Vasiṣṭha, Mitrāvaruṇa and Kundina and from these *Pravaras* six sub-branches came into vogue namely, Gaura Parāśara, Nīla Parāśara, Kṛṣṇa Parāśara, Śveta Parāśara, Śyāma Parāśara and Dhūmra Parāśara.

Gotama

Gotama is the seer of 1·74–93, IX.31; 67, and X.23. He is the son of Rahūgana. According to the traditional genealogy, Nodhas and Vāmadeva are the sons of Gotama. In the *ṚV*, Gotama is referred to both in singular and

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(80) *Āśvamedhika Parvan* Chs. 193–94.

(81) *MBh.* 63051–52.

(82) *MBh.* 146·4 : वृद्धः पराशरः प्राह धर्मं शुभ्रमनामयम् ।

(83) *Bhāgavata* I·19·9.

(84) *MBh. Śānti Parvan* 291–299.

(85) *ṚV* I·65·4.

(86) *ṚV* I·65·5.

(87) *ṚV* I·66·1.

(88) *ṚV* I·66·4.

(89) *ṚV* I·69·3.

plural. These references have already been analysed and discussed at some length in the third chapter. It has been pointed out there that they could be classified according as they related to the eponym, or to a member of the family or to the family as a whole.

Ṛsi Gotama seems to have been a special protege of the Maruts. Stanzas 10–11 in I.85 are particularly significant in this connection. These stanzas are generally translated as follows : "The Maruts, with their vigorous strength pushed the well up on high, and clove the cloud in twain, though it was passing strong. The Maruts, the bounteous givers, sending forth their voice, in the wild joy of Soma wrought their glorious deeds. They drove the cloud transverse directed hitherward, and poured the fountain forth for thirsting Gotama. Shining with varied light they come to him with help. They fulfilled the longing of the sage with their might." While commenting on these stanzas, Sāyaṇa[90] gives the following legend : *Ṛṣi* Gotama, being distressed with thirst entreated the Maruts for water. As no water was available nearby, the Maruts dug out a well (*avaṭa*)[91] and brought its water to Gotama's hermitage. There they dug a pit and filled it with that water. The legend would thus seem to suggest that the hermitage of Gotama was situated in some waterless tract. The Maruts brought the stream of water near his hermitage. It is interesting to note that Sāyaṇa gives the same legend while commenting upon I.116.9, where Gotama is described as the protage of the Aśvins.

Another legend of great sociohistorical import relating to king Videgha Māthava and his priest Gotama, is given in the *ŚB*.[92] It may be summarised as follows :

Videgha, the son of Mathu, held in his mouth the *Vaiśvānara* Fire. His preceptor was Gotama, the son of Rahūgaṇa. Gotama called out for the king,

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(90) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·533.

(91) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, I, p. 533) quotes from the *Nirukta* (3·33·7) which explains the word *avata* as : अवस्तात ततो भवति इति अवतः कूपः । कूपनामसु च अवतः अवटः इति पठितम् । **Sūryakānta,** *A Grammatical dictionary of Vedic Sanskrit*, p·27 traces the word *avata* to Lettish *avuots* from IE *auontos* and points out that it cannot be equated with *avaṭa*. The word occurs also in *ṚV* II·24·4. **Siddheshwar Varma,** *Etymologies of Yāska*, (pp·74, 105 and 160) says that the word is a philological deformity. He points out that the second etymology given by Yāska (X·13) as from *ava* + *at* (*avātito mahān bhavati*) which is explained by Durga as *avān atitam* that is 'gone down' is also not tenable because it cannot explain the abnormal *sandhi*. **Viśva Bandhu,** in his *Vaidika padānukrama-kośa*, (I, p·451) has tried to explain the abnormal *sandhi* by referring to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VI·1·94. **Rājawade** in his marathi *Translation of the Nirukta* (pp·408–9) says : *avata* may have been formed from *ava* by the addition of *t* and that the words *avata*, *utsa*, *udrin* are related. He, however, does not demonstrate in what way or in what sense these words are related. **Siddheshwar Varma** also quotes the opinion of **Bezzenberter** (as pointed out by **Walde** : *Lat . verg. etym. Worterbuch*) who considers *avata* to be an extension of the prefix *ava* (down). But no t-extension patterns from a Sanskrit prefix are pointed out by him. The theory of verbal origin of nouns has led to many phonological mutilations. Thus, here, 'a disregard of vocalic quantity' can be seen if we derive the word as Yāska and Durga have done from *ava* + *tan* and *ava* + *at* respectively. **Siddheshwar Varma's** conjecture, therefore, to trace the word to *IE aue*–to wet and Lettish *avuots*--a source, a spring' appears to be acceptable.

(92) *ŚB* 14·1·10–18.

but the latter did not open his mouth through the fear that, if he did so, the *Vaiśvānara* Agni would slip out of it. The priest wanted to invoke that Agni by means of his *mantras*. So he recited *vītihotram tvā* (*ṚV* V.26.3). But the fire did not reply. So he recited *tam tvā ghṛtasnavī* etc. (V.26.2). As soon as the word *ghṛta* was pronounced the Vaiśvānara fire in the king's mouth began to flare up and so the king was unable to hold it in the mouth any longer. Eventually the fire slipped out and descended on the ground. The king, in order to save himself, entered the stream of Sarasvatī. The fire then proceeded eastward burning everything. Both the king and the priest followed the fire which evaporated the waters of all the rivers on the way except the river Sadānīrā in the north. As the fire did not sanctify the waters of the river Sadānīrā, The Brāhmaṇas never took their bath in that river. King Videgha asked the fire as to where he should stay. "In the region stretching out to the east of this river" was the reply of the fire.

Even today the river seems to stand as a dividing line between Kosala and Videha. The country of Videha came to be called Māthava after the king. Gotama then asked the king the reason of his not replying to his repeated calling out. The king told him the fact about the fire in his mouth and also the reason of his being unable to hold it in his mouth."

The story is clearly indicative of the eastern expansion of the Vedic Aryans. The mention of Videgha and Gotama following the fire, which was proceeding eastwards, may point to the usual Vedic phenomenon of king and priest joining hands for the purpose of spreading the Vedic fire-cult.[93]

Besides this legend, the *ŚB*[94] mentions the fact of Gotama's proficiency in the performance of Mitravindā *Iṣṭi*. We are told in that *Brāhmaṇa* that Rāhūgaṇa Gotama had realised the true significance of this *Iṣṭi*. King Janaka also was aware of its importance. He, therefore, searched for priests who could perform the *Iṣṭi*. Eventually he requested Yājñavalkya to perform it for him and offered a thousand gold coins by way of *dakṣiṇā*. The *Iṣṭi* is called *mitravindā*, because as the result of its performance, the circle of one's friends widens, the *rāṣṭra* remains under his control, death is averted, and long life is secured.

This passage would seem to imply that Gotama Rāhūgaṇa was anterior to Janaka and Yājñavalkya. Gotama refers to Aṅgiras as a model for worshipping gods.[95] This would indicate that he belonged to the Āṅgirasa family. The question regarding the position of Gotama among the Saptarṣis and the *pravaras* of his family have already been discussed elsewhere. In the present context, it

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(93) Cf. also **Dikshitar's** view in "Aryanisation of Eastern India", PAIOC XII, who says that the story indicates that Sadānīrā was the Eastern boundary of Videha when its king Māthava and the priest Gotama endeavoured to spread Aryan cult eastwards. It was a peaceful but successful penetration. This was just the beginning. The Aryanisation of Kāmarūpa continued up to the defeat of Narakāsura at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.

(94) *ŚB* 11·4·3·20.

(95) *ṚV* I·78·3.

may only be pointed out that in his *sūktas*, Gotama mentions Manu, Dadhyañ, Atharvā,[96] Aṅgiras and Uśanā Kāvya.[97]

From literary point of view, *ṚV* I.92 must be regarded as one of finest specimens of Ṛgvedic lyric poetry. Here, Gotama waxes eloquent in describing the inimitable beauty of Uṣas. She is, for instance, compared to a female dancer.[98] With a harsh zeugma or ellipsis, the poet says of her that she with her bright clothes, has emigrated from the darkness which has surrounded her in the same manner as cows leave the dark pen or stable, in which they had been shut up as soon as it is opened in the early morning. Curiously enough at another place, on account of her activity of wasting away the life of mortals Uṣas is compared to a skilled hunter cutting birds to pieces.[99]

Kutsa

Kutsa is traditionally regarded as the author of I.94–98;[100] 101–104, 106–115; IX.97.45–48 and also of X.8 in the *AV*. At several places in the *ṚV* Kutsa is called Ārjuneya,[101] which fact would suggest that he was the son of Arjunī. That he was an Āṅgirasa seems to be implied by *ṚV* I.107.2. where the poet says that the gods are being extolled by the lauds of the Aṅgirasas.

While commenting on *ṚV* IV. 16.10, Sāyaṇa[102] gives a legend about Kutsa as follows : There was a royal sage called Ruru. His son named Kutsa also was a royal sage. Kutsa once wanted to defeat his enemies on the battlefield, but being unable to do so he invoked Indra to help him. Indra came to him and killed his enemies. Thenceforward Indra and Kutsa became intimate friends. Indra once took him to his house. Śacī came there to receive Indra but she could not distinguish between Indra and Kutsa as they looked alike due to their similar attire. The same has been related here in the *sūkta* beginning with *ā dasyughnā* etc.

It would be seen from the legend that Kutsa was a great protagonist of the Indra-cult. The legend also seems to throw some light on the original character of Indra, namely, as the leader of the Vedic Aryans in their victorious exploits against their enemies. It was only at a later stage that this heroic leader was apotheosised. At several places, Indra is said to have killed Ibha for Vetasu and Kutsa.[103] Further in several other *ṛks*[104] Indra is said to have killed the

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(96) *ṚV* I·80·16.
(97) *ṚV* I·83·4–6.
(98) *ṚV* I·92·4.
(99) *ṚV* I·92·10.
(100) Cf. *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, p·243 :

इमं स्तोममुपक्रम्य सूक्तानां पञ्चकं प्रति ।
कुत्सो हि नामाङ्गिरस ऋषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥

(101) Cf. *ṚV* I·112·23, IV·26·1, VII·19·2, VIII·1·11.
(102) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, II, p·565.
(103) Cf. *ṚV* X·49·4.
(104) *ṚV* I·51·6; I·63·3; I·121·9; I·174·5; I·175·5; IV·16·12; VI·26·3.

demon Śuṣṇa for the benefit of Kutsa. These *ṛks* would suggest that Indra used a discus, made of iron to kill the demon Śuṣṇa and his associates. The same act is alluded to in V.29.10 where Indra is said to have taken one wheel of the sun's chariot for himself and to have given another to Kutsa for the sake of the acquisition of wealth. In V.29.9 Indra is described as having accompanied Kutsa in a chariot. Indra's frequent visits to the house of Kutsa are referred to in X.38.5, where the poet entreats Indra to leave Kutsa's house and come to him.[105] The *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa*[106] explains this *mantra* with the following legend: Kutsa and Luśa invoked Indra. Indra, however, responded only to Kutsa's invocation. Kutsa bound down the god with hundred straps. Luśa invoked him with the *ṛk svavṛjam hi* and consequently Indra tore of the straps and rushed to Luśa.

There are, however, other references in the *ṚV*[107] where Kutsa is mentioned with Atithigva and Āyu as having been vanquished by Indra. In one of these cases, the defeat of Kutsa is attributed to Tūrvayāṇa, who was sponsored by Indra. It is certainly not easy to reconcile, on the strength of the evidence derived from the *ṚV*, these two contradictory aspects of Kutsa's relationship with Indra. One can think of three possibilities in this connection. Firstly it is possible that Kutsa was originally a devout follower of the Indra-cult, but, in course of time, for reasons not explicitly mentioned in the *ṚV*, he turned antagonistic to that cult, and was victimised by that god. The legend from the *Śāṭyāyana* relating to Kutsa and Luśa which has been referred to above, may seem to imply some such possibility. Or, it may be possible that Kutsa was originally anti-Indra but that, after being vanquished by that god, he became an ardent convert to that god's cult. It would, however, be more satisfactory to assume that two different personalities—both called Kutsa—are intended here. One of them, who was the Vedic poet-priest responsible for the eleventh miniature family-group in the first *maṇḍala*, was obviously a protege of Indra. While the other, who was presumably an anti-Indra chief, was overpowered by the Vedic Indian war-god. It is significant, in this context, that *PB* XIV. 6.8 mentions one Aurava Kutsa who cut off the head of his priest Upagu Sauśravas, because the latter was inclined towards Indra-worship. The *PB* further tells us that Indra vanquished this Kutsa and refixed his priest's head.

The hymn in the *AV*[108] which has been attributed to Kutsa, is quite remarkable so far as the central thought in it is concerned. It relates to the metaphysical concept of Skambha which is styled as the *Jyeṣṭha Brahma.*[109] The basic ideology of the later Advaita philosophy is clearly expressed in this hymn.[110] It is interesting to see that the human body is here metaphorically described as

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(105) The expression *muṣkayor baddhaḥ* in this stanza means 'fixed to one's seat' and not 'fastened to the testicles'. The latter interpretation will be too literal.

(106) Cf. also *JB* p·228; *PB* IX·2·22.

(107) *ṚV* I·53·10, II·14·7; VIII·53·2.

(108) *AV* X·8.

(109) *AV* X·8·1.

(110) *AV* X·8·11.

the hermitage of the seven seers.[111] In another stanza of this hymn it is said that the worldly creation is just like the warp and the woof while one who knows the origin of this knows also the Brahman.[112]

Kaśyapa

Though Kaśyapa cannot be said to have been responsible for a separate miniature family-group of his own, his *sūkta* having been included in the family-group of Kutsa, in view of the important role which he has played in the Veda, he has been dealt with in an independent section. Tradition attributes Kaśyapa the authorship of *ṚV* I.99; VIII.29; IX.64; 67.4–6, 91, 92, 113, 114, X.137.2. He is said to be the son of Marici from Kalā, the daughter of king Kardama. It is significant that Kaśyapa is mentioned among the four *mūlagotras* by the *MBh.* He is also mentioned as one of the Saptarṣis and Prajāpatis.[113] The Śānti Parvan of the *MBh* gives us the following information about him. When Paraśurāma performed a horse-sacrifice on the bank of Sarasvatī, after exterminating the Kṣatriya race twentyone times, Kaśyapa was his priest. Kaśyapa received the earth as his sacrificial fee from Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma then made Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara in Koṅkaṇa) his habitat. Kaśyapa later on gave over the kingdom to his followers and himself retired to the forest. Kaśyapa appears to have been closely related to Vasiṣṭha.[114] In the *ṚV* Kaśyapa is mentioned only once[115] but in the later *saṁhitās* he appears more frequently.[116] According to the *AB*[117] and the *ŚB*,[118] Kaśyapa anointed king Viśvakarman Bhauvana.

In the *AB*[119] the Kaśyapas are associated with Janamejaya. The *Brahmaṇa* passage in question is highly interesting and throws much light on the priestly rivalries of that period. It is generally translated as follows:[120] When Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣit was performing a sacrifice disregarding the Kaśyapas (who were his hereditary priests), the Asitamṛgas, from among the

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(111) *AV* X·8·9. The stanza occurs also in the *BĀU* 2·2·3. **Hume** in his *The thirteen principal Upaniṣads*, p·96, translates it as follows :

There is a cup, with its mouth below and its bottom up.
In it is placed every form of glory.
On its rim sit seven seers.
Voice as eighth is united with prayer.

(112) *AV* X·8·37.

(113) *MBh*, *Śalya Parvan* 49·52 and *Anuśāsana* 141.

(114) *BĀU* II·2·4. Here the body is said to be the sanctuary of the seven seers. Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha are seated in the two nostrils.

(115) *ṚV* IX·114·2: **Chapekar,** ("*Kaṇva in the Rigveda*" *JBBRAS*, 27, p·36), says that this stanza gives us no information about Kaśyapa beyond the fact that he was a *ṛṣi* and as such had some ritualistic function to perform in the sacrifice with regard to Soma.

(116) Cf. *AV* I·14·4; II·33·7; IV·20·7; IV·29·3; IV·37·1; *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ*. IV·2·9 and *VS* III·62.

(117) *AB* VIII·21.

(118) *ŚB* XIII·7·1·15.

(119) *AB* VII·27. Cf. also **Oldenberg** *ZDMG*, 42, p·235, n·1

(120) Cf. **Keith** *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas translated HOS* 25, p·314.

Kaśyapas, turned out the Bhūtavīras (who were officiating in place of the Kaśyapas) and did not allow them to administer the Soma-rites. The Kaśyapas succeeded because they had Asitmṛgas, the brave warriors with them.

Turning to the poetry of Kaśyapa, reference deserves to be made to a very powerful and elevating *sūkta* which is attributed to Kaśyapa, namely, IX. 113. In stanzas characterised by dignified diction, the seer expresses his earnest longings for a life of immortality. He says : "Where there is eternal light in the world where the sun is placed; in that immortal and imperishable world, place me O Soma (7).

Where king Vaivasvata reigns, where the secret place of heaven is where the mighty waters are, there make me immortal. (8)

Where life is free in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant, there make me immortal.

Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where the desires of our desire are attained, there make me immortal."[121]

Several members of the family of Kaśyapa figure as seers of various *sūktas* in the *ṚV*. It would be interesting to see, if possible, how they are related to Kaśyapa, the son of Marīci, and what part they have played in the *ṚV*.

(1) Avatsāra—He is said to be the seer of IV.53–60 and V.44 and is described as a Kāśyapa.[122] His name is mentioned in V.44.10. Evāvada, Yajata and Sadhri are mentioned beside him. Avatsāra mentions Puruṣanti and Dhvasra as his patrons who gave him wealth and garments.[123] According to the *Purāṇas* he was the brother of Arundhatī, the wife of Vasiṣṭha. The hymn X.106 is said to be wrongly ascribed to this seer by the *Anukramaṇī*.[124]

(2) Asita Kāśyapa—He is the seer of IX.5–7. According to **Pargiter**[125] and **Pradhan**[126] Dhaumya of the *MBh* was the brother of Devala, the son of Asita.

(3) Bhūtāṁśa Kāśyapa—He is the seer of X.106. His name is mentioned in X.106.11. Sāyaṇa[127] remarks that he was the son of Kaśyapa.

(4) Devala Kāśyapa—He is the joint author of IX.8–24. According to the *Purāṇas* he was a son or a descendant of Kaśyapa. According to **Pargiter**[128] and **Pradhan**[129] he is the brother of Dhaumya and a son of Asita. **Pradhan**

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(121) These stanzas would remind one of Rabindranath Tagore's great song in his *Gītāñjalī* : "Where the mind is without fear etc.....Into that heaven of freedom let my country awake."

(122) *AB*, II·24 mentions him as a priest.

(123) *ṚV* IX·58·3.

(124) *Vedic Index*, I, 40.

(125) *AIHT*, p·233.

(126) *CAI*, p·108.

(127) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·692.

(128) Op. cit.

(129) Op. cit.

further points out that both Asita and Devala are posterior to Vāk Āmbhṛṇi, who is traditionally mentioned as the authors of X.125.

(5) Nidhruvi Kāśyapa--He is the seer of IX.63. The word Nidhruvi occurs at several places in the *ṚV*[130] but not always in the sense of the name of an individual.

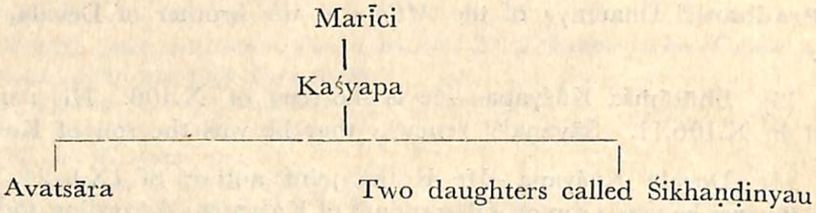
(6) Rebha Kāśyapa—He is said to be the seer of VIII.97. According to **Pargiter**,[131] Rebha is the brother of Nidhruvi. The word *rebhāsaḥ* occurs in VIII.97.11 and Sāyaṇa interprets it as poets or the sons of Kaśyapa by name Rebhas.[132] In I.117.4, Rebha seems to have been mentioned as a protege of the Aśvins who cured him of all his wounds which he received when he fell into a well.

(7) Rebhasūnū—These two sons of Rebha are optionally mentioned as the seers of IX.99. Sāyaṇa characterises them as belonging to Kaśyapa *gotra*.

(8) Śikhaṇḍinyau—These are said to be the daughters of Kaśyapa and the seers of IX.104. Sāyaṇa, however, says that the *ṛṣis* of that *sūkta* are either Parvata and Nārada of the Kaṇva-family or the two daughters of Kaśyapa, the *Apsarasas* by name 'Śikhaṇḍinyau'.[133]

(9) Vivṛhā—He is the seer of X.163 and Sāyaṇa mentions that he belongs to the Kaśyapa-*gotra*. The *sūkta* in question is called *Yakṣmanāśana* (destroying *Yakṣmā*). The expression, *vi vṛhāmi* which Sāyaṇa interprets as *pṛthak karomi* seems to be a conscious attempt of the poet to introduce his name. Or it may also be that the real name of the poet was lost and the first words of the hymn suggested the name Vivṛhā.

According to the account given by the *Sarvānukramaṇī* the genealogy of the Kaśyapa family may be reconstructed as follows :



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(130) *ṚV* VII·3·1; VIII·20, 22, 27, 29.

(131) Op. cit.

(132) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya ṚV*, VSM, III, p·941. : रेभासः, ' रेभृ ' शब्दे, शब्दयितारः स्तोतारः यद्वा रेभासः कश्यपपुत्रा रेभा एतन्नामका ऋषयः ।
The word occurs at I·113·17; 127·10; VI·3·6; 11·3; IX·7·6; 66·9; 71·7; 86·31. But Sāyaṇa interprets the word variously at these places.

(133) **Kosambi,** ("Purūravas and Urvaśī", *JBBRAS*, 27, p·30) suggests that this alternative ascription of authorship to two *Śikhandinīs* is significant. Referring back to the Bhīṣma story where he is killed by Śikhaṇḍinī metamorphosed into a man, one may recognize traces of a very deep layer of myth regarding the tradition of mother-goddess cults (cf. also the stanza VIII·33·19 occurring in the Kaṇva-*maṇḍala*), apsarasas, and human sacrifice.

It would be helpful, at this stage, to compare the genealogies of the Kaśyapa family given by different *Purāṇas* and to see how far the names mentioned in them can be co-ordinated with those mentioned by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*.

Vayu P. (I.59.102–103)	*Matsya P.* (145.106–107)	*Brahmāṇḍa P.* (232.112–113)
Asita	Asita	Asita
Kaśyapa	Kaśyapa	Kaśyapa
Devala	Devala	Devala
......	Nitya	......
......	Naidhruva	Naidhruva
Raibhya	......	Raibhya
Vatsāra	Vatsāra	Vatsāra
Vikṣama	......	......

It seems that, in the *Purāṇas*, the name Avatsāra of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* has been changed to Vatsāra; Nidhṛuva to Naidhṛuva, Rebha to Raibhya. Bhūtāṁśa and Vivṛh of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* do not appear in the *Purāṇas* at all. We have already noted that the famous historical Kaśyapa must have been the one, who is mentioned as the priest of Rāma Jāmadagnya who, after exterminating the Kṣatriyas, performed a sacrifice with Kaśyapa as his priest and gave him the earth as *dakṣiṇā*. This Kaśyapa then prepared the Śūrpāraka region and Rāma Jāmadagnya lived there.

In the seventh act of the *Śākuntala* king Duṣyanta says to Kaśyapa Mārica that Kaṇva belonged to the same *gotra* to which Kaśyapa belonged (*Yuṣmatsagotra*).[134] Can this be regarded as a case of the change of *gotra* ? Another Kaśyapa is the progenitor of the Śāṇḍilyas,[135] who lived in the reigon of Dilīpa Khaṭvāṅga II of Ayodhyā.[136] The next Kāśyapa was Vibhāṇḍaka, who had his hermitage on the Kauśikī (modern Kosi in North Bihar). His son was Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, whom Lomapāda, king of Aṅga, inveigled to his capital to bring rain after a long draught and to whom he gave his own daughter Śāntā in marrigae. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was afterwards invited to the court of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā, to officiate as a priest at the sacrifice, which the king was performing in order to secure a son.[137] Nidhruvi and Rebha have already been mentioned. The next famous Kaśyapa was Asita. His wife was Ekaparṇā and their son was Devala. Asita seems to be a contemporary of Bhīṣma, for, he had asked for Satyavatī in marri-

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(134) In the fourth Act of the *Śākuntala* Kaṇva is throughout called a Kāśyapa. In the *MBh* (I·73·22–23), Kaṇva is called a Kāśyapa. In I·74·3122 Kaṇva is said to have been the chief priest of Bharata Dauṣyanti.

(135) *Matsya P.* 199·18.

(136) *Vāyu P.* 73·41–42.

(137) *Rāmāyaṇa* I·11·19 ff.

age. Devala is contemporary with the Pāṇḍavas and Devala's younger brother Dhaumya was the *Purohita* of the Pāṇḍavas. According to the Purāṇic genealogy, there were three branches of the main family of the Kaśyapas namely, the Śāṇḍilyas, the Naidhruvas and the Raibhyas. The *Ā-ŚS*[138] gives the *Pravaras* of the Kaśyapas as "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Āsita"; of the Nidhruvas as "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Nidhruva"; of the Rebhas as Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Raibhya" and, of the Śaṇḍilas as "Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala or Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala". The Kaśyapas, thus seem to have been regarded as an important family in the later Vedic period though in the main collection of the *ṚV*, they are represented through only five hymns,[139] which, again, are scattered in different *maṇḍalas*. It is only in the ninth *maṇḍala*, which, incidentally, is of later origin and possesses but little socio-historical importance, that two well-defined groups of hymns[140] are attributed to this seer and his family. Presumably, the Kaśyapas were special adherents of the Soma-cult. It is also significant that the *Aprī*-hymn of the Kaśyapas occurs in the ninth *maṇḍala*.[141] This hymn is a remarkable *tour de force*, contriving as it does to fit the word '*pavamāna*' into every stanza of the traditional form.[142]

Though not very prominent in the *ṚV*, the Kaśyapas, it is pointed out,[143] had gained sufficient sanctity by the time of the *Brāhmaṇas* to rank high among their caste. They must have been specially prominent in the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in the sixth century B. C., as is seen by the way in which they have managed to force themselves into the Jain and the Buddhist legends. Mahāvīra, who surely was a Kṣatriya, is assigned to the Kaśyapa *gotra*. The three supposed Buddhas preceding Gotama are Kāśyapas.[144] One Asita Devala sheds tears over the infant Gotama in the prophetic knowledge that he himself will not be alive when the child grows up to attain Buddhahood. At the level of tradition, that is in all probability historical, we read of Purāṇa Kassapa as a leading ascetic teacher at the time of the Buddha and king Ajātaśatru. The three Kassapa brothers had the greatest following among those converted by Buddha himself. Mahākassapa convoked the first council after Buddha's death, which gives him virtual leadership of the Buddhist monastic order.

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(138) *ĀśŚS* 12·14·7–8 : कश्यपानां काश्यपावत्सारासितेति निध्रुवाणां काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेति रेभाणां काश्यपावत्साररैभ्येति शण्डिलानां शाण्डिलासितदैवलेति काश्यपासित दैवलेति वा ।

(139) *ṚV* I·99; V·44; VIII·97; X·106, 163.

(140) *ṚV* IX·5–24; 53–60.

(141) *ṚV* IX·5, seen by Asita or Devala Kāśyapa.

(142) **Brough,** "Early history of the Gotras", *JRAS*, 1947.

(143) **Kosambi,** "Urvaśī and Purūravas", *JBBRAS*, Vol. 27, pp·1–31.

(144) Cf. *Dīghanikāya* 14. **Kosambi** ("Brahmin-*gotras*", *JAOS* 73, p·206) suggests that the first interpretation of Gotama as the *gotra* of the Buddha is in the *Mahāpadānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, obviously a late formation under Brahmin influence, one could even say, influence of Kaśyapa Brahmins, as is Jain Mahāvīra's supposed *gotra* and birth-story.

Kakṣīvān[144]

Tradition ascribes the twelfth miniature family-group in the first *maṇḍala*, which comprises *sūktas* 116–126 to Kakṣīvan. He is also said to be the author of IX.74. Kakṣīvan is said to have been the son of Dīrghatamas from a *Śūdra* nurse of the queen of the Aṅga country. He is also called Auśija (born of Uśij)[144b] by the *Anukramaṇī* and the *Vedārthadīpikā* on *Ṛ V* I.18.1.[145] Sāyaṇa gives the following legend about this seer :

Kakṣīvān Dairghatamas, after having lived in his teacher's house for a long time and having studied the Vedas thoroughly, started for his home with the permission of the teacher. At night he rested on the way for some time. In the morning, Svanaya, the son of king Bhāvayavya, who was sporting with his friends, approached him. Kakṣīvān woke up and got up suddenly. Svanaya Bhāvayavya was struck with his beauty and wished to give his daughter to the *ṛṣi*. The king asked him, "Who are you, revered Sir, and what is your name?" Kakṣīvān told everything. Thereupon the king honoured him with gifts of cows, horses, chariots and ten maidens. Kakṣīvān came to his father Dīrghatamas and told him what had happened.

In *Ṛ V* I.116–117 Kakṣīvān is referred to as Pajriya.[146] **Pargiter**,[147] therefore, suggests that this Kakṣīvān must be distinguished from Kakṣīvān Dairghatamasa. He argues that Dairghatamasa Kakṣīvān is the contemporary of Duṣyanta and Bharata, while Pajriya Kakṣīvān speaks of Divodāsa who appears to have been the king of Northern Pāñcāla. There is a long interval between Bharata and his descendant Divodāsa. Again, Pajriya Kakṣīvān is mentioned in a legend together with king Svanaya Bhāvayavya. This does not accord well with the story relating to the birth of Dairghatamasa Kakṣīvān. And, finally, there is no mention of the family of Pajras before Dīrghatamas, though Pajra may perhaps have been a later descendant of Uśij. Thus, according to **Pargiter**, there is the possibility of there being two Kakṣīvatas, both Auśijas, the first being the son of Dīrghatamas in Bharata's time and the second, son or descendant of Pajra, soon after Divodāsa. **Pargiter** further asserts that the *Anukramaṇī* and Sāyaṇa have confused these two persons. He places Dairghatamas Kakṣīvān as 43rd in the family of Aṅgirasas while Kakṣīvān Pajriya as the 65th.

(144a) After Kaśyapa's hymn in the first *maṇḍala* there occurs a hymn I·100 which is traditionally ascribed to the five sons of king Vṛṣāgir, namely, Ṛjrāśva, Ambarīṣa, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna and Surādhas who are mentioned by name in I·100·17. Ṛjrāśva is mentioned in I·100·11; 116·16; 117·17–18. Ambarīṣa is the seer of IX·98 and is an Āṅgirasa.

(144b **Chapekar,** ("Kakṣīvān", *Kevalānanda Sarasvatī Volume* p·141) interprets Auśija to mean 'earnest' and derives it from *vaś*—to desire.

(145) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·147.

(146) *ṚV* I·116·7 and I·117·6 **Chapekar** ("Kakṣīvān", *Kevalānanda Saraswatī Congratulatory Volume*, pp·138–144) agrees with **Rajwade,** (*Marathi Translation of the Nirukta* p·398) in interpreting Pajriya as 'offering oblations'.

(147) *AIHT*, p·223.

Pargiter's theory of two Kakṣīvatas is based on the word 'Pajriya'. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I.116.7,[148] however, gives us a clue to solve this riddle. He says that *Pajra* is the synonym of the Aṅgirasas, as laid down by tradition. It is significant that Sāyaṇa is consistent in explaining that word at various places in the first *maṇḍala*.[149]

We have seen that Auśija is the matronymic of Kakṣīvān. Vṛcayā seems to be the name of his wife given to him by the Aśvins. According to **Macdonell** and **Keith**,[150] the reference to the gift of a *Purandhī*[151] in I.116.7 to Pajriya Kakṣīvat is a reference to Vṛcayā. Kakṣīvān refers to Svanaya and Bhāvya,[152] who gave him horses, chariots with women, wealth, ornaments cows and bulls. In VIII.6.47, Tirindira and Parśu also are referred to by Kakṣīvān as his patrons who gave him ten thousand cows and three hundred horses. Śrutaratha and Priyaratha,[153] again, may have been the names of some of his other patrons. Ghoṣā is said to be the daughter of Kakṣīvān.

At one place[154] Kakṣīvān seems to be complaining to the Aśvinau that the four sons of Maśarśāra and three sons of king Āyavasa harass him. The other persons who are referred to by Kakṣīvān are Vāyya, Śara (I.116.22), Ārcatka (I.116.22), Dīrghaśravas, Bhujyu (I.117.24), Taugrya (I.117.15), Rathaproṣṭha, Pṛthuśravas Kānīta (I.116.21), Vaśa (I.116.21), Tarukṣa, Viṣṇāpu, Viśvaka, the son of Viṣṇāpu (I.117.7). Vadhrimatī (I.116.13; I.117.24), Hiraṇyahasta (I.116.13), Dyotana, Śayu (I.117.12), Pedu (I.117.9), Takavāna (I.120.6). Kakṣīvān is stated to have received gifts from Nahuṣ.[155] Kakṣīvān is called *vipra ṛṣi*, *stotṛ*[156] and also *vacasyu* and *sunvan*.[157] These epithets indicate that he was both a *gṛhapati* (*yajamāna*) and a *hotā*. In X.143.1, there seems to be a reference to his rejuvenation by the Aśvinau. In IV.26.1 he is mentioned with Manu, Kutsa and Uśanas, which fact would indicate that, even in the Ṛgvedic period, Kakṣīvan had already become a mythical person.

Dīrghatamas[158]

Dīrghatamas is said to be the seer of I.140–164. He is referred to by his patronymic Aucathya (the son of Ucathya)[159] and by his metronymic Māma-

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(148) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·716.

(149) *ṚV* I·117·6, 10; I·120·5; I·126·4–5.

(150) *Vedic Index* Vol·I, p·540.

(151) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, I, p·716) interprets the word *Purandhī* to mean *prabhūtā dhīḥ*.

(152) *ṚV* I·126·1–3.

(153) *ṚV* I·122·7. Sāyaṇa, however, interprets these words as adjectives.

(154) *ṚV* I·122·15.

(155) *ṚV* I·122·8.

(156) *ṚV* IV·26·1.

(157) *ṚV* I·51·13.

(158) **Tilak**, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p·146, says that Dīrghatamas means the sun who sets at the end of a long day.

(159) *ṚV* I·158·1, 6.

teya (the son of Mamatā).[160] The *BD*[161] gives the following legend, which, apparently, is of great sociological significance, about him :

A seer had two sons named Ucathya and Bṛhaspati. Ucathya's wife was Mamatī who belonged to the family of Bhṛgu. Bṛhaspati, the younger brother, once approached Mamatā for sexual intercourse. At the time of impregnation, the embryo addressed with the following words : "Here am I already engendered; you must not cause a comingling of seeds". Bṛhaspati, however, did not brook this remonstrance. He, therefore, cursed the embryo : "Long darkness shall be your lot". Hence Ucathya's son came to be called Dīrghatamas. Dīrghatamas became blind immediately after his birth, which fact distressed the gods. Later, however, they cured him of his blindness.

Macdonell and **Keith**[162] say that the legend does not seem to represent history and that to attach any historical importance to it would be unwise. **Pargiter,**[163] on the other hand, tries to interpret them historically as follows :

Usij Āṅgirasa had three sons Ucathya (or Utathya), Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta. Ucathya's son was Dīrghatamas by his wife Mamatā. Bṛhaspati's son probably from his wife Pradveṣī according to the *MBh* (I.104.4193–94,4205) was Bharadvāja. These Āṅgirasa *ṛṣis* thus began their career in the country of Vaiśālī and moved westwards in course of time.[164] Dīrghatamas lived in his paternal cousin's hermitage, whom the *Purāṇas* call Śaradvat. There he indulged in grossly immoral amorous pursuits with the wife of his cousin, Aucathya. Hence he was expelled and set adrift in the Ganges. He was carried down-stream to the eastern Ānava kingdom and was there welcomed by Bali. This incident finds support in the *ṚV* I.158.3,5, where Dīrghatamasa speaks of having been delivered from bodily injury and from danger in the rivers. This is not improbable because these Āṅgirasa *ṛṣis* were living in the kingodm Vaisālī. Dīrghatamas might, therefore, have been easily put on a raft in the Ganges there and then have drifted some seventy miles down the river to Monghyr and Bhāgalpur, which was the Ānava realm, and was soon afterwards called the Aṅga kingdom. There the seer married the queen's *Śūdra* nurse and begot Kakṣīvat and other sons. At Bali's desire, Dīrghatamasa also begot by the queen, Sudeṣṇā, sons, who later came to be called Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pundra and Suhma.

The *BD*[165] gives another legend about Dīrghatamasa : The slaves attending upon the aged and blind Dīrghatamas bound him and cast him into the waters of the rivers. One among them, Traitana by name, also tried to strike him away with his sword and, in so doing cut to pieces his own head, shoulders and breast. Dīrghatamas having thus slain that great sinner moved his limbs there in the river though excessively stupefied by the water. The cur-

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(160) *ṚV* I·147·3; 152·6; IV·4·13. Cf. also *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, pp·944–45.
(161) *BD* IV·11–15, 21–25.
(162) *Vedic Index*, I, p·366.
(163) *JRAS*, 10, p·44.
(164) See chapter on 'Bharadvāja and the Bharadvājas in the *ṚV*'.
(165) *BD* IV·21–25. Cf. also *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on I·158·3–5, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·944–45.

rents threw him in the neighbourhood of the Aṅga country. Usji was employed as a slave-maiden in the house of the king of Aṅga. Through desire of obtaining a son, the king dispatched this slave to Dīrghatamas. The ascetic, observing her to be devoted to him, after he had come out of the water, begot with her the seer Kakṣīvat and others.

Dīrghatamas is stated to have lived for ten decades[166] and, towards the end of his life, he is said to have consecrated Bharata Dauṣyanti[167] with the *Aindra Mahābhiṣeka.*

In his *sūktas* Dīrghatamas refers to many other persons like the Bhṛgus,[168] Ucathya,[169] his father; Mamatā, his mother,[170] Purumīḷha,[171] the Paṇis,[172] Taugrya,[173] Traitana,[174] and the sons of Sudhanavan.[175] It is significant that I.142, which is an *Āpri sūkta* is ascribed to Dīrghatamas. The fact speaks of the eminence of the family in ritual.

The *Asyavāmīya sūkta* (I.164) of Dīrghatamas is one of the most important philosophical *sūktas* in the *ṚV*. It deals with Kāla in the form of Saṁvatasara in stanzas 1,11–15 and 44; while stanzas 2, 3, 7, and 52 eulogise Sūrya. Parjanya is described in 24, 25, 37, 39, 45 and 49. All the remaining stanzas are mystic and metaphysical in character. Here are a few of the metaphysical thoughts expressed in it. That the Almighty power is one and eternal is clearly expressed in I.164.6 which is translated as follows : "Ignorant as I am I ask the wise ones so that I may know the secret. Is it not true that the unborn one who created the six worlds is ultimately one ?" The distinction between the individual soul and the universal soul is clearly expressed in this *sūkta.*[176] The sacrifice seems to have been looked upon as the symbol of the whole universe[177] and the sacrifice is said to be the centre of the world. That the ultimate reality is one and is called by people with various names is suggested in I.164.46. That the performance of sacrifice was the first form of Dharma is stated in I.164.50.

The *MBh*[178] tells us that Dīrghatamas obtained the knowledge of all the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas while he was still in the mother's womb. There he figures as the first protagonist of the law of monogamy for females.

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(166) *ṚV* I·158·6, IX·74·8. Cf. also the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* II·17.
(167) *AB* VIII·23.
(168) *ṚV* I·143·4.
(169) *ṚV* I·143·6; I·158·1, 4.
(170) *ṚV* I·152·6; 158·6.
(171) *ṚV* I·152·6; 158·6.
(172) *ṚV* I·151·9.
(173) *ṚV* I·158·3.
(174) *ṚV* I·158·5.
(175) *ṚV* I·161·2.
(176) *ṚV* I·164·20. **J. S. Karandikar** ("Ṛgvedāntīla eka kūṭa sūkta", *Kevalananda Sarasvatī Volume* p·153) says that the stanza deals with two individual souls one of which covets material pleasures and becomes miserable while the other renounces them and is liberated.
(177) *ṚV* I·164·35.
(178) *MBh. Āraṇyaka Parvan* 104, *Śānti Parvan* 341.

Parucchepa[179]

According to the *Anukramaṇī* Parucchepa is the author of I.127–139. The tradition regarding Parucchepa's authorship of these *sūktas* is indicated also in the *AB*,[180] the *Kauṣītaki B.*[181] and the *Nirukta*.[182] **Ludwig**,[183] however, thinks —apparently for no satisfactory reasons—that this tradition is highly doubtful. Parucchepa is known as Daivodāsi, that is a son or a descendant of Divodāsa. In I.130.10, for instance, he refers to himself as one of the Divodāsas. There, Sāyaṇa explains the word as *divodāsebhiḥ divodāsagotrotpannaiḥ*. It is of course not impossible to interpret this passage as suggesting that, instead of himself being a Daivodāsi, Parucchepa was a priest—obviously a minor one—of the family of Divodāsa and was praying on their behalf. If, however, he had himself been a Daivodāsi, it would indicate how a person belonging to a ruling class could, in the early Vedic age, become a priest. Hymn I.133 ascribed to this seer is called the *ripughna-sūkta* and Śaunaka[184] says that the purpose of the *sūkta* is the destruction of enemies and the subjugation of rivals. In I.139.9 Parucchepa mentions Dadhyañ, Aṅgiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri. and Manu and says that they knew of his birth.[185] He further says that a long line (*āyatiḥ*) of these seers stretches back to the gods and that he, too, is connected, through birth with these ancestors. In his *sūktas* Parucchepa refers to the following persons : The Bhṛgus (I.127.7); Divodāsa Ātithigva, Pūru and Śambara (I. 130.4,7,10); Manu (I.130.8), Uśanā Kavi (I.130.9), and Aṅgirasas (I.132.4,I. 139.7). From one reference in this miniature family-group it would appear that Parucchepa had been an eye-witness of the destruction of the *puras* by Indra for the sake of Divodāsa.[186] Anānata, the reputed author of IX.111 must have been his son or a descendant.

In the *TS*[187] a legend is given about the rivalry between Nṛmedhas and Parucchepa. Nṛmedhas is said to have created smoke from wet fuel with the power of *mantra* while Parucchepa created fire without fuel. Incidentally it may be pointed out that, in I.139.11, Parucchepa mentions the number of gods as thirtythree, out of whom eleven reside in heaven, eleven on the earth and eleven among the waters.

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(179) *Nirukta* X·42 explains the name as : परुच्छेप ऋषिः । पर्ववच्छेपः, परुषि परुषि शेपः अस्य इति वा ।

(180) *AB* V·12·13.
(181) *Kauṣītaki B.* XXIII·4·5.
(182) *Nirukta* X·42.
(183) *Translation of the Rigveda*, III, p·116.

(184) *Ṛgvidhāna* I·25 : ता जपन् हन्ति रक्षांसि सपत्नाँश्च नियच्छति ।

(185) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, I, p. 873) says," :
एते सर्वे महात्मानो महर्षयः मे जनुषं दिवोदासपुत्रस्य परुच्छेपस्य जन्म विदुः जानन्ति ।
ते पूर्वोक्ताः पूर्वकालीना मे अस्मत्पित्रादीन् जानन्त इत्यर्थः ।

(186) Cf. *ṚV* I·130·7.
(187) *TS* II·5·8·3.

Yāska, in his *Nirukta*,[188] refers to the stylistic peculiarity of Parucchepa, namely the use of the same expressions over and over again. Nearly all the *sūktas* of Parucchepa are characterised by this peculiarity.

Agastya

Agastya is traditionally credited with the authorship[189] of *ṚV* I.165.13-15; 166–169; 170.2,5; 171–178; 179.3,4; 180–191. We have already seen elsewhere[190] that tradition speaks of the divine birth of Agastya, that Agastya is said to have been born along with Vasiṣṭha from Mitrāvaruṇau, and that he preceded Vasiṣṭha in birth.[191] Agastya is also referred to as Māna and Mānya. Sometimes he is also referred to as Māndārya[192] The expression *Mānasya sūnuh* occurring in *ṚV* I.189.8, clearly denotes Agastya. **Bergaigne**,[193] however does not agree with this view. In another passage (I.117.11), the expression *Sūnave Mānena* has been explained by **Sieg**[194] as being an inversion of *Mānasya Sūnunā*, 'by the son of Māna'—i. e. by Agastya. **Oldenberg**,[195] on the other hand, suggests that *Sunor Māna* is either the fuller form of Agastya's name ('pride of the son') in view of his high ancestry or that it denotes the son of Māna, that is Agastya.

The Mānas, that is the descendants of Māna, are alluded to in several passages as singers.[196] **Ludwig**[197] conjectures that they had settled down on

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(188) *Nirukta* X·42 : अभ्यासे भूयांसमर्थं मन्यन्ते । यथा अहो दर्शनीयाहो दर्शनीयेति तत् परुच्छेपस्य शीलम् । Durga, here points out that in *ṚV* I·129·6 there is a repetition of the word रेजति (इ॒ष॒वान्म॒न्म रेजं॑ति रक्षो॒हा मन्म॒ रेजं॑ति ।) and of स्रवेत् (अवं स्रवेद॒घशंसोऽवतरमवं क्षु॒द्रमि॑व स्रवेत्) Durga, therefore, says that the words must have been repeated intentionally for emphasis : न ह्यकस्मात् स एव शब्दः पुनरभ्यस्यते लोकेऽपि चैतद् दृष्टं शब्दाभ्यासेऽर्थभूयस्त्वमिति......तत् च परुच्छेपस्य शीलम् । स हि नित्यमभ्यस्तैः शब्दैः स्तौति ।

(189) Cf. *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, *Bibl. Ind.*, p·244 :

अगस्त्य एव तन्त्वादि मित्रावरुणयोः सुतः ।
षड्विंशतेश्च सूक्तानामृषिरित्यवगम्यताम् ॥

(190) See Chapter VI.

(191) Cf. *ṚV* VII·33·13.

(192) Cf. *ṚV* I·165·15; 166·15; 167·11; 168·10; 177·5. **Pargiter,** *AIHT* pp·239–40, suggests that the names Mānya and Māndārya are derived from Māna and Mandāra which seem to be patronymics belonging to Agastya's *gotra*. Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, I, p·1105) interprets the words *Mānasya Sūnuḥ* to mean Agni. cf. मीयते इति मानो मन्त्रः तस्य सूनुरग्निः । It is suggested that Māna may indicate the height of that sage (cf. शम्यामात्रो महातपाः ।). The epithet is explained etymologically as : मानेन संमितो यस्मात्तस्मान्मान्य इहोच्यते ।
यद्वा कुम्भादृषिर्जातः कुम्भेनापि हि मीयते ॥

(193) *Religion Vedique*, 2, 394.

(194) *Die sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda*, 108–119.

(195) *Ṛgveda Noten* I, p·110.

(196) *ṚV* I·169·8; 171·5; 182·8; 184·5.

(197) *Translation of the Rigveda*, 3, pp·116–117.

the banks of the Sindhu.[198] From the point of view of the family-relations and the social relations between Vasiṣṭha and Agstya, stanza VIII.33.10 is very important. Its significance and the views of scholars in respect of it have been already discussed in the sixth chapter. **Kosambi**[199] gives a sociological interpretation of the myth relating to the births of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya. He points out that Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, in being born from the Urn[200] are giving a good Aryan translation of their birth from a pre-Āryan or non-Aryaṅ mother-goddess.[201] Urvaśī, the mother of these two seers, has faded into insignificance but she gave birth, according to **Kosambi**, to two leading Brahmin clans, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Agastyas. The jar-born sage Agastya is said to have nourished both *varṇas*.[202] The relevant stanza is generally translated as follows : "Agastya thus, toiling with strong endeavour, wishing for children, progeny and power, cherished (being a sage of mighty strength) both classes, and with the gods obtained his prayer's fulfilment".[203] **Kosambi** says that, here, the words '*ubhau varṇau*[204] cannot mean two castes but both Aryans and non-Aryans, for Agastya belonged to both and his hymns show clearly the character of the compromise.

One of the most significant achievements of Agastya, referred to in the *ṚV*, is the reconciliation, which he is said to have brought about between Indra and Maruts. This event is the subject of three hymns in the *ṚV* (I.165, 170, 171) and is also often referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas*.[205] Indra took away the beast which was brought to be offered to the Maruts. The latter being enraged, took up a thunderbolt with the view to killing Indra. Agastya, however, intervened and conciliated the Maruts with the *sūkta* which is called the *Kayāśubhīya sūkta*[206] (I.165). In that *sūkta*, the Maruts put a direct question to Indra : "Say, O Indra, what thou hast against us (I.165.3)"; and Indra replies : "Mine are devotions, hymns and libations (I.165.4)". Indra then complains against the Maruts for not helping him in fight against the Ahi (I.165.6) and boasts of his

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(198) Cf. *ṚV* I·186·5.

(199) "Urvaśī and Purūravas", *JBBRAS* 27, pp·1–30.

(200) It is for this reason that Agastya is called Kumbhayoni and Vasiṣṭha is called Kuṇḍina.

(201) Apsaras, Kumbha and Puṣkara are the symbols of the mother-goddess cult.

(202) *ṚV* I·179·6 : उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुंपोष । **Chapekar,** ("Agastya", *JBBRAS* 28, p·25) likes to interpret *ugra* to mean zealous and *ubhau varṇau* as the two categories of *ṛṣis* and *manuṣyas*.

(203) **Griffith**, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, I, p. 650.

(204) Sāyaṇa (*ṚV*, VSM, I, p·1067) interprets it to mean *Kāmam ca tapaś ca*. **Griffith,** *op. cit.* suggests that probably priests and princes or institutors of sacrifice are meant. **Bergaigne** (*La Religion Vedique* II, 394 ff.), understands the expression to mean the two forms or essences of Soma, the celestial and the terrestrial.

(205) *TS* VII·5·5·2; *TB* II·7·11·1; *Maitrāyaṇī saṁ*. II·1·8; *Kāṭhaka saṁ*. X·11,*PB* XX·I 14·5; *AB* V·16, *Kauṣītaki B*. XXVI·9.

(206) *Ṛgvidhāna* I·145–46 : ज्ञातिपुत्रसुहृन्मित्रैर्यश्च राज्यं चिकीर्षति ।
नित्यं स नियतो भूत्वा सूक्तं तु मनसा जपेत् ॥
कया शुभेति पै [illegible] द्विजः ।
श्रुत्वा पररहस्यं तु पुरोरप्याह शौनकः ॥

victory over Vṛtra (I.165.6,8). The Maruts, eventually, become reconciled with their leader and recognise his might and wisdom (I.165.9). The poet Mānya Māndārya, that is, Agastya, then invokes the Maruts in the last stanza to bring offspirng with food for him. About this hymn **Wilson**[206a] says that it apparently represents a vindication of the separate or at least preferential worship of Indra, without comprehending at the same time, as a matter of course, the adoration of the Maruts.

As for the hymn I.170, the *Nirukta* (I.5) narrates the following legend by way of its background : "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On learning this, Indra came and strongly protested against it. The Maruts then pleaded with their leader in the following words : "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra ? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray (I.170.3)". Indra then says to Agastya, "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend disregard us ? For, we know, how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything".

In I.171.4, Agastya, after imploring the favour of the Maruts, says to them apologetically : "I fled, trembling through fear of the mighty Indra. Oblations were prepared for you; we put them away. Be merciful to us".

The whole of this story is referred to by the *TB*[207] as follows : "Agastya was immolating bulls to be offered to the Maruts. These bulls, Indra carried off. The Maruts ran at him brandishing a thunderbolt. Agastya and Indra pacified them with the Kayāśubhīya *sūkta*. Indra invited the Maruts when pacified, to the ceremony for, the *Kayāśubhīya* is used for pacification. Hence these bulls are to be offered both to Indra and the Maruts. Three are sacrificed on the first day, as many on the second and the third. On the last day five are immolated."

As has been suggested by **Dandekar**,[208] this legend was perhaps based on the historical fact of a casual estrangement between Indra, the heroic leader of the Vedic Indians, and his trusted followers, the Maruts. It would appear that the seer Agastya played an important role in bringing the gulf between Indra and the Maruts and thus re-establishing the *entente* which had proved most fruitful in connection with the victorious advance of the Vedic Indians. When this historic fact was transformed into mythology, another current of thought may have influenced its consolidation. It is well-known that the Maruts were originally connected with Rudra and it was only at a later stage in the evolutionary mythology relating to them that they came to be associated with Indra. The original non-hieratic character of the Maruts may have helped, at least indirectly, to emphasise the differences between them and Indra.

(206a) As quoted by **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda*, I, p·228.

(207) *TB* II·7·11·1.

(208) "Vṛtrahā Indra" *ABORI*, XXXI, p·23.

Another legend of a more or less personal character is referred to in I·179.[209] This *sūkta* is in the form of an intimate dialogue between Agastya and his wife Lopāmudrā. Lopāmudrā is tired of the coldness and neglect shown by her ascetic husband in the matter of sexual relations. She, therefore, tries to prevail upon Agastya to have intercourse with her. The seer responds to her importunity but later purifies himself with a drink of the sacred Soma. The ancient Indian tradition introduces a pupil of Agastya in this whole scene, but that is clearly due to a misunderstanding of the purport of the *sūkta*.

The *Purāṇas* like the Vāyu,[210] the *Brahmāṇḍa*,[211] and the *Brahma*,[212] and the *Harivaṁśa*,[213] state that, through Lopāmudrā's favour, Alarka, King of Kāśī and grandson of Pratardana, enjoyed a very long and prosperous reign. Agastya and Lopāmudrā thus seem to have been contemporaneous with Alarka and may be placed two or three generations below Vidarbha and Pratardana. The story of Lopāmudrā and Agastya as given in the *MBh*[214] would suggest the contemporaneity of the three kings, Śrutarvan, Vādhryaśva and Bhārata Trasadasyu.[215] In the chronological table of *ṛṣis*, **Pargiter** makes Agastya and Lopāmudrā contemporary with Kaṇva Kāśyapa, Śakuntalā's foster-father.

Agastya seems to play a particularly prominent role in the *MBh*. Three great achievements are popularly associated with the name of Agastya, namely, victory over Indra, victory over the Vindhyas, and victory over the ocean. We are told how Agastya humbled the presumptious Vindhyas,[216] how he drank up the inexhaustible ocean,[217] and how he overpowered Nahuṣa, a king who had attained to the status of Indra, and cursed him to be born as a serpent.[218] Another legend about Agastya—though not as well-known as the preceding ones—is narrated in the *MBh*. When Agastya performed a twelve year's sacrifice, Indra stopped

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(209) The *BD* points out that some unholy thing has been perpetrated by Agastya. The *MBh* *Vanaparvan* (Chs. 97–99) also implies the same. Lopāmudrā is depicted here in the best of colours. In the *ṚV*, however, the case seems to be different. **Oldenberg's** analysis of the *sūkta* (*ZDMG*, 39, p·68) is as follows :

1–2—Lopāmudrā complains about Agastya's long ascetic life.
3 —Contains Agastya's answer and he complies with his wife's request. Lopāmudrā takes the initiative. Agastya is passive.
4 —Lopāmudrā agrees for the union. It is an *itihāsa* verse. First half is Lopāmudrā's speech. Second half is narration.
5 —It is a sort of *prāyaścitta*—formula.
6 —It is an *itihāsa* verse containing the summary of the story.

According to **Geldner** (*Der ṚV*, I, 257–8), stanzas 1, 2, and 4 give the speech of Lopamudrā, stanzas 3 and 5 that of Agastya, while the last stanza presents the narrative conclusion.

(210) *Vāyu P.*, 97·67.
(211) *Brahmāṇḍa P.* III·67·71.
(212) *Brahma P.* 11·53; 13·74.
(213) *Harivaṁśa* 29·1590, 32·1748.
(214) *MBh* III·98·8595–8608.
(215) **Pargiter,** *AIHT*, p·168.
(216) *MBh* 3 *Vanaparvan*; 103 *Tīrtha* : 16; 104·1–15.
(217) *MBh* 104 *Tīrtha*; 16·24; 105·1.
(218) *MBh* 103 *Tīrtha*; 15·181; *Ajagara* 30·43·5. *Udyogaparvan*.

rains from pouring on the earth and the *ṛṣis*, who had assembled there, were afraid that the world would have to go for twelve years without rain. But Agastya, refusing to be baffled, threatened to change himself into Indra and produce rain. Thereupon realising the power of Agastya's penances, Indra sent plentiful rains.[219]

In his *sūktas* in the *ṚV*, Agastya refers to various persons. For instance, he refers to Tṛṇaskanda and requests the Maruts to cut down his tribe and give himself long life.[220] Agastya's sister (Agastyasvasṛ) is said to be the seer of X·90·9. Agastya further refers to Purukutsa, Turvayāṇa, Kutsa, Kuyavācha, Dhuni, Turvaśa and Yadu.[221] Agastya's sister's sons are referred to in X·60·6 where their mother praises king Asamāti.

The *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*[222] tells us how Indra taught the *Gāyatry-upaniṣad* to Agastya, since he was the oldest among the *ṛṣis*. Agastya, then, taught it to *Iṣa* and thus continued the tradition. From the epic and Purānic references it would appear that Agastya was by nature not much interested in material things but that, at the behest of his parents, he married Lopāmudrā, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha. In order to fulfil the desires of his wife he tried to acquire wealth from Śrutarvan, Bradhnaśva and Trasadasyu. The last-mentioned directed him to Ilvala from whom the seer received a lot of wealth.

It has been observed by **Lassen**[223]—and, indeed, quite rightly—that the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains the narrative of the first attempt of the Aryans to extent themselves to the south through conquest. These military inroads into the south, however, presuppose the peaceful but vigorous activities of Brahmanical missions in the same directions. When Rāma comes to the south of the Vindhya range, he meets the sage Agastya, who had rendered the southern regions safe and easily accessible. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Agastya figures as the adviser and guide of Rāma, and as the head of the hermits who had settled down in the south. It would seem that the south was originally covered with huge forests which were first cleared up by Brahmanical missions who subsequently settled down there. The Rākṣasas who are represented, in the various legends in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as disturbing the sacrifices instituted by the sages and devouring the priests signify merely the savage tribes which arranged themselves in hostile opposition to Brahmanical institutions. Before Rāma entered the south, the sage Agastya appears to have been perfectly successful in keeping the Rākṣasas under restraint.[224] For instance, at one place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[225] the destruction by Agastya of the two Asuras, Vātāpi and Ilvala, is described. The ruthless Ilvala, disguising himself as a Brāhmaṇa, used

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(219) *MBh* 14 *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, 92 Anugītā, 4–38.

(220) *ṚV* I·172·3.

(221) *ṚV* I·174.

(222) 4·15·1, 16·1.

(223) *Rāmāyaṇa* (I Edition, p·535; II Edition pp· 647 ff.).

(224) *Rāmāyaṇa* III·11·81–83 :

अगस्त्य इति विख्यातो लोके स्वेनैव कर्मणा । आश्रमो दृश्यते तस्य परिश्रान्तश्रमापहः ॥
निगृह्य तरसा मृत्युं लोकानां हितकाम्यया । दक्षिणा दिक् कृता येन शरण्या पुण्यकर्मणा ॥
तस्येदमाश्रमपदं प्रभावाद्यस्य राक्षसैः । दिगियं दक्षिणा त्रासाद् दृश्यते नोपभुज्यते ॥

(225) *Rāmāyaṇa* III·11·5 ff.

to invite other Brāhmaṇas for a feast at *Śrāddha.* Vātāpi transformed himself into a ram and was served by Ilvala to the Brāhmaṇas. After the meals, Ilvala called back his brother, who then tore open the bodies of the Brāhmaṇas and came out bleating. The same trick was played upon Agastya, who, however, completely digested Vātāpi and then burnt Ilvala by the flash of his eye. **Weber**[225a] suggests that this story may have taken its rise in the belief of some cannibals living in the south. At another place Agastya is spoken of as the conqueror of the south.[226] It is interesting to note that the name Agastya is explained in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[227] as 'one who controls the mountain (*agam styāyati iti*)', that is one who has rendered the Vindhyas penetrable by the Aryan settlers.

Agastya must accordingly be regarded as the founder of the Aryan colonies to south of the Vindhyas. Indeed, in course of time, he came to be looked upon as the prototype of the Aryan coloniser in general. This would explain why his name came to be associated with several distant places in the south and even beyond. For instance, Agastya's name is connected with the mountain Mahendra in the vicinity of Mahānadī in the Pāṇḍya country.

It must, however, be remembered that in the *ṚV* itself there are no indications of this role of Agastya as the pioneer coloniser of the south. Indeed, there could not have been any such indications, for, the expansion of the Vedic Aryans towards the south of the Vindhyas clearly belongs to the later Vedic and early post-Vedic periods. It must have been in these periods that the family of Agastya, the eponymons seer of the *ṚV*, led the colonising Aryan missionaries to the south.

Aravamuthan[228] points out that the Pāṇḍyas claim to be the disciples of Agastya. The achievements of the preceptor, according to him, must have been attributed to the disciples. In Java also the temples of Agastya are found.[229]

Agastya is thus connected with the North[230] as well as the South of India. He is the first Aryan explorer and the originator of the art of colonisation. A great missionary, as he appears to have been, his influence can be traced across the seas to the distant lands of Combodia, Borneo and Java. In the Indo-Javanese hierarchy of gods, highest rank is given to Agastya[231]. It is, indeed, possible to recognize in Agastya not only the Aryanizer of the south, but also, the Titanic Architect—the Great Builder of a greater India beyond the seas.[232]

(225a) *Indische Studien* I, p·475.

(226) *Rāmāyaṇa* IV·117·14.

(227) *Rāmāyaṇa* Araṇyakāṇḍa 11.

(228) "Madurai Chronicles", *JOR*, Madras, VI, p·293.

(229) Agastipurī is mentioned in the *MBh*, (*Vanaparvan* 94·1). It seems to indicate a locality near Nasik. The name of Vātāpi, who was overpowered by Agastya, is preserved in present Badami.

(230) The *Matsya P.* connects him with the Ganges, the Yamuna and Prayaga.

(231) **Ganguly,** "The cult of Agastya", *QJMS*, Bangalore, Vol. 27, No. 3 (January, 1927).

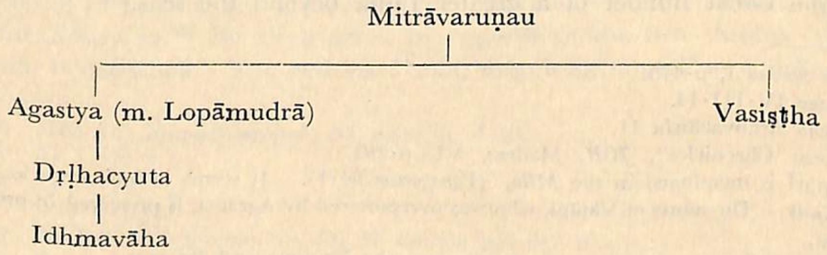
(232) Cf. the view of K. A. **Nilakantasastri** ("Agastya or the Rise and Spread of Hindu culture", *JBHU* 1, 1937.) : Agastya was an embodiment of the Brahmin intelligence that brought about a liason between the Pre-Aryan culture and the new Aryan culture that supervened over all those countries in India and Greater India....".

It is significant that I·188, which is an *Āprī-sūkta* belongs to Agastya. It appears that by the time of the final redaction of the *ṚV* the Agastya-family must have been so prominent that it was considered a matter of moment that their Āpri-hymn should be included in the *ṚV*. *ṚV* I·191 is, according to the *Anukramaṇī*, *Viṣaghnopaniṣad*. It has an Ātharvaṇic character and stanzas 4, 8, 9 from this *sūkta* are repeated in the *AV*.

In the *AV*, Agastya appears as an expert in magic and incantation and is mentioned in a long list of seers, like Atharvan, Kaśyapa, Kaṇva, Kakṣīvān, Purumīdha, Sobhari and Arcanānas.[233] In the *Maitrāyaṇī saṁhitā*,[234] cows with a peculiar mark on their ears (*viṣṭyakarṇāḥ*) are associated with him.

From the *Purāṇas*, we come to know that there were three sub-branches with which the family of Agastya was connected—namely, the Paulastyas, the Paulahas and the Kratus. About the Paulastyas the following information is available. The Vaiśālī line begins with Nariṣyanta, the son of Marutta. He had a son Dama. Dama's eighth successor was Tṛṇabindu. Tṛṇabindu gave his daughter Ilavilā to Pulastya. Their son was Viśravas Ailavila. From his wife Devavarṇinī he had a son, called Kubera Vaiśravaṇa. Kubera had four sons, Nalakūbara, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Bibhīṣaṇa and a daughter Śūrpaṇakhā. All offsprings of Pulastya, except Kubera, were Rākṣasas. The *Matsya*, *P.* (202·12–13) states that on that account Pulastya adopted Agastya's son and thenceforward the Paulastyas became Āgastyas. It is noteworthy that all the Paulastyas except Kubera belonged to South India and Ceylon. About the Pulahas the *Matsya P.*[235] states that Pulaha had three sons; but, not being pleased with them, he adopted Agastya's son Dṛḍhāsya and so the Paulahas are Āgastyas. The *Matsya P.*[236] also states that Kratu adopted Agastya's son Idhmavāha and so the Kratus also are Āgastyas. Obviously, all these traditions regarding the adoption of the sons of Agastya by other families —mostly belonging to the South—have their origin in the basic tradition of Agastya being the first coloniser of the South.

The *Matsya P.* says that Agastya had two sons, Indrabāhu and Dṛḍhadyumna, while the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* [237] says that he had three sons, namely, Aya, Dṛḍhāyu and Idhmavāha. According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* and the *ṚV*, however, the genealogy of Agastya can be reconstructed as follows :



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(233) *AV* II·32·3, IV·37·1, XVIII·3·15. In *AV* IV·29·3 his name occurs as Agasti.
(234) IV·2·9.
(235) *Matsya P.*, 202·10–11.
(236) 145·114–115.
(237) II·32·119–20.

Out of these Dṛḷhacyuta is the seer of IX·25. He is not mentioned by his name anywhere in the *ṚV*. Idhmavāha is the seer of IX·26 and the *Anukramaṇī* says that he is the son of Dṛḷhacyuta. This genealogical tradition seems to have been preserved in the *Pravaras* of the Agastyas as given by the *ĀśŚS.*[238] It is said in the *sūtra*, that the *Pravaras* are 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta and Idhmavāha' or optionally 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Somavāha'.

Sāyaṇa[239] has often made a reference to Agastya being a family-priest of king Khela and to Viśpalā being Khela's wife. The *ṚV*, however, does not afford any clear evidence to corroborate this tradition. On examining all the references to Viśpalā in the *ṚV*, **Chapekar**[240] comes to the conclusion that Viśpalā was not connected in any way to Khela and likewise there is no corroboration that Agastya was the priest of Khela.

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(238) *ĀśŚS* 12·15·3 : अगस्तीनामागस्त्यदार्ढच्युतेध्मवाहेति । सोमवाहो वोत्तम आगस्त्यदार्ढच्युतसोमवाहेति ।

(239) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on I·117·11, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·732.

(240) **Chapekar,** "Agastya", *JBBRAS*, 28, p·28.

CHAPTER IX

THE SEERS OF THE PĀVAMĀNA *MAṆḌALA*

So far as the main principle governing its basic structure is concerned, the ninth *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* differs from the other *maṇḍalas*. The homogeneity of authorship which characterises *maṇḍalas* 2 to 7, and to a certain extent, even *maṇḍalas* 1 and 8, is absent in this *maṇḍala*. Instead of the homogeneity of authorship, it is the homogeneity of subject-matter which distinguishes this *maṇḍala*. Unlike the other *maṇḍalas* the hymns in the ninth *maṇḍala* are addressed to a single deity, namely, *pavamāna* Soma. Most of the authors, to whom the hymns in this *maṇḍala* are traditionally ascribed, belong to the families of seers which we had occasion to consider in connection with the other *maṇḍalas*. Though the ninth *maṇḍala* consists exclusively of the *sūktas* addressed to Soma, this fact must not be understood to imply that *all* the *Soma-sūktas* are included in this *maṇḍala*. For, as has been already seen, we do come across hymns addressed to Soma also in other regular *maṇḍalas*. It would, therefore, appear that the idea of having an independent *maṇḍala* relating to the cult of *Pavamāna Soma* was the result of an afterthought. As indicated elsewhere, when the stray and scattered *mantras* were being collected and arranged, during the *saṁhitā*-period, two distinct features of the social life of that period influenced that activity of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*. In the *mantra*-period which preceded the *saṁhitā*-period, the Vedic people, who were essentially nomadic tribal people must have lived a kind of communal life. They must have then always thought in terms of the community as a whole. For instance, the *mantras*—relating to both the religion of the classes and the religion of the masses—must have been believed to have belonged to the community as a whole. When, however, these people began to settle down—mainly in the Saptasindhu region—this communal consciousness must have gradually given place to family consciousness. It was during this period that the stray and scattered *mantras* came to be organised in the form of the *saṁhitās*. Naturally enough, this new consciousness in the social life of the people, namely, the family consciousness, was reflected in the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*. The main principle, which determined the major classification of the hymns, was the authorship of a particular major family. This is how *maṇḍalas* 1 to 8 were formed.

Another outstanding feature which characterised the social life of the *saṁhitā*-period was the growing predominance of the *Soma*-cult. In course of time, this cult became so very preponderent that its votaries inclined to make other earlier cults, such as fire-worship (Agni), and hero-worship (Indra), subservient to it. This second feature of the social life of the Vedic people in the *saṁhitā*-period also necessarily influenced—though not to the same extent as the first feature, namely, the growing family consciousness—the scheme of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*. The result of this influence was the formation of an independent *maṇḍala*, pertaining to the Soma-worship, that is to say, of the ninth *maṇḍala*. It must, however, be presumed that even before this increasing predominance of the Soma-cult began to have effect in respect of the process of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*, some *Soma-sūktas* had already been included in other family-*maṇḍalas* in accordance with the authorship of these *sūktas*.

From what has been said above, it would become easily understandable that the *maṇḍalādi-paribhāṣā* which is generally constituted of the homogeneity of authorship, the division of the *sūktas* into *devatā*-groups, and the arrangement of the *sūktas* within *devatā*-group, in accordance with the number of stanzas in them should be absent in the ninth *maṇḍala*. The structure of the ninth *maṇḍala* may be said to have been governed by two principles, namely, the homogeneity of subject-matter and the consideration of the metres.[1]

A reference may be incidentally made, at this stage, to another significant point pertaining to the structure of the ninth *maṇḍala*. It is well-known that the *Sāma-Veda* is essentially a derivative literary product. That is to say, most of the literary material, which forms the basis of what is known as the *Sāma-Veda*, is borrowed from the *ṚV-saṁhitā*. The *Sāma-Veda* may, indeed be characterised as just a musical adaptation of some of the *mantras* from the *ṚV*[2]. And what is pertinent from our point of view is that, quite a large number of such *mantras* are taken from the ninth *maṇḍala*[3]. This fact also confirms the character of the ninth *maṇḍala* as the *maṇḍala* of the Soma-cult, for, the *Sāma Veda* is avowedly intended to be serviceable in connection with the *Soma*-ritual.

It may also be pointed out that the stanza-refrain, *indrāya indo parisrava* in the last three *sūktas* of this *maṇḍala*[4] clearly implies that these *sūktas* were intended to be employed to accompany the pressing of the *Soma*-juice. The connection of some other *sūktas* with the different items in the *Soma*-ritual would also become obvious even on a cursory perusal of those *sūktas*.

As has been already indicated, quite a large number of seers, to whom the *sūktas* in the ninth *maṇḍala* are traditionally ascribed, have figured in other *maṇḍalas*. Such are, for instance, Madhucchandas (IX.1), Medhātithi (IX,

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(1) The *sūktas* of the ninth *maṇḍala* are grouped into metre-groups, such as, the *Gāyatrī*-group (1–67), the *Jagatī*-group (68–86), the *Triṣṭubh*-group (87–97), the *Anuṣṭubh*-group (98–101), the *Uṣṇik*-group (102–106), the *Pragātha*-group (107–108) and miscellaneous (109–114).

(2) The word *sāma* is explained by scholiasts as : सा च अमश्च इति तत्साम्नः सामत्वम् । (*BĀU* I·3·22). *sā* stands for a *ṛk* and *ama* means षड्जर्षभादितानरूपः स्वरः । *Sāma*, thus, means स्वरविशिष्टा ऋक्. The *ṛk* is first transformed into *sāmayoni-mantra* merely by changing the method of marking the accents. In a *sāmayoni-mantra*, the *Udātta* is indicated by the figure 1 placed above the syllable, the *Svarita* by the figure 2 and the *anudātta* by the figure 3. This *sāmayoni-mantra* is then worked upon by the *svaramaṇḍala* and the six *sāmavikāras* and is thereby rendered into a proper *sāman*. The *ṛks* which form the basis of the Sāmans in the *Pūrvārcika* of the *Sāma-Veda* are taken out of their original context in the *ṚV* and are treated each by itself. In the *Uttarārcika* groups of verses—usually three verses closely connected with oneanother—are taken to make up *Sāmans*.

(3) Out of 1504 *ṛks* taken as basis of *Sāmans* in the *Sāma Veda*, as many as 549 are from the ninth *maṇḍala*. Next comes the eighth *maṇḍala* with 362, and then the first *maṇḍala* with 206 and the tenth with 102.

(4) *ṚV* IX·112–114.

2,4), Śunaḥśepa (IX.3), Hiraṇyastūpa (IX.69), Asita and Devala (IX.5-7·8–24), Dṛḷhacyuta (IX.25), Idhmavāha (IX.26), Rāhūgaṇa Gotama (IX.107), Śyāvāśva (IX.32), Trita (IX.102), Rahūgaṇa (IX.37–38), Medhyātithi (IX.41-43), Nidhruvi (IX.63), Kaśyapa (IX.64, 67. 4–6,91,92,113–114), Vatsapri Bhālandana (IX.68), Reṇu (IX.70), Kakṣīvān (I.116–125, 126.15, IX.74), Vasu (IX.80–82), Vena (IX.85), Atri Bhauma (IX.67.10–12, IX.86.41–45, X.137.7), Gṛtsamada (IX.86.46–48), Vasiṣṭha (IX.90), Nodhas (IX.93), Kaṇva (IX.94), Praskaṇva (IX.95), Pratardana Daivodāsi (IX.96), Vasiṣṭha (IX.97.1–3), Pramati (IX.97.4–6), Vṛṣagaṇa (IX.97.7–9), Manyu (IX.97–10–12), Upamanyu (IX.97.13–15), Vyāghrapād (IX.97.16–18), Karṇaśrut (IX.97.22–24), Mṛḷīka (IX.97.25–27), Vasukra (IX.97.28–30), Parāśara Śāktya (IX.97.31–44), Kutsa (IX.97.45–58); Ambarīṣa (IX.98), Ṛjiśvan (IX.98), Rebhasūnu (IX.99–100), Viśvāmitra (IX.101.13–16); Parvata and Nārada (IX.104–105), Gaurivīti (IX.108.1–2), Śakti (IX.108–14–16); Ṛṇañcaya (IX.108.12–13), and Tryaruṇa and Trasdasyu (IX.110).

As these seers have been already treated in the respective contexts, we need not advert to them again in the present context.[5] We shall refer only to such seers of the ninth *maṇḍala* as have not been mentioned in connection with the other *maṇḍalas*. It may, however, be pointed out, at the outset, that very little information of culture-historical significance is available in respect of a majority of these seers.

Nṛmedha

Nṛmedha is said to be the author of IX.27[6] and 29 and VIII.87–88. He is also the joint author, with Purumedha, of VIII.89–90 and 98–99. His name occurs in X.80.3. and X.132.7. Śakapūta who is the seer of X.132.7 is said to be his son. Nṛmedha is traditionally said to have belonged to the Āṅgirasa family.[7]

Priyamedha

Priyamedha, the seer of IX.28 and VIII.57–58, is described as an Āṅgirasa. Sindhukṣit, who is the author of X.75 is said to be his son. It is possible that Nṛmedha, Purumedha, and Priyamedha were brothers as is indicated by the *medha*-ending of their names.[8] Priyamedha is also mentioned as joint author of VIII.2 with Brahmātithi. The sons or descendants of Priyamedha are said

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(5) A table showing the classification of the seers of the ninth *maṇḍala* according to the families to which they belong, is given at the end of this chapter.

(6) Attention may be drawn to the rhetorical repetition of the word, *eṣa*, at the beginning of each stanza of this *sūkta*. Such rhetorical repetition must indeed, be said to be the characteristic of several other *sūktas*, such as IX·28 (*eṣa*), IX·26 (*tam*), IX·22 (*ete.*), IX·15 (*eṣa*), IX·37 (*sa*), etc. There are also other rhetorical devices employed in this *maṇḍala*, such as, stanza-refrains (IX·4; 112–114) and the frequent use of different derivatives from the root, *pū*.

(7) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·40.

(8) **Ketkar**, *Jñānakośa*, III, p·101, suggests that Priyamedha must be a Kāṇva but his conjecture does not seem to have been corroborated by evidence.

to have acted as priests of Udamaya Ātreya, who himself was the priest of king Aṅga.[9] This Aṅga was the son of Bali who had patronised Dīrghatamas. The *TS*[10] mentions three Praiyamedhas who, after a disputation, came to the conclusion that the *agnihotrahoma* is to be performed twice in a day. The *GB*[11] refers to the Praiyamedhas as Bhāradvājas. Priyamedha makes a reference to Indrota, the son of Divodāsa.[12]

Bindu, Prabhūvasu, Bṛhanmati

Bindu, the seer of IX.30, Prabhūvasu, the seer of IX.35–36 and V.35.36 and Bṛhanmati, the seer of IX.39–40, are all said to have belonged to the Āṅgirasa family.[13] But they are not mentioned elsewhere in the Veda.

Ayāsya[14]

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa is the seer of IX.44–46 and X.67–68.[15] In the *AB*[16] he is said to have acted as the *Udgātṛ* priest at the sacrifice performed by king Hariścandra.[17]

Kavi

The authorship of IX.47–49 and 75–79 is traditionally ascribed to Kavi, who is said to have been a Bhārgava.[18] This Kavi seems to have been the same as the father of Uśanas,[19] who is always referred to as Uśanas Kāvya.[20]

Ucathya

Ucathya is the seer of IX.50–52. In the *MBh* he is referred to as the son of Āṅgiras.[21] Mamatā was his wife, Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta, his brothers, and Dīrghatamas his son.[22] Ucathya seems to have been a contemporary of Māndhātṛ to whom he is said to have delivered a sermon on *Kṣatradharma*.[23] Presumably Ucathya was Māndhātṛ's priest, along with Vasuhoma.

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(9) Cf. *AB* VIII·22.

(10) *TS* 2·1·9·1.

(11) *GB* 1·3·15.

(12) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·57·15, 17.

(13) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, pp·43, 49, 53.

(14) For further details about Ayāsya, please see the tenth chapter.

(15) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, op. cit. p·61. Cf. also *ṚV*, X·108·8.

(16) *AB* 33·4.

(17) It is significant that a seer of the ninth *maṇḍala* should be mentioned as an *Udgātṛ* priest. Such a mention would seem to confirm the organic relation between the ninth *maṇḍala* and the *Sāma-Veda*.

(18) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·64.

(19) He is the author of VIII·84 and IX·87–89.

(20) Cf. however, *Bhagavadgītā* X·37 : कवीनामुशना कविः ।

(21) *MBh.*, Śāntiparvan, 350.

(22) For further details about Dīrghatamas and Kakṣīvān please see the tenth chapter.

(23) *MBh*, Śāntiparvan, 90.

Avatsāra

Avatsāra is the seer of IX.53–60 and V.44. The *AB*[24] says of him that as the result of the performance of the sacrifice of five oblations, he attained *agniloka*. The *Śāṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*[25] refers to him as Avatsāra Prāśravaṇa. In V.44.10, Avatsāra mentions himself along with Evāvada and Sadhri[26] and boasts of the power of his hymns thus : "We shall obtain by our excellent *sūktas*, the *sūktas* of Evāvada, Sadhri, and Avatsāra, that strength which is covetable even to the learned." In IX.58.3, Avatsāra seems to make a reference to his patrons, Dhvasra and Puruṣanti, and to the gifts which he received from them. We get some more information about Avatsāra's contemporaries from Sāyaṇa's commentary on this *ṛk*.[27] There we are told that Taranta and Purumīḷha, the sons of Vidadaśva, also received gifts from kings, Dhavasra and Puruṣanti, as Avatsāra had formerly received gifts from them. According to the *Purāṇas*, Avatsāra is the brother of Arundhatī, who is the wife of Vasiṣṭha.[28]

Amahīyu

Amahīyu, who is credited with the authorship of IX.61 is called an Āṅgirasa.[29] In his *sūkta* he refers to Divodāsa, Śambara, Turvaśa and Yadu.[30] Urukṣaya, who is the author of X.118, is said to have been his son.

Jamadagni

Tradition ascribes to Jamadagni the authorship of IX.62. He is also mentioned with Bhṛgu, as an alternative author of IX.65. The first twentyone stanzas of IX.67 are believed to make up seven *tṛcas*, and each of these seven *tṛcas* is attributed to one of seven ancient *ṛṣis*. Among them figures Jamadagni Bhārgava who is said to have been responsible for stanzas 16–18. Jamadagni is further said to have been the author of III.62.16–18, VIII.101, X.110, 137 167. According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* he is the father of Paraśurāma and the son of Bhṛgu. Śakti Vāsiṣṭha is said to have vanquished Viśvāmitra in a discourse at the sacrifice performed by the Saudāsas. Jamadagni, however, imparted to Viśvāmitra, the *Sasarparī* lore which helped to dispel the discomfiture of the latter.[31] In connection with this legend Jamadagni is referred to as being

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(24) *AB* II·24.

(25) *Śāṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* 13·3.

(26) It is suggested that the words *Kṣatra*, *Manasa* and *Yajata* occurring in that stanza, are also the names of seers associated with Avatsāra. **Geldner,** *Der Rigveda*, II, p·49, regards Kṣatra Manasa as being the name of a single seer and Evāvada, meaning 'speaker of truth' as an epithet of Yajata.

(27) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·73.

(28) Cf. **Mankad,** *Date of Rigveda*, p·30.
For further information about Avatsāra see chapter on the Śatarcins.

(29) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·75.

(30) *ṚV* IX·61·19.

(31) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·53·15–16.

very old (*palasti.*). In VIII. 101 Jamadagni eulogises a cow and exhorts the people not to kill her.[32]

In a *rājasūya* sacrifice performed by king Hariścandra Vaidhasa, Jamadagni is said to have officiated as the Adhvaryu.[33] He is also said to have performed the *Catūrātra yāga* which annihilated poverty from his family.[34] In the *AV* he is mentioned along with Asita, Atri, Kaṇva and Vītahavya in the *Kṛmināśana-sūkta.*[35] Similarly, in the *Keśavardhana-sūkta* of Vītahavya, Jamadagni is said to have dug out the medicinal herb *keśavardhanī* for his daughter.[36] Jamadagni is also the author of the *Āprī-sūkta* in the tenth *maṇḍala.*[37] This indicates the existence of the Jamadagnis as a separate *gotra* before the end of the Ṛgvedic period.

It is indeed surprising that in the *ṚV*, the Jāmadagnyas should occupy a comparatively inconspicuous position.[38] In the *sūtra*-lists, however, they have assumed a position of a very great importance. Not only are they numerically one of the largest of the *gotras* but they invariably come first in the *pravara*-lists. From the point of view of the *sūtras*, they are in fact, the Bhṛgus *par-excellence*. The Jāmadagnyas seem to have completely superseded the ancient Gṛtsamadas, who came to be relegated to the Kevala-Bhārgavas.

According to the *MBh*, Jamadagni was the son of Ṛcīka Bhārgava and Satyavatī who was the daughter of Gādhirāja. Reṇukā is said to be Jamadagni's wife from whom five sons—Rumaṇvān, Suṣeṇa, Vasumān, Viśvāvasu, and Paraśurāma, were born. A number of legends indicating his irascible temper are given in the *Purāṇas*. The Kṣārtavīryas of the Haihaya country are said to have killed Jamadagni. His son Paraśurāma, therefore, took revenge upon the entire community of the Ksatriyas and annihilated it 21 times. The *MBh*[39] states that it was Jamadagni who first introduced the *Śrāddha*-rite.

Bhṛgu

Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa, is traditionally mentioned as the alternate author, with Jamadagni, of IX.65 and with Mathita and Cyavana, of X.19.

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(32) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·101·15 :

मा॒ता रु॒द्राणां॑ दुहि॒ता वसू॑नां॒ स्वसा॑दित्याना॑म॒मृतस्य॒ नाभिः ।
प्र नु वो॑चं चिकि॒तु॒षे जना॑य॒ मा गामना॑गा॒मदितिं वधिष्ट ॥

(33) *AB* 7·16.

(34) Cf. *TS* 7·1·9·1 and *PB* 21·10.

(35) *AV* II·32·3.

(36) *AV* VI·137·1.

(37) *ṚV* X·110.

(38) Cf. **Brough** ("History of the Gotras", *JRAS* 1946), conjectures that in origin the *AV* represents the tribal collection of the Aryan community distinct from that in which the *ṚV* grew up. If the Jamadagni-Bhṛgus may be taken as in some way representing this tribe, their growth in power and position in the post-Ṛgvedic society can easily be understood since their knowledge of charms and spells would be very highly thought of.

(39) *MBh, Āśrama. p.* 95·3.

Though the members of the family of Bhṛgu have played quite a significant role in the composition of the Veda, it is indeed, curious that Bhṛgu himself should have been mentioned as an author only very rarely.[40] As a matter of fact, Bhṛgu seems to have come to be regarded almost as a mythical figure already in the early Vedic period. His being described as the son of Varuṇa is presumably indicative of this fact.

The name Bhṛgu occurs eighteen times in the *ṚV*—in all passages except one, in the plural form. Even in the single passage, where it occurs in singular namely I.60.1, there is reason to suppose that it denotes all Bhṛgus collectively. There is again only one single occurrence of the adverbial form, *bhṛguvat*.[41] It, thus, becomes almost impossible to derive from the *ṚV* any information about Bhṛgu, the progenitor of the Bhārgava family.

Various legends are narrated in the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature regarding the nativity of Bhṛgu. The *PB*,[42] for instance, attributes his paternity to Varuṇa and he is described as Vāruṇi Bhṛgu also in the *ŚB*,[43] the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[44] and the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*.[45] According to the *AB* he was born from a third part of the semen of Prajāpati,[46] while the *TB* tells us that he was born from Indra's semen.[47] The *MBh*, however, gives different accounts of his birth.[48] The Ādiparvan[49] informs us that Bhṛgu was born from the heart of Brahman. The Anuśāsanaparvan,[50] on the other hand, informs that Bhṛgu was born from the seed of Prajāpati which had fallen in fire. In the *Purāṇas*[51] he is represented as having been one of the nine mental sons of Brahman, only the *Bhāgavata P.*[52] pointing out that he sprang from the skin of the creator. The *Manusmṛti* characterises Bhṛgu as 'fire-born' and styles him as 'Mānavo Bhṛguḥ'[53] It will be thus seen that in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *MBh*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛti*, some allegorical mode of describing the origin of Bhṛgu has been resorted to. This clearly indicates that, being a seer of remote antiquity, the tradition regarding his birth and parentage was completely forgotten.

legends /

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(40) Another seer to whose descendants, the authorship of quite a large portion of the *ṚV* is traditionally ascribed but who does not himself appear as the author of any of the *mantras*, not even rarely as does Bhṛgu, is Aṅgiras. A separate appendix to this chapter, dealing with Aṅgiras, is attached at the end of this chapter.

(41) *ṚV* VIII·43·13.

(42) *PB* 18·9·1.

(43) *ŚB* 11·6·1·1.

(44) *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 9·1.

(45) *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* I·3·1·1.

(46) *AB* 3·34.

(47) *TB* I·8·2·5.

(48) Cf. **Sukthankar**, "Epic studies VI, "The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata", *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp·1–76.

(49) *MBh* I·60·40. The *Vāyu P.* I·9·100 corroborates the account of the *MBh*.

(50) Chapter 95.

(51) Cf. *Vāyu P.* I·9·103.

(52) *Bhāgavata P.* III·12·23.

(53) *Manusmṛti* V·1, 2; VII·2.

Etymologically the word *Bhṛgu* has been derived from the root *bhṛj*, 'to burn, to roast'.[54] Yāska[55] derives it from the root *bhrajj*, to roast. The *MBh*[56] connects the word *bhṛgu* with *bhṛk* which means 'flame'. **Bergaigne**[57] equates Bhṛgu with fire while **Kuhn** and **Barth**[58] say that Bhṛgu represents the fire in the form of lightning.[59] One thing would emerge from all this, namely, that Bhṛgu was believed to have been associated with fire in some special manner. It would, indeed, appear that, Bhṛgu (—and, after him, the Bhṛgus—) was regarded as the discoverer of fire for mankind. Fire is, however, described in the *ṚV* as having been discovered also by Mātariśvan. There is really no contradiction in such statements. For, Mātariśvan may be said to have discovered the physical phenomenon of fire, while Bhṛgu was traditionally believed to have been the first to utilise fire in Vedic ritual and to have thus been responsible for the 'ritualistic' discovery of fire.[60] It is often suggested that Mātariśvan found fire in its natural condition, while Bhṛgu produced it through his might, that is, through churning. It is well-known that it is this latter fire which plays such prominent role in ritual. This supposition is confirmed by the various passages in the *ṚV*, where the Bhṛgus are referred to. The Bhṛgus are mentioned about a dozen times in the *ṚV*, in the Agni-hymns, where they are chiefly connected with the bringing forth of fire to men. They are said have performed sacrifices and worshipped fire for divine birth.[61] It seems that fire was first brought forth by Mātariśvā, the messenger of Vivasvān, and he handed it over to Bhṛgu as a treasure.[62] Mātariśvā is said to have kindled the hidden Agni for the Bhṛgus.[63] In one passage, Bhṛgus are stated to have found out Agni, lurking in the waters.[64] Mātariśvā and the gods are said to have fashioned Agni for Manu while the Bhṛgus produced him with might.[65] Worshipping him in the waters the Bhṛgus placed him in the abode of Āyu or man.[66] Mātariśvā is said to have acted as a messenger to Vivasvān in bringing fire to Bhṛgu.[67] The Bhṛgus established

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(54) That root has its cognates in Greek *phlego*, in Latin *flagare*, fulere (to blaze).

(55) *Nirukta* 3·17.

(56) *MBh* 13·4122.

(57) Cf. **Sukthankar,** "The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata", *ABORI* XVII, p·2.

(58) Cf. **Sukthankar,** *op. cit.*

(59) Sāyaṇa, however, explains the word as : *bhṛgavaḥ bhraṣṭāraḥ haviṣām pāpānām vā* (*Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* I·127·7, VSM, I, p·807) and *bhṛgavaḥ pāpasya bharjakāḥ* (*Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* 1·143·4, VSM, I, p·897).

(60) **weller** ("who were the Bhṛguids ?" *ABORI* XVIII, p·300) compares Mātariśvan to Prometheus. **Bergaigne** (**Sukthankar** *op. cit.*) identifies Bhṛgu with Agni. **Kuhn** and **Barth** (**Sukthankar,** *op. cit*) agreed in regarding the Bhṛgus as personifications of lightning flash and **Kuhn** has tried to harmonize the Greek myth with the Vedic. **Pandit,** in his *Vedārthayatna* (Vol. I, pp·866-69), identifies Mātariśvā with lightning, Vivasvān with *Yajamāna*, Bhṛgus with ancient sacrificers and Manu with human beings. **weber** (**Sukthankar,** *op. cit*) sees in the legend in the *ŚB* a relic of primitive Indo-Germanic mythology.

(61) Cf. *ṚV* I·127·7, I·158·6.

(62) *ṚV* I·60·1. I·93·6.

(63) *ṚV* III·5·10.

(64) *ṚV* II·4·2.

(65) *ṚV* X·46·9.

(66) *ṚV* II·4·2.

(67) *ṚV* VI·8·4.

Agni in the woods as a friend,[68] or as a treasure among men;[69] Agni is accordingly described as Bhṛgu's gift.[70] The Bhṛgus rubbed the *Araṇīs* and invoked fire with prayer.[71] They cause Agni to shine forth in the woods with songs of praise.[72] They brought him to the navel of the earth.[73]

The various legends[74] about the bringing of fire to the earth which are alluded to by ancient *ṛṣis* prove beyond doubt that Agni was brought from afar by some super-human agency. The discoverer, as we have seen above, is always mentioned as Mātariśvan, a being, whose nature is not explained and who is said to have brought 'Agni' 'from heaven' and to have given him as a gift to the Bhṛgus. These latter, in their turn, after having again concealed him in the woods, brought him forth and gave him to men—or to Manu—symbolically representing mankind as a whole. This can only mean that the illustrious priestly family of the Bhṛgus claimed that their ancestors taught men to produce fire by friction and also initiated them into the proper fire-cult.

As the ancient ancestors of mankind and particularly as the earliest sponsors of the fire-cult, the Bhṛgus are mentioned in the *ṚV* in association with the Aṅgirasas,[75] the Navagvas[76] and the Atharvanas.[77] They are, indeed, also said to have formed a special class of Pitṛs. The *AV* tells us that Bhṛgu went to heaven by offering sacrifice.[78] Their association with waters[79] and with the Maruts[80] is further indicative of their rapidly growing mythical character.

In a couple of passages they appear as model artisans and chariot-builders.[81] Such references seem to imply that, apart from being the principal initiators of the fire-cult, the Bhṛgus were well-known for their pioneering activity also in other spheres of social life. Other socio-historically significant references to the Bhṛgus are those where they are mentioned by the side of the Druhyus[82] where they are mentioned as the destroyers of Makha,[83] and where the progenitor of the family is said to have killed Vala.[84] The *MBh* mentions Bhṛgu as the progenitor of one of the *mūlagotras* along with Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha.[85]

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(68) *ṚV* VI·15·2.
(69) *ṚV* I·58·6.
(70) *ṚV* III·2·4.
(71) *ṚV* I·127·7.
(72) *ṚV* IV·7·1, X·122·5.
(73) *ṚV* I·143·4.
(74) Cf. *TS* 2·6·6 and 4·6·5·2.
(75) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·43·13 and X·14·6.
(76) Cf. *ṚV* X·14·6.
(77) Cf. *ṚV* X·14·6 and X·92·10.
(78) *AV* IV·14·3.
(79) *ṚV* VIII·35·3; X·46·9.
(80) *ṚV* VIII·35·3.
(81) *ṚV* IV·16·20; X·39·14.
(82) *ṚV* VII·18·6.
(83) *ṚV* IX·101·13.
(84) Cf. *AV* II·5·3.
(85) Cf. *MBh* XII·296·17.

The Bhṛgus are renowned also as the founders of the Ātharvaṇic religion along with the Atharvans and the Aṅgirasas. It is on account of this that the *AV* is also called the Bhṛgvaṅgirasa Veda. These seers believed not only in the Ṛgvedic deities but also in the Ātharvaṇic deities. They combined in themselves the offices of priest, physician, and magician and popularised the worship of the Pitṛs. The inherent unity among the members of the two families of the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas must have been stabilised even in the period of the *ṚV*. Indeed this unity seems to have been crystallised to such an extent that some seers get the denominations of both the families in later times. In the *MBh*, too, we find the continuation of the Vedic traditions about the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas. A common source is here mentioned of both.[86]

Several historical problems relating to the Bhṛgus have been mooted and discussed by scholars. For instance, an attempt is made by **Padmanabhayya**[87] to determine the probable cradle of the race of the Bhṛgus. According to him, Kuśadvīpa, Śālmalidvīpa, and Krauñcadvīpa show evident traces of the activities of the Bhṛgus. He says : "The migration of the Bhṛgus to this country must synchronise with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites, a branch of the ancient Hittites. Kaśyapa took the entire land from Paraśurāma, the last Bhārgava and banished him out of the country. This must have occurred about 2400 B. C." **Padmanābhayya** further suggests that the Bhṛgus were the Dravidians, the first to enter this country by the sea in South India. On the other hand, discussing the relations between the Aryans, the Indids and the Bhṛguids, **Weller** says,[88] "The extremely ancient Paraśurāma saga, in my opinion, is reminiscent of a hoary past in which the ancient Indian people were in possession of India, having overcome the autocthons and compelled them to retreat into the wildernesses. The central point of the saga of the Bhṛgvids, is, however, the struggle with the ancient Aryan military aristocracy, which took place in a much later epoch. The credit of the unification of the Aryans and the Indids in the *MBh* is principally due to the Bhṛgvids." It has also been suggested that the original home of the Bhṛugs had been somewhere towards the West, probably in Iran, whence they came to have migrated to this country and then, later on, in the south. Historically the Bhṛgus are believed to supply the connecting link between the Semitic and Aryan cultures.

The *Sarvānukramaṇī* mentions the following fourteen members of the family of the Bhṛgu as seers of Ṛgvedic *mantras* : Iṭa (X.171), Uśanas (IX. 87–89), Kavi (IX.47), Kṛtnu (VIII.79), Cyavana (X.19), Jamadagni (III.62 16–18; VIII.101, IX.62,65,67), Tānva (IX.93), Nema (X.89), Prayoga (VIII. 102), Pṛthu (X.148), Rāma (X.110), Somāhuti (II.4), Syūmaraśmi (X.77).[89]

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(86) Cf. *MBh* XIII·85·35. **Sukthankar** ("The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata", *ABORI*, XVIII, pp·1–76), has conclusively proved the great influence exerted by this very ancient clan of the Bhṛgus (which process he styles as '*bhṛguisation*') on the development and shaping of the epic. **Shende** ("The authorship of the *MBh*", XXIV, pp·67–82) has further pointed out that Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were jointly responsible for the final redaction of the *MBh*.

(87) "Ancient Bhṛgus", *JOR* Madras, Vol. 31, pp·55 and 80.

(88) "Who were the Bhṛguids", *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp·296–302.

(89) The role of these Bhārgava seers has been discussed in the relevant chapters.

In the ritual literature there are clear references to the Bhṛgus as an authentic family and to their special practices, such as those connected with the fire-piling and the mode of dividing the offerings. The family of the Bhṛgus seems to have been divided in later times between the Aitaśāyanas and the Ājāneyas.[90] The Bhṛgus are mentioned to have performed various rites such as *agnisthāpanī*[91] and the *daśapeyakratu*.[92]

Vaikhānasaḥ

A hundred Vaikhānasas are traditionally regarded as the seers of IX. 66.[93] The *Ārṣānukramaṇī*[94] characterises them as *asiddhagotrāḥ*, that is, whose *gotra* is not known or proved, that is why the tradition of the authorship of this *sūkta* is so vague. For, a hundred authors 'seeing' a single small *sūkta*, appears, on the face of it, quite unconvincing. It seems that the Vaikhānasas constituted a specific group of ascetics of the type of the *munis*.[95] The *TĀ*[96] tells us that they were born from the nails of Brahmā, who was practising penance, while from his flesh were born the Vātaraśanas and from his hair the Vālakhilyas. According to the *PB*[97] all of them were killed by Rahasyu Devamalimluc at the place called *munimaraṇa*. The *TĀ* further tells us that Puruhanman was one of the Vaikhānasas. Vamra Vaikhānasa is mentioned as the author of X.99. Elsewhere he is said to have been helped by Indra.[98]

The Seven Seers

The first twentyone stanzas of IX·67, which consists in all of 32 stanzas are grouped into seven *tṛcas*, and tradition ascribes the authorship of these seven *tṛcas* respectively to the seven seers, namely, Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati (1–3), Kaśyapa, the son of Marīca (4–6), Gotama (7–9), Atri (10–12), Viśvāmitra (13–15), Jamadagni (16–18), Vasiṣṭha (19–21), and Pavitra Āṅgirasa (22–32). It is needless to point out that these seven seers later on came to be known as the Saptarṣis and were identified later with the seven stars of the Great Bear. The last eleven stanzas are ascribed to Pavitra Āṅgirasa or to Vasiṣṭha or to both. As **Geldner** has rightly pointed out[99] this *sūkta* seems to be intended as a kind of

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(90) *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 30·5; Cf. also *AB* VI·33.
(91) *TS* 4·6·5·2.
(92) *TS* I·8·18 and *PB* 18·9·2.
(93) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·100 : शतसंख्याका वैखानसाख्याः संहता ऋषयः ।
(94) *Ārṣānukramaṇī* published by Bibl. Ind. p·262 :

असिद्धगोत्रास्तु पवस्व सूक्तं
वैखानसा नाम शतं विदुस्ते ।

(95) From a reference in the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa (I·24) about the *vaikhānasa vrata*, it appears that the Vaikhānasas were observing a peculiar vow, especially of celibacy.
(96) *TĀ* I·23·3; XIV·9·29.
(97) *PB* XIV·4·7.
(98) *ṚV* I·51·9 and I·112·15.
(99) *Der Rigveda*, III·55.

roundelay or glee (Rundgesang). Another very remarkable thing about this *sūkta* is that its last two stanzas[100] declare that whoever recites or learns these *pāvamānīs*, which, indeed, constitute the essence (*rasa*) brought together by the *ṛṣis* would obtain all the sweet blessings on this earth. These two stanzas are of the nature of a *phalaśruti* and clearly smack of lateness. It would appear that some member of the family either of Aṅgiras or of Vasiṣṭha, belonging to a later period, made up this *sūkta* out of the stanzas relating to Pavamāna, selected from the compositions of the seven traditionally recognised ancient seers. To this made-up *sūkta*, that later author appended a few of his own stanzas and a *phalaśruti*.[101] Presumably, the personal name of the author was forgotten. He, therefore, came to be called Pavitra which latter is obviously an artificial name derived from the subject-matter of the *sūkta*.

Vatsapri Bhālandana

Vatsapri, the son of Bhālandana, is the traditional seer of IX·68 and X·45–4–6. In his *sūktas*, included in the tenth *maṇḍala* he refers to : Bhṛgavaḥ (X·46·2), Vaibhūvasa (X·46·3), Mūra and Amūra (X·46·4), Trita (X·46·6), Bhṛgu and Manu (X·46·9). According to the *Purāṇas*,[102] the genealogy of Vatsapri will be as follows :

Manu Vaivasvata
|
Nābhāga
|
Bhalandana
|
Vatsapri

Vatsapri appears as the author also of the *TS* 2·1·6; the *Kāṭhaka S.* 19·12; and the *Maitrāyaṇī* S. 3·2·2. According to the *PB*[103] he is also the seer of a *sāman*. The *ŚB*[104] mentions a *vātsapra sāman* which is said to be conductive to the logevity of the people.

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(100) *ṚV* IX·67·31–32 : यः पा॑वमा॒नीर॒ध्येत्यृषि॑भिः॒ संभृ॑तं॒ रस॑म् ।
सर्वं॒ स पू॒तम॑श्नाति स्वदि॒तं मा॑त॒रिश्व॑ना
पा॒व॒मा॒नीर्यो॑ अ॒ध्येत्यृषि॑भिः॒ संभृ॑तं॒ रस॑म् ।
तस्मै॒ सर॑स्वती दुहे क्षी॒रं स॒र्पिर्मधू॑दकम्

(101) Cf. also **Vaidya,** *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p·67.

(102) Cf. *Bhāgavata P.* 9·2·23 and *Viṣṇu P.* 4·1·15.

(103) *PB* 12·11·25.

(104) *ŚB* 6·7·4·1.

According to the *Matsya P.*[105] and the *Brahmāṇḍa P.*,[106] Vatsapri's father Bhalandana, was a seer of *mantras* belonging to the *Vaiśya* caste[107] which he had to accept because of his *karma*. The *Brahmāṇḍa P.*,[108] however, tells us that he was eventually accepted to the Brahminhood. Bhalandana is said to have been a *gotrakāra* of the Atri-family.[109]

Ṛṣabha Vaiśvāmitra

Ṛṣabha, to whom the authorship of IX·71 is traditionally ascribed is the son of Viśvāmitra.[110] He must not, however, be confused with Ṛṣabha Yājñatura, the king of Śviknas, who is said to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[111]

Harimanta Āṅgirasa

Traditionally Harimanta is said to have been the seer of IX·72. He is described as an Āṅgirasa. **Ketkar**,[112] however, does not include him in the list of the Aṅgirasas. Harimanta is not known from any other sources.

Pavitra

The authorship of IX·73 is ascribed to Pavitra, who is said to have been an Āṅgirasa or a Vāsiṣṭha. He is also mentioned as the author of IX·83. Presumably this Pavitra is the same author who made up a roundelay out of the stanzas composed by the *Saptarṣis* (IX·67). As has been already indicated the tradition regarding the personal name of this author was lost and a fictitious name is, therefore, given to him. It is significant that the *sūkta* IX·83 begins with the word *pavitram*. His family-relations also seem to be doubtful.

Vasu Bhāradvāja

The *Anukramaṇī* ascribes the authorship of IX·80–82 to Vasu, who is called a Bhāradvāja. No further information, however, about him is available in the *ṚV* and elsewhere.

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(105) *Matsya P.* 145–146.

(106) Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa* P. 2·32·121 and *Mārkaṇḍeya* P. 113·3. The latter *Purāṇa* informs us that he married Saunandā alias Mudāvatī, the daughter of Vidūratha.

(107) Op. cit. Cf. also *Baudhāyana ŚS* : वैश्यानां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति, भालन्दन—वात्सप्रि—मांकीलेति । and also *Āpastamba ŚS* which, however, says एकार्षेया विशो वात्सप्रीति ।

(108) *Brahmāṇḍa P.* 7·42.

(109) **Citrav,** *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p·399.

(110) Cf. *AB* VII·17.

(111) Cf. *ŚB* 13·5·4·15.

(112) *Jñānakośa*, III, p·103. **Ketkar**'s conjecture seems to have been based on the fact that Atri is the author of IX·86.·41–45 There is also another possibility of his being misled by the statement of the *Anukramaṇī*...... सिकता नीवावरी द्वितीये त्रयश्चतुर्थे ......etc. He seems to have read this as सिकता नीवावरी द्वितीयेत्रयश्चतुर्थं ......etc.

Prajāpati Vācya or Vaiśvāmitra

The tradition ascribes the authorship of IX·84 to Prajāpati, the son of Vāk. He is said to have been the author also of IX·101·13–16, but there he is described as Prajāpati Vācya or Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra. The author of III·38·54–56 also is, according to the *Anukramaṇī*, Prajāpati Vācya or Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra. Both the personal name, Prajāpati and the family-name, Vācya, are, however, evidently fictitious. They may have been given to an author who was a descendant of Viśvāmitra. **Mankad** seems to assume two different Prajāpatis having two different patronyms[113].

The three ṛṣi–groups

The **Anukramaṇī** groups the first thirty-stanzas of IX·86 into three decades and ascribes their authorship respectively to the three specific *ṛṣi*-groups with peculiar double-names, namely, Akṛṣṭāḥ Māṣāḥ, Sikatāḥ, Nivāvarīḥ, and Pṛśniyaḥ Ajāḥ.[114] The fourth decade is ascribed to the three groups together. It is quite obvious that these names, which are but three common nouns with adjectives, are artificial and could not have been the original names of *ṛṣi*-groups. There are, however, no indications available, either in this *sūkta* or elsewhere, how these names could have been at all thought of. Do they indicate any special peculiarities of the ways of life adopted by those *ṛṣi*-groups ? **Ketkar** characterises the first and the third group as Ātreyas[115]—but without any apparent justification.

Uśanas

Tradition ascribes the authorship of IX·87–89 to Uśanas. Particularly in respect of X·87, this is obviously a mistake occasioned by a wrong understanding of the third stanza in that *sūkta*.[116] Uśanas is mentioned as the author of VIII·87 also. The *TS*[117] mentions him to be the priest of the *dānavas*. According to the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*[118] he was the supporter of the Asuras. The various *Purāṇas* give his parentage differently as follows :

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(113) *Date of Rigveda*, p·20.

(114) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·161 : तथा चानुक्रान्तं प्रतेऽष्टाचत्वारिंशदृषिगणा दशर्चा आकृष्टा भाषा: प्रथमे...... ।

(115) Please refer to foot-note 112.

(116) *ṚV* IX·87·3 : ऋषि॒र्विप्रः॑ पुरए॒ता जना॑नामृ॒भुर्धीर॑ उ॒शना॒ काव्ये॑न ।
स चि॑द्वि॒वेद॒ निहि॑तं॒ यदा॑सामपी॒च्यं१॒ गुह्यं॒ नाम॒ गोना॑म्

(117) *TS* 2·5·8.

(118) *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* 2·7·2–6.

	The *Purāṇa*	Parentage of Uśanas
(1)	The *Matsya P.* 249·7 and the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* 73·31–34	Vāruṇi Bhṛgu and Pulomā
(2)	The *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* I·106	Bhṛgu and Uṣas
(3)	The *Bhāgavata P.* 4·1	Kavi and Khyāti
(4)	The *Brahmāṇḍa P.* 3·1·74	Bhṛgu and Divyā

The names of the wife, son and daughter of Uśanas are also given differently by the *Purāṇas* :

	The *Purāṇa*	The name of the wife of Uśanas	The name of his son or daughter
(1)	The *Bhāgavata P.* 5·1	Ūrjasvatī, the daughter of Priyavrata	Devayānī
(2)	The *Matsya P.* 47	Jayantī, the daughter of Purandara	Devayānī
(3)	The *Bhāgavata P.* 7·5·1	Āṅgī, the daughter of the Pitṛs	Saṇḍa, Marka, Tvaṣṭṛ and Varutrin
(4)	The *Brahmāṇḍa P.* 3·1·74	Gau, the daughter of the Pitṛs	—
(5)	The *MBh*, Udyogaparvan, 117	Śataparvā	—
(6)	The *Padma P.* 37	—	Arajā

The name of Uśanas occurs seventeen times[119] in the *ṚV* and is to be met with in all the *maṇḍalas* except the second, the third and the seventh. It also occurs once in the *AV*. A close scrutiny of all these passages would give us the following information about him.

(1) He was regarded as one of the best poets and a learned *ṛṣi*[120]. Uśanas has become a standard of comparison for gods and sometimes he is said to have been associated with gods.

(2) In IX·87·3, he is referred to as being a *ṛṣi vipra* and a leader (*puraetā*) of the people. He is stated to have discovered the hidden nature of the cows and of their mysterious title.

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(119) Cf. *ṚV* I·51·10–11, 83·5, 121·12, 130·9; IV·16·2, 26·1; V·29·9, 31·8, 34·2; VI·20·11; VIII·7·26, 23·17; IX·87·3, 97·7; X·22·6, 40·7. Cf. also *AV* IV·29·5.

(120) In the *Bhagavadgītā* X·37 also Kṛṣṇa says that he is Uśanas among the *kavis*.

(3) He is said to have established fire for Manu (VIII·23·17). This seems to have been corroborated by Vāmadeva's utterances in IV·26·1.

(4) Uśanas is frequently associated with Indra and Kutsa.[121] Uśanas is said to have increased the vigour of Indra.[122] At another place he is said to have fashioned a thunderbolt for Indra.[123] Indra is reported to have given him plenty of wealth.[124]

(5) In I·130·9, Uśanas is invoked for help.

It would be thus seen that the passages in the *ṚV* refer to Uśanas, the son of Kavi, as an authentic person.[125] In later literature, Uśanas has been described as the preceptor of the Asuras, who were contesting with the gods, and is referred to as Śukrācārya.[126]

The *MBh*[127] tells us that Bhṛgu had two sons. First was Śukra, who was the preceptor of the *daityas* and the gods and the second, Cyavana. Both are often spoken of as Bhārgavas. The former is sometimes called Kavi,[128] sometimes mentioned as distinct from Kavi[129] and more often referred to as Kavi's son[130] or as Kāvya.[131] In the *MBh* Śukra is generally associated with the *dāityas*, the *dānavas*, and the *Asuras* and is mentioned as having been their *guru*, *ācārya*, *upādhyāya*, *purohita*, and *yājaka*. In later notices, he becomes the *guru* and *ācārya* of both the gods and the *Asuras*. He is believed to have possessed the power to restore the slain *Asuras* to life by means of a potent spell called *Mṛta-saṁjīvanī*, which he is said to have obtained from Śiva. Kaca, who was the son of Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, succeeded, by strategem, in learning the spell from Śukra, and thus helped the gods to vanquish the *Asuras*.

Śukra seems to have been connected rather with the central region of Northern India, for, Yayāti, the king of Pratiṣṭhāna, is said to have met his daughter Devayānī near his own territory and married her. It may be further pointed out that Kapālamocana on the Sarasvatī is called the Auśanasa Tīrtha.[132]

The foregoing account of Uśanas Śukra as given in the *MBh* and the account of Kāvya Uśanas in the *ṚV*, if carefully sifted and compared would lead us to the conclusion that the two are identical.

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(121) Cf. ṚV V·29·9; 31·8. **Ketkar** (*Jñānakoṣa*, III, p·71) conjectures from V·29·9 that Uśanas must have been the priest of Kutsa to whose house Indra came when Uśanas invoked him.

(122) *ṚV* I·51·10. (123) *ṚV* I·121·12. (124) *ṚV* VI·20·11.

(125) **Chapekar** ("Uśanā Kāvya", *Prasāda*, September, 1950), however, argues that Uśanas must have originally denoted, the planet Śukra (Venus), the harbinger of dawn, and that, later on, this planet must have been apotheosised.

(126) Like the Ṛgvedic personalities, Trita, Yama and Kṛśāśva who also appear in the Persian heroic poetry as Thraetan (the descendant of Āthvya), Yima and Karesaspa respectively, Uśanas Kāvya also appears as Kaus (Kava Uś) at a later period in the Persian legends. Unfortunately, the stories about Kava Uś are very few and brief.

(127) *MBh* I·66·2605–1. (128) *MBh* I·76·3196. (129) *MBh* I·66·2606.

(130) *MBh* I·66·2606. (131) *MBh* I·85·3527.

(132) **Kane,** *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p·763.

Andhīgu

The *sūkta*, IX·101, is again a kind of roundelay, the first twelve stanzas of which have been grouped into four *tṛcas* each *tṛca* being ascribed to a different seer. The last four stanzas of the *sūkta* are, as indicated elsewhere, the composition of Prajapati Vācya, alternatively mentioned as Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra who must have been responsible for making the *sūkta* into a homogeneous whole The first *tṛca* of the *sūkta* is ascribed to Andhīgu, who is said to have been the son of Śyāvāśva Ātreya. A reference to the latter has already been made in the chapter dealing with the Atris.

Yayāti

Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa, is traditionally believed to have been the seer of the second *tṛca* of IX·101. This Yayāti seems to have been referred to in I·31·17 and in X·63·1,[133] as a model for sacrificers. His genealogy can be reconstructed from the *Purāṇas*[134] as follows :

Āyu (m. Virajā, the daughter of the Pitṛs)
|
Nahuṣa (He was transformed into a boa)
|
Yati | Saṁyati | Āyati | Yayāti

Yayāti is said to have married Devayānī, the daughter of Śukra, as well as Śarmiṣṭhā. His sons, according to the *Vāyu P.* 2·31 and the *Kūrma P.* 1·22, were Turvasu and Yadu born from Devayānī and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru from Śarmiṣṭhā. Before taking to a forest-life, Yayāti divided his kingdom amongst his sons. There is a place called Yāyātatīrtha[136] on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, which seems to have been named after him. It may be assumed on the basis of the Purānic accounts that his kingdom had extended from the Himālayas up to the central provinces. The genealogy of Yayāti as given above, does not, however, tally, with the genealogy as given by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*[136] which gives it as follows :

Savarṇa
|
Manu (Sāvarṇi or Sāvarṇya)
|
Nahuṣa
|
Yayāti

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(133) *ṚV* I·31·17 : मनु॒ष्वद॑ग्ने अङ्गि॒रस्वद॑ङ्गिरो ययाति॒वत् सद॑ने पूर्व॒वच्छु॑चे ।

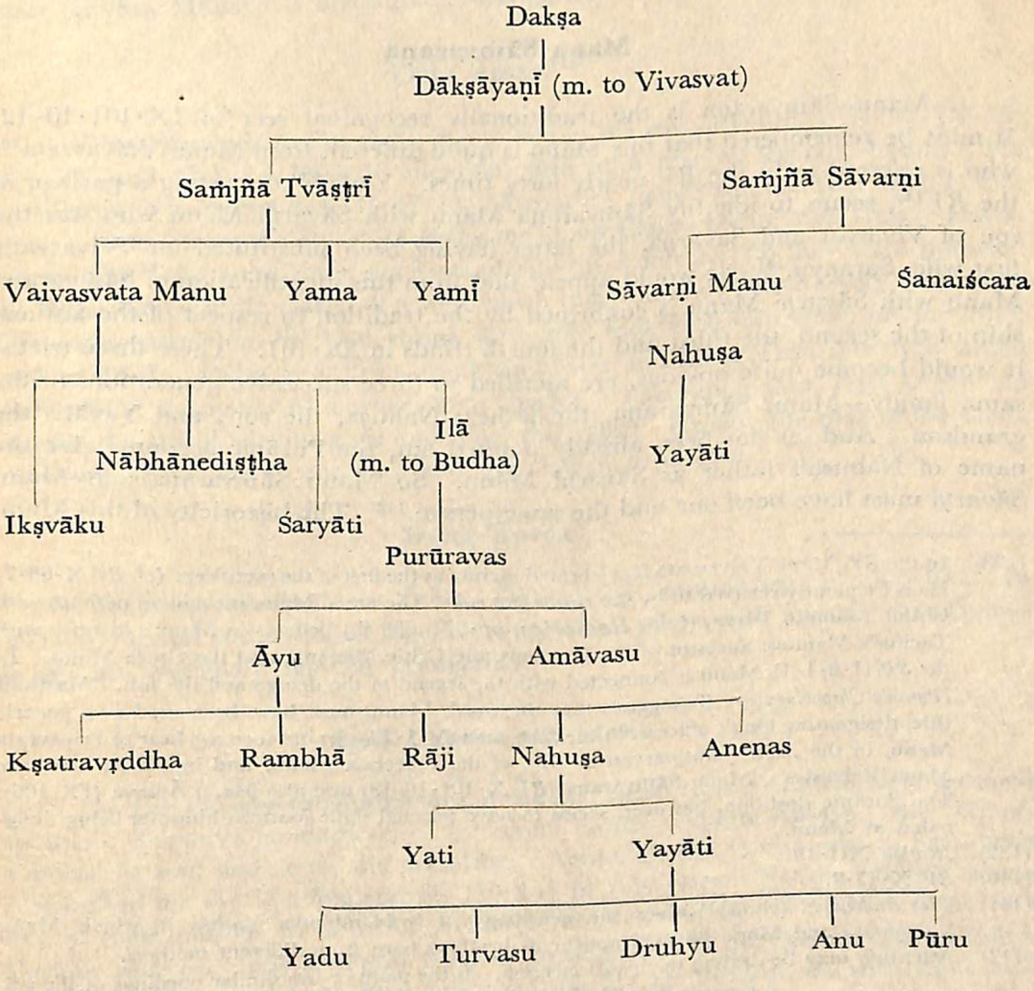
and *ṚV* X·63·1 : ययाते॒र्ये न॑हु॒ष्य॑स्य ब॒र्हिषि॑ दे॒वा आस॑ते॒ ते अधि॑ ब्रुवन्तु नः ।

(134) Cf. *Matsya P.* 15·23.

(135) **Kane,** *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p·825.

(136) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·231.

The only thing common to these two Yayātis—the Paurāṇic and the Ṛgvedic—is that both of them are Nāhuṣas. In *ṚV* X·62·8, there is a eulogy of king Manu, the son of Savarṇa. The *ṛṣi* of that hymn is Nābhānediṣṭha. In X·62·11 there occurs a sort of blessing to Sāvarṇi Manu. In X·62·10 Yadu and Turva are mentioned and Sāyaṇa[137] characterises them as *Rājarṣis*. The question now is : How are we to reconcile the account of Yayāti as given in the *Purāṇas* with the one given by the *Sarvānukramaṇī ?* A hypothesis may be hazarded in this connection. On the basis of the information given in the *Purāṇas*, it is possible to assume that there were two Yayātis whose genealogies could be synchronised as follows :


Dakṣa
Dākṣāyaṇī (m. to Vivasvat)
Saṁjñā Tvāṣṭrī
Saṁjñā Sāvarṇi
Vaivasvata Manu
Yama
Yamī
Sāvarṇi Manu
Śanaiścara
Nahuṣa
Nābhānediṣṭha
Ilā
(m. to Budha)
Yayāti
Ikṣvāku
Śaryāti
Purūravas
Āyu
Amāvasu
Kṣatravṛddha
Rambhā
Rāji
Nahuṣa
Anenas
Yati
Yayāti
Yadu
Turvasu
Druhyu
Anu
Pūru

It would now appear that Yayāti, the seer of IX·101·4–6, is not the Yayāti who is mentioned as the great grandson of Purūravas. The Yayāti of the *ṚV* must have been more or less contemporaneous with Nābhānediṣṭha. Such an assumption would seem to conform with the tradition mentioned in the *Sarvānukramaṇī*,

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(137) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, op. cit., p·494.

namely, that Nābhānediṣṭha is the seer of X·62·11, which contains a eulogy of Manu Sāvarṇi. However, even with this hypothesis, the contemporaneity of Manu Sāvarṇi with Yadu and Turva, which is clearly indicated in X·62·10, would remain unexplained.

Nahuṣa

The third triad in IX·101 is ascribed to Nahuṣa, who was presumably the son of Manu Sāṁvaraṇa. It is difficult to determine whether this Nahuṣa is to be identified with the Nahuṣa, who is mentioned in VIII·46·27.

Manu Sāṁvaraṇa

Manu Sāṁvaraṇa is the traditionally recognised seer of IX·101·10–12. It must be remembered that this Manu is quite different from Manu Vaivasvata[138] who is referred to in the *ṚV* nearly forty times. Yāska[139] discussing a passage in the *ṚV*[140], seems to identify Sāṁvaraṇa Manu with Sāvarṇi Manu who was the son of Vivasvat and Savarṇā, the latter having been substituted for Vivasvat's first wife, Saraṇyu.[141] It would appear that from this identification of Sāṁvaraṇa Manu with Sāvarṇi Manu is confirmed by the tradition in respect of the authorship of the second, the third and the fourth triads in IX·101. These three triads, it would become quite obvious, are ascribed to three successive generations of the same family—Manu Sāṁvaraṇa, the father; Nahuṣa, the son; and Yayāti, the grandson. And, as has been already pointed out, the Purāṇic accounts give the name of Nahuṣa's father as Sāvarṇi Manu. So Manu Sāṁvaraṇa and Manu Sāvarṇi must have been one and the same person.[142] The historicity of this Manu

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(138) In the *ṚV*, Manu Vaivasvata is celebrated mainly as the first of the sacrificers (cf. *ṚV* X·63·7) He is frequently referred to by the *ṛṣis* as *pitā naḥ*. The name Manu is cognate perhaps with Gothic Manus. **Rhys**, (*Celtic Heathandom*, pp·377, 659 ff.) believes in Manu's identity with Tacitus's Mannus, ancestor of the Germans, the Celtic Manann, and the Greek Minos. In the *ŚB* (I·8·1·1) Manu is connected with the legend of the deluge and the fish. **Mankad** (*Puranic Chronology*, p·18) suggests that the word, Manu, must have been used as a generic title, designating king's office. In the *Bhāgavata* (V·1·22), for instance, we hear of Priyavrata Manu, in the *MBh* (Śāntiparvan 57·43), of the Prācetasa Manu, and in the *ṚV* we have Manu Vaivasvata, Manu Sāṁvaraṇa (*ṚV* X·101·10–13) and also Manu Āpsava (IX·106). The Purāṇic tradition, however, seems to have selected some fourteen kings for being designated as Manu.

(139) *Nirukta* XII·10.

(140) *ṚV* X·17·2.

(141) The *Brahma P.* (ch. III) gives the genealogy of Svāyambhuva Vaṁśa in which Manu Vaivasvata and Manu Sāvarṇi appear as brothers born from different mothers.

(142) Attention may be drawn, in this connection, to the more or less similar openings of the two hymns VIII·51 (य॒था म॒नौ॑ सां॑वरणौ॒ सो॑मामि॒न्द्रापि॑बः सुतम्) and VIII·52 (यथा॒ म॒ना विवं॑स्वति सो॑मं शक्रापि॑बः सुतम्) Do these *pādas* suggest that Manu Sāṁvaraṇa and Manu Vivasvat were one and the same person ? **Bloomfield** (*JAOS* 15, p·179) thinks that they were. But as **Geldner** (*Der Rigveda* II, p·373) has pointed out they have to be distinguished from each other. According to **Geldner** (*ibid*), the personality of Sāṁvaraṇi Manu is historical while that of Vivasvat Manu is rather mythical.

is clearly indicated by his being referred to as a contemporary of Yadu and Turva.[143] The latter part of the hymn, X·62, consisting of stanzas 8 to 11, is a kind of *dānastuti* referring to the liberality of Sāvarṇi Manu. In X·62·11, Manu is characterised as *grāmaṇī*. In the *ŚB*[144] it is said that a *gramaṇī* was usually a *vaiśya*. And, at the time of the setting up of the sacred fires, a *vaiśya* sacrificer invokes Manu Grāmaṇī.[144] It is, therefore, suggested that this Manu was a *vaiśya*. But it is, indeed, difficult to believe that, in the early Vedic age, the *grāmaṇī* belonged to any particular caste. As a matter of fact one can hardly speak of caste in connection with that period. Besides, the word, *grāma*, denoted, in those days, a clan and not a village as in the later Brahmanic period. It is interesting to note that Śaryāta Mānava is described as wandering with his *grāma* or clan[146].

Trita Āptya[147]

Trita Āptya is traditionally mentioned as the seer of I·105, VIII·47, IX·33, 34, 102 and X·1–7. Yāska[148] mentions him as a seer of Ṛgvedic hymns. He is referred to as Āptya in VIII·47·15. Sāyaṇa[148a] while commenting upon I·105, gives a legend from the *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* about Ekata, Dvita, and Trita: "Ekata, Dvita and Trita were three sages wandering in a forest. As they were harassed by thirst they were in search of a well which they found out after a very long time. Trita descended into the well, drank water and took with him water for the other two to drink. Dvita and Trita drank the water and flung Trita into well which they closed by means of a wheel of a chariot. Thereupon that Trita began to invoke the aid of various gods and 'saw' this *sūkta*. He saw the rays of the moon reaching up to him in the well and thus began to lament."

Dvita Āptya

Tradition ascribes to Dvita Āptya the authorship of IX·103. In VIII·47·46, he is mentioned together with Trita. It would appear that Dvita's is just an artificially derived personality.

Agni, Cakṣus and Manu

In IX·106 also the authorship of the first three *tṛcas* is traditionally ascribed to three successive generations of the same family—Manu Āpsava, the father, Cakṣus the son, and Agni, the grandson. Agni Cākṣuṣa is also said to have been responsible for the last five stanzas (10–14) in this *sūkta*. No information about any of these persons is, however, available either from the Vedic or from the Purāṇic sources. One is almost tempted to suggest that the personal name, Agni, is fictitious. But since the present *sūkta* has hardly anything to do with Agni such a suggestion cannot be adequately supported.

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(143) Cf. *ṚV* X·62·10. (144) *ŚB* 5·3·1·6. (145) *TB* 1·1·4·8.

(146) *ŚB* 4·1·5·2. (147) For further details about Trita Āptya please see the tenth chapter.

(148) *Nirukta* IV·4.

The Saptarṣis

The seven seers, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha are traditionally regarded as the joint authors of IX·107. They are also said to have been responsible for IX·67 and X·137. **Mankad**[149] suggests that the joint authors are always more or less contemporary.

The Saptarṣis constitute a distinct group of ancient Vedic *ṛṣis*. It may be presumed that the grouping together of just *seven* ancient seers did not possess any special significance from the sociohistorical point of view. The number, seven, seems to have had attained a kind of traditional sanctity—even a kind of magical efficacy—so that like various other groups of seven, the ancient poets thought also of the group of seven seers. The Saptarṣis are mentioned four times in the *ṚV*[150]. In X·130·7, these seven *ṛṣis* are described as "the seven god-like *ṛṣis* who were versed in ritual and metre, in hymns and rules. Viewing the path of those of old, the sages have taken up the reins like chariot-drivers". In the later *saṁhitās*, they are mentioned several times.[151] Out of the seers of the regular *maṇḍalas*, only four, namely, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha, are included among the Saptarṣis. All the seven *ṛṣis* are composers of *sūktas* in the *ṚV*. The *MBh* gives two different lists of the Saptarṣis.[152] The lists of the Saptarṣis given by the Purāṇas also differ widely. It is suggested that the word, *saptarṣi*, denotes the 'Great Bear' (*ṛkṣa*) in the ṚV X·82·2 and occasionally later.[153] The usual Hindu idea about *gotra* is that it is the name of a *ṛṣi* or an ancestor in whose line one is born, the ancestor being a son or a descendant of one of the Saptarṣis or of Agastya.

Ūru

The *sūkta* IX·108, is, like several other *sūktas* in the ninth *maṇḍala*, a collection of stanzas composed by different authors. As many as seven seers are traditionally mentioned to have been responsible for that *sūkta*. Out of these, two, namely, Gaurivīti Śāktya and his father Śakti, both of the Vāsiṣṭha family, have been already referred to in the relevant contexts. Among the remaining five is Ūru, to whom is ascribed the authorship of IX·108·4–5. The Anukramaṇī refers to him as an Āṅgirasa.

Ṛjiśvan

Ṛjiśvan, the seer of IX·108·6–7, is described as a Bhāradvāja and is reputed to have been the author also of VI·49–52 and IX·98—of the latter, jointly with Ambarīṣa Vārṣāgira.[154]

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(149) *Date of Ṛgiveda,* pp·79–81.

(150) *ṚV* I·31·5; IV·42·8; X·109·4; and X·130·7.

(151) *VS* 14·24; *AV* XI·1·1·24; XII·1·39 etc.

(152) Śalyaparvan 49·52 and Śāntiparvan.

(153) Cf. *AV* VI·40·1; *ŚB* II·1·2·4; XIII·8·1·9 and the *Nirukta* X·26, etc.

(154) This Ṛjiśvan is to be distinguished from Vaidathina Ṛjiśvan (IV·16·13 and V·29·11) and Auśija Ṛjiśvan (X·99·11).

Ūrdhvasadman Āṅgirasa

Tradition ascribes the authorship of IX·108·8–9 to Ūrdhvasadman who is called an Āṅgirasa.

Kṛtayaśas

Another Āṅgirasa, namely, Kṛtayaśas, is said to have been the seer of IX·108·10–11.

Ṛṇancaya[155]

To Ṛṇancaya, the king of Ruśamas, is ascribed the authorship of IX·108·12–13.

Agni Dhiṣṇyas

The tradition whereby the authorship of IX·109 is ascribed to Agni Dhiṣṇyas, the sons of Īśvara,[156] can hardly be regarded as authentic. It may be pointed out that as many as nine different *Agnis* are mentioned as the authors of the *sūktas* in the *ṚV*. They are : (1) Agni Gṛhapati Sahasaḥputra (VIII·102), (2) Agni Pāvaka Bārhaspatya, (3) Agni Yaviṣṭha Sahasaḥputra (VIII·102), (4) Agni Cākṣuṣa (IX·106·1–3; 10–14), (5) Agni Dhiṣṇyas Aiśvara (IX·109), (6) Agni Saucīka (X·51·2,4, 6, 8; 52; 53·4–5; 79–80), (7) Agni Vaiśvānara (X·79–80) (8) Agni Pāvaka (X·140), (9) Agni Tāpasa (X·141). In respect of most of these ases, it can be reasonably assumed that the name of the author has been given as Agni because the real name of the author was lost and because that particular *sūkta* related to Agni. However, so far as IX·109 is concerned, Agni Dhiṣṇyas have been mentioned as authors even though that *sūkta* has nothing to do with Agni.

Tryaruṇa and Trasadasyu

The authorship of the hymn, IX·110 which mainly puts forth the view that Soma has discovered himself and has himself instituted his own cult, is traditionally ascribed to Tryaruṇa and Trasadasyu. It may be recalled that these two kings are mentioned together with Aśvamedha Bhārata as the joint authors of V·27.[157] These latter three are also praised for their generosity in the *maṇḍala* of the Atris.[158]

Commenting on V·2, Sāyaṇa quotes from the *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* and the *PB*[159] the following legend about Tryaruṇa : "There was a king called Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa Aikṣvāka. His *purohita* was Vṛśa Jāna. Once, while Tryaruṇa was going out in a chariot, Vṛśa was the driver. An accident occurred on that occasion. One Kumāra who was playing on the road, was killed under the chariot.

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(155) For further details please see the fourth chapter.

(156) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·256.

(157) The alternate author of this *sūkta* is given as Bhauma Atri.

(158) Cf. *BD* V·24·12 and 30–31.

(159) *PB* XIII·3·12.

So the question arose as to who was responsible for the death of Kumāra—the owner or the driver of the chariot. They referred the question to the Ikṣvākus and their verdict was that the driver was responsible. Vṛśa accepted the verdict and then revived Kumāra by means of the magic power of his *Vṛśa-Sāman*."[160] The *BD*[161] gives a slightly different version of the legend. It says that Vṛśa Jāna, who was accused of the crime, left the king after reviving the boy, and that, in consequence of his departure, the heat of the king's fire disappeared. The king, therefore, propitiated Vṛśa and again brought him back. The latter then restored the heat of the king's fire through his magic spells. In the *PB* XIII·3·12, the patron of Vṛśa Jāna is called Tryaruṇa Traidhātva Aikṣvāka. It is suggested that Tryaruṇa Traidhātva Aikṣvāka of the *PB* and Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa of the *BD* are one and the same person.[162] It is also suggested that the *dānastuti* in V·27·1–3 refers to but one king named Tryaruṇa Trasadasyu.[163] Tryaruṇa was a descendant of Trasadasyu and, therefore, he may have assumed the patronym Trasadasyu.[164].

Trasadasyu was the son of Purukutsa[165] and is mentioned in the *ṚV* as the king of Pūrus.[166] He is also mentioned to have donated abundant wealth to Atri and fifty maidens to Sobhari Kāṇva.[167] He was born to Purukutsānī at a time of great distress[168] which according to Sāyaṇa refers to Purukutsa's captivity perhaps by Sudās in the *dāśrājña* war. Possibly it is Purukutsa's death that is really intended here. Trasadasyu is also referred to as a descendant of Girikṣit.[169] while Purukutsa is said to have been a descendant of Durgaha. On the basis of all this information, the genealogy of Trasadasyu may be reconstructed as follows :

Durgaha
|
Girikṣit
|
Purukutsa (m. Purukutsānī)
|
Trasadasyu
|
Hiraṇin[170]

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(160) In *TMB* Vṛśa is said to have been the *purohita* of Trasadasyu (cf. **Mankad,** *Date of Rigveda* p·25). The *PB* XIII·3·12 also states that Vaijāna was his patronym.

(161) *BD* V·14.

(162) Cf. *Vedic Index*, p·327–28 : "Another descendant of Trasadasyu was Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa, who is simply called Trasadasyu in *ṚV* V·27·3. He was not only a 'descendant of Trivṛṣan', but according to the *PB* XIII·3·12, he was also a Traidhātva, 'descendant of Tridhātu'. The order of these two predecessors of Tryaruṇa cannot be determined in any way from Vedic literature. According to the *Harivaṁśa* 714 *et seq.*, a prince named Tridhanvau preceded Tryaruṇa in the succession. Vedic tradition further fails to show in what precise relation Trasadasyu stood to Trivṛṣan or Tryaruṇa".

(163) **Geldner,** *Der Rigveda,* II, p·23.

(164) **Sieg,** *Sagenstoffe,* 75.

(165) Cf. *ṚV* V·33·8; VII·19·3; VIII·19·37.

(166) Cf. *ṚV* IV·38·1; VII·19·3.

(167) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·19·36.

(168) Cf. *ṚV* IV·42·8 – 9.

(169) *ṚV* V·33·8.

(170) Cf. **Ludwig** *Mantralitterature und das Alte Indien* p·155.

In one passage of the *ṚV*, it is suggested that Trasadasyu was the ancestor of Tṛkṣi.[171] **Sieg** points out that, according to the later Purāṇic genealogies, Tryaruṇa also was a descendant of Trasadasyu.[172]

The chronological position of Trasadasyu is determined by the fact that his father, Purukutsa, was a contemporary of Sudās, either as opponent or as friend.[173] Trasadasyu himself seems to have been an energetic king. His people, the Pūrus, were settled on the Sarasvatī,[174] a convenient place, indeed, for the later union of the Pūrus with the Kuru people. According to the *Vedic Index*,[175] the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, who appear in the *ṚV* as enemies of the Pūrus, later coalesced with them to form the Kuru people. **Keith** also urges this view of the incorporation of the Bharatas with the Kurus,[176] while **Oldenberg**[177] concurs with him. It can, therefore, be observed that the Bharatas, who were settled in the country of Sarasvatī in the Ṛgvedic times, were later merged in the Kurus, and that their whole territory, the new and the old, became famous in history under the name Kurukṣetra.[178]

The union of the Pūrus and the Kurus is exemplified in the person Kuruśravaṇa, who is called Trāsadasyava in the *ṚV* X.33.4. In the *sūkta*, the seer, Kavaṣa Ailūṣa seems to mourn the death of his generous donor Kuruśravaṇa and in the last four stanzas, he is apparently consoling Upamaśrvas, the son of Kuruśravaṇa. Mitrātithi is there mentioned as the grandfather of Upamaśravas.[179] The *BD*[180] supported by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*,[181] however, states that it was for the death of his grandfather, Mitrātithi, that Upamaśravas is being consoled in X.33.

Trāsadasyava Paurukutsa is mentioned in several Vedic texts[182] as a famous sacrificer of ancient times together with Para Āṭṇāra, Vītahavya Śrāyasa

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(171) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·22·7.

(172) *Sagenstoffe*, p·75.

(173) Cf. *ṚV* I·63·7.

(174) Cf. *ṚV* VII·95–96.

(175) *Vedic Index*, s. v. *Bharata*.

(176) *Cambridge history of India*, p·118.

(177) **Oldenberg,** *Buddha*, p·409.

(178) In *ṚV* VIII·23, king Pākasthāman is called Kaurayāṇa. In *AV* XX·127·8, a man called Kauravya is said to have enjoyed prosperity under Parīkṣita's rule. So in the early Vedic age Kuru seems to have been a prominent Indo-Aryan tribe.

(179) *ṚV* X·33·6–9.

(180) *BD* VII·36·35–36.

(181) Cf. *Sāvaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·390.

(182) *Kaṭhaka saṁhitā* XXII·3; *TS* V·6·5·3; *PB* XXV·16.

and Kakṣīvat Auśija. In the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*,[183] they are called 'ancient great kings (*pūrve mahārājāḥ*)'.[184]

Anānata

Anānata, who is mentioned as the author of IX.III, is said to have been the son of Parucchepa Daivodāsi, the reputed author of I.127–139.

Śiśu

Śiśu, who is described as an Āṅgirasa is said to have been the seer of IX. 112. According to the *PB*,[185] he was also the author of a *Sāman*. The *BD*[186] tells us that, through IX.112, Śiśu reported to Indra as to how they lived during the draught. The third stanza in this hymn is important from the socio-historical point of view, for, it states that the three members of the same family carried on three different occupations—the son was a poet (*kāru*), the father a leech (*bhiṣak*), and the mother a grinder of corn (*upalaprakṣiṇī*).

The following interesting legend about Śiśu Āṅgirasa occurs in the *TMB*[187]: "Śiśu was the son of Aṅgiras. He was the best among the composers of the *mantras*. He addressed his elders as "dear boys (*putrakāḥ*)'. They, therefore, got angry and told him that he was behaving irreligiously. But Śiśu insisted that as he was a composer of *mantras*, he was entitled to be called 'father'. The fathers, thereupon, approached the gods and implored them to decide the matter. The gods also declared : "He indeed is entitled to be called a father, who is a creator of *mantras*".[188] The *Manusmṛti*[189] also narrates this legend about

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(183) *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* II·6·11.

(184) According to the *Purāṇas* the genealogy of Trasadasyu can be reconstructed as follows :

1. Manu
2. Ikṣvāku
3. Vikukṣi Śasada
4. Kakutstha
5. Anenas
6. Pṛthu
7. Viṣṭarāśva
8. Ārdra
9. Yuvanāśva I
10. Śrāvasta
11. Bṛhadaśva
12. Kuvalāśva
13. Dṛḍhāśva
14. Pramoda
15. Haryaśva I
16. Nikumbha
17. Saṁhatāśva
18. Akṛśāśva
19. Prasenajit
20. Yuvanāśva II
21. Māndhātṛ
22. *Purukutsa* (According to Sāyaṇa IV·42·8, he is the son of Durgaha)
23. *Trasadasyu*
24. Sambhūta
25. Anaraṇya
26. Trasadaśva
27. Haryaśva II
28. Vasumanas
29. Tridhanvan
30. Tryaruṇa
31. Trayyaruṇa
32. Satyavrata Triśaṅku
33. Hariścandra
34. Rohita

(185) *PB* 13·3·24.

(186) *BD* VI·139.

(187) *TMB* 13·3·23–24.

(188) एष वाव पितास्ति यो मन्त्रकृदिति ।

(189) *Manusmṛti* II·151–152.

Śiśu Āṅgirasa. One is, however, inclined to wonder whether the story is, after all, not ficititious. It may have originated out of a desire to play on the word, *śiśu.*

APPENDIX (A) TO CHAPTER IX

The Aṅgirasas in the ṚV

Aṅgiras is often referred to in the Veda[190] by the seers as their ancient father. He is closely connected with the production of fire and the inauguration of the fire-cult. He has been mentioned along with Manu, Yayāti, and Bhṛgu,[191] and also with Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇa, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, and Atri.[192] The word, *aṅgiras*, occurs about 90 times in the *ṚV*.[193] It sometimes occurs as an epithet of Agni or of Indra. But when it is used by itself and in singular, it normally stands for the seer Aṅgiras. When it occurs in plural, it denotes the family of Aṅgiras.

As has been already mentioned, Agni is often called Aṅgiras,[194] and this is because, the substance after being generated was named after the generator. The Aṅgirasas are said to have found out Agni concealed in the trees of the forest and to have churned him out. Therefore, the fire is called Aṅgiras and 'the son of strength,[195] Aṅgiras, who is born first, is further said to have sung the glory of the gods.[196]

Etymologically the name is generally derived from *aṅgāra*.[197] The *GB* (I.1.7–8) derives it from *aṅgarasa*. Aṅgiras was believed to have been born from the *rasa* of the *aṅga* of Varuṇa when the latter was practising penance. **Tilak**[198] thinks that the word, *Aṅgiras* is etymologically connected with Greek *aggilos* (= a messenger) and Persian *aṅgara* (= a mounted courier).

The descendants of Aṅgiras seem to have gradually multiplied themselves to form a clan or a tribe by themselves. Presumably this clan entered India from outside. Even in the family-*maṇḍalas* the Āṅgirasas are admitted to be the great seers of ancient times.[199] **Mankad**[200] has tried to show that Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa and even Agastya belong, in some way or the other, to the Aṅgiras-family.

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(190) Cf. *ṚV* I·31·17; 45·3; 139·9; VIII·43·3 and *AV* IV·29·3 etc.
(191) Cf. *ṚV* I·31·17; VIII·43·13.
(192) *ṚV* I·139·9.
(193) Cf. **Shende,** "Aṅgiras in the Vedic literature", *ABORI,* XXXI, pp·108–131.
(194) Cf. *ṚV* I·31·17.
(195) Cf. *ṚV* V·11·6.
(196) Cf. *ṚV* I·92·15.
(197) Cf. *AB* III·34; *MBh* 13·4122; *Nirukta* III·37 and *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on *ṚV* III·31·7.
(198) *The Arctic Home in the Vedas,* p·160.
(199) Cf. *ṚV* II·17·1; III·31·19, 53·7; IV·2·15–17; V·8·4; VI·11·3 and VII·42·1.
(200) *Date of Rigveda,* pp·86 – 88.

Shende[201] seems to be right in concluding that Aṅgiras himself must have started the cult of the fire-worship and the succeeding generations of the Vedic seers admitted his claim to be their revered father. The Aṅgirasas are also, in a more general way, connected with the Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus as well as the Atharvans[202] and Yama.[203] The Virūpas, the Navagvas and the Daśagvas appear to have been three different branches of the main Aṅgiras-family.[204] The great Ṛgvedic deities like the Maruts (X.78.5), Soma (IX.62.9; 86.23; 107.6), Aryaman (I.139.7), Savitṛ (VII.52.3), and Tvaṣṭṛ are have been directly associated with the Aṅgirasas.

The *AV* is associated with the mystic fire-priests of pre-historic antiquity, Atharvan[205] and Aṅgiras (and, later on, also Bhṛgu). This has resulted in that Veda being known by several names, such as, Atharvāṅgirasa, Bhṛgvaṅgirasa, and finally *Atharvaveda.*[206] Occasionally, in the *mantras*, the three are found together, or Bhṛgu is found in the company of the other two—Atharvan and Aṅgiras.[207] This inter-relation of the three families continues in the

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(201) *Op. cit.* p·110.

(202) Cf. *AV* XI·8·13.

(203) Cf. *ṚV* X·14·3.

(204) Cf. *ṚV* X·62·5 – 6 and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Mādhavabhaṭṭa (CLVIII–768–69)

(205) The name of Atharvan occurs about fourteen times in the *ṚV*, thrice in the plural. He generally appears in the character of an ancient priest. In the *ṚV* I·83·5; VI·16·3; VI·15·17; X·21·5 and X·92·10 he appears as the first enkindler of fire and also as the founder of the cult of sacrifice. As the Atharvans were the earliest sacrificers and probably also initiated the Soma sacrifice, their spirits were invoked at the time of holding a sacrifice and they were asked to share the Soma drink with their descendants. Their use of milk mingled with honey in the ritual is referred to in IX·11·2. According to *TB* III·4·11·1, a cow that miscarries from accident (*avatokā*) is dedicated to the Atharvans. Specific but mainly mythical Atharvans in the *ṚV* are Bṛhaddiva (X·120), Bhiṣak (X·97), and Dadhyañ (*ṚV* I·80·16, 84·13–14, 116·12, 117·22, 119·9 etc. and *TS* V·1·4·4; 6·6·3; *Kāṭhaka saṁhitā* XIX·4; *ŚB* IV·1·5·18 etc., *BĀU* II·5·22 etc.).

In the *AV*, the Atharvans are referred to as medicinemen along with Atharvan and to have tied on themselves, the amulet of Khadira (*Fāla*) and with Aṅgiras to have broken open the fortress of Dasyus (*AV* X·6·20). They are described as destroying the goblins with a magical herb (*AV* IV·37·7).

In the *ṚV* the word Atharvan appears to have an appellative meaning of 'a priest' in (IV·47·24; IX·11·2 and X·129·9). The Avestan word Ātharvan signifies 'firepriest' which is also the etymological sense. This world corresponds to Vedic Atharvan. The Avestan word '*Atar*' is akin to Vedic *atharyu* (*ṚV* VII·1·1) which means 'flaming'. **Bartholomae** (*IF* 5·21), however, rejects this connection of *Atar* with Atharvan. **Tilak,** on the other hand , (*Arctic Home in the Vedas* p·160) points out that philologically the name Atharvan appears as Āthravan in the *Avesta.* Sāyaṇa in his *bhāṣya* on *ṚV* VIII·9·7 explains it as (a + tharvan = free from coercion) and in his *bhāṣya* on *VS* VIII·56 as *upārhiyamāṇaḥ.* Yāska (Nirukta XI·18) interprets it as (a + tharvan = not moving, firm). **Siddheshwara Varma** (*Etymologies of Yāska*, p·22) points out that Yāska's etymology is fictitious and that the actual Indo-European prototype was *at* – 'fire', Latin *āter* – 'black'. **Suryakanta** (*A Grammatical Dictionary of* (*Vedic*) *Sanskrit*, p·9) says that the Vedic *th* in Atharvan is original. For further details of the etymology of the word Atharvan please see (**Fatah Singh,** *The Vedic Etymology*, pp·36 – 37).

(206) Cf. *AV* X·7·20.

(207) Cf. *ṚV* VIII·43·13 and X·92·10.

YV and the *Brāhmaṇa* texts in such a way that the juxtaposition of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras becomes exceedingly frequent so much so that complete synonymy is reached in the *ŚB*[208] when the sage Cyavana is designated either as a Bhārgava or as an Āṅgirasa. As has been already noticed in the first chapter Gṛtsamada is also known as a Bhārgava and an Āṅgirasa and Dadhyañ as an Ātharvaṇa and an Āṅgirasa. It is further significant that Sāyaṇa, whenever he wants to explain, *purve ṛṣayaḥ*, explains it as *bhṛgvaṅgiraprabhṛtayaḥ*.[209] These Bhṛgvaṅgirasas seem to have been regarded as indispensable to the institution of sacrifice.[210] For, the *GB*[211] points out that without them the sacrifice limps like a quadruped deprived of its feet. All these considerations points to the conclusion that the members of the Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras families originally formed a single unit for all practical purposes.[212] It is quite possible that the Ātharvaṇic texts represent an attempt of the Brahmanic orthodoxy led by the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirasas to enlist the sympathy of the masses, whose beliefs and traditions are faithfully recorded in the *AV*, which is thus raised to the level of the other three Vedas. Of these two families the Aṅgirasas were evidently senior and the Bhṛgus junior. Even in the matter of magical spells, the Aṅgirasas always appear as their first institutors and it is suggested that the Bhṛgus received the knowledge about them from the Aṅgirasas.

Various legends occur in the *Brāhmaṇas* about the Aṅgirasas (cf. *AB* 3. 37, 6.14; *TB* 2.1.1, 2.2.3.5–7; *ŚB* 5.1.13; *TMB* 12.11.10–11; *GB* 1.4.25, 1. 11.8). As teachers of philosophy they figure prominently in the *Upaniṣads*. Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3.16–17; *BĀU* 2.6; *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* 1.1.2–3, 3.2.11; *Praśna Upaniṣad* 3.2.8,' 3.1.3, 8.2.

In the epics—the *MBh* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, they play a very important role. In fact, as is pointed out by **Sukthankar**, just as we see traces in the *MBh* of the attempts to *bhṛguise* the epic,[213] we also see a tendency to *aṅgirasise* it.[214] The same can be said in regard to the *Rāmāyaṇa* also. In the *MBh* the Aṅgirasas are represented to have been powerful and worthy of respect. Indeed, there seems to be little doubt that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were jointly responsible for the final redaction of the *MBh*.

In the Buddhist literature also the Aṅgirasas are mentioned as Vedic seers and as authors of the *AV*.[215] Moreover, Aṅgiras was the personal name of Buddha, in addition to Siddhārtha, the name given by his father.

The Avestan word *angra* seems to be linguistically related to *Aṅgiras* in the *ṚV*. The former is used to designate a wicked man.[216] According to **Tara-**

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(208) *ŚB* IV·1·5·1.

(209) Cf., for instance, *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* I·1·2, VSM, p·36.

(210) Please see also the discussion about Bhṛgu in this chapter.

(211) *GB* I·1·1–15.

(212) Cf. **Shende,** "The authorship of the *MBh*", *ABORI* 24.

(213) Cf. also **Dandekar,** "Mahābhārata : Origin and growth", *University of Ceylon Review* XII, p·20.

(214) Cf. **Shende,** *op. cit.*

(215) Cf. *Vinayapiṭaka*, I·245 and Milindapanha, 272.

(216) *Yasna* 44·12.

porewala,[217] the word means 'the follower of untruth'. Zarathustra thus condemns the Aṅgirasas, who, according to him, are the champions of Daeva worship.

In all the activities of the Aṅgirasas as they are depicted in the Vedic, post-Vedic and epic literature, there is a sort of harmony. Their leadership, in all the different periods, was readily acknowledged by all.

The following are the members of the Aṅgiras-family, who figure as seers in the *ṚV-saṁhitā* :

Aṅga (X.138), Abhīvarta (X.174), Amahīyu (IX.61), Ayāsya (IX.44–46, X. 67–68), Arcan (X.149), Aṣṭrādaṅṣṭra (X.111), Utathya (IX.50-52), Urukṣaya (X.18), Ūru (IX 108-4-5), Ūrdhvasadman (IX.108.8–9), Kakṣīvān (I.116–126, IX.74), Kutsa (IX.94–98, 101–115), Kūrma (II.27–29), Kṛtayaśas (IX.108.10–11, Kṛṣṇa (VIII. 85–87, X.42–44), Gṛtsamada (II.1–3, 9–26, 30–43), Ghora (III.36), Ghoṣā (X.39–40), Tiraścī (VIII.95–96), Divya (X. 107), Dīrghatamas (IX.140-164), Durmitra (X.105), Dhruva (X). 173), Nabhaprabhedana (X.112), Nṛmedha (VIII.89–90; 98–99, IX.27,29), Pavitra (IX.67.21–33, IX.73,83), Puruhanman (VIII.70), Pūtadakṣa (VIII.94), Pracetas (X.164), Prabhūvasu (IX.35–36), Priyamedha (VIII.2.1–40, 68,69, 87; IX.28), Bindu (IX.30), Bṛhanmati (IX.39), Bṛhaspati (X.71–72), Bhikṣu (X.117), Mūrdhanvān (X.88), Varu (X.96), Viśvamanas (VIII.23–26), Virūpa (VIII.43–44,64), Viśvaka (VIII.86), Vihavya (X.128), Vyaśva (VIII.26), Śakapūta (X.132), Śataprabhedana (X.113), Śunahotra (VI.33–34), Ṣrutakakṣa (VIII.92), Sadhri (X.114), Saptagu (X.47), Savya (I.51.57), Sindhukṣit (X.75) Sukīrti (X.131), Suhastya X.41), Saṁvarta (X.112), Hiraṇyastūpa (I.31–35, IX.4,IX.69).

APPENDIX (B) TO CHAPTER IX

The classification of the *ṛṣis* of the ninth *maṇḍala* according to their families

I Agastyas

(1) Dṛḷhacyuta
(2) Idhmavāha

II Āṅgirasas

(1) Hiraṇyastūpa
(2) Gotama Rāhūgaṇa
(3) Rahūgaṇa
(4) Bṛhanmati
(5) Ayāsya
(6) Ucathya (or Utathya)
(7) Amahīyu
(8) Harimanta
(9) Pavitra
(10) Kaṇva Ghaura
(11) Kutsa
(12) Ūru

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(217) *The Songs of Zarathusra*, p·503.

II Āṅgirasas (Contd.)

(13) Ūrdhvasadman
(14) Kṛtayaśas
(15) Śiśu
(16) Nṛmedha
(17) Priyamedha
(18) Bindu
(19) Prabhūvasu
(20) Nodhas
(21) Gṛtsamada
(22) Kakṣīvān Dairghatamas

III Ātreyas

(1) Dvita Āptya
(2) Trita Āptya
(3) Śyāvāśva

IV Kāśyapas

(1) Asita
(2) Devala
(3) Avatsāra
(4) Nidhruvi
(5) Rebhasūnū
(6) Kaśyapa

V Kāṇvas

(1) Praskaṇva
(2) Parvata
(3) Nārada
(4) Medhātithi

VI Bhāradvājas

(1) Bharadvāja
(2) Pāyu
(3) Kṛśāśva
(4) Vasu

VII Bhārgavas

(1) Uśanas
(2) Kavi
(3) Bhṛgu Vāruṇi
(4) Vena
(5) Jamadagni

VIII Vāsiṣṭhas

(1) Indrapramiti
(2) Vṛṣagaṇa
(3) Manyu
(4) Upamanyu
(5) Vyāghrapād
(6) Karṇaśrut
(7) Mṛḷīka
(8) Vasukra
(9) Parāśara
(10) Gaurivīti

IX Viśvāmitras

(1) Madhucchandas
(2) Śunaḥśepa
(3) Reṇu
(4) Ṛṣabha
(5) Prajāpati
(6) Viśvāmitra Gāthina

Others

(1) Prajāpati Vācya
(2) Tryaruṇa
(3) Trasadasyu
(4) Vaikhānasaḥ
(5) Vatsapri Bhālandana
(6) Akṛṣṭāḥ Māṣāḥ
(7) Sikatā, Nivāvarī
(8) Ajāḥ Pṛśnayaḥ
(9) Pratardana Daivodāsi
(10) Ambarīṣa Vārṣāgira
(11) Yayāti Nāhuṣa
(12) Nahuṣa Mānava
(13) Manu Saṁvaraṇa
(14) Cakṣu Mānava
(15) Manu Āpsava
(16) Ṛṇañcaya
(17) Agnayaḥ Dhiṣṇyaḥ
(18) Anānata Pārucchepi

CHAPTER X

THE KṢUDRASŪKTAS AND THE MAHĀSŪKTAS IN THE ṚGVEDA

The tenth *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV* obviously represents the residue of the hymnal material, which remained after most of it had been organised in the form of the first nine *maṇḍalas* in accordance with certain set principles. This residual material could be arranged neither from the point of view of the homogeneity of authorship, as in the case of *maṇḍalas* two to seven and, to a certain extent, also of *māṇḍalas* eight and one, nor from the point of view of the homogeneity of contents, as in the case of *maṇḍala* nine. It presents a curious mixture of ancient compositions and newer compositions, of the ideology relating to the hieratic religion and that relating to the popular religion of the masses, of archaic Vedic idiom and the idiom which has begun to approximate the epic idom. What is, however, perhaps most pertinent from our point of view is that the tradition of authorship in connection with many of the *sūktas* included in the tenth *maṇḍala* had already become extinct even at the time of the *saṁhitīkaraṇa*. In such cases, therefore, the *saṁhitākāras* have invented some kind of authorship and superimposed it upon these *sūktas*. It is, indeed, very significant that, in respect of several *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala*, the *Anukramaṇī* has found it necessary to mention alternative authors. Accordingly, while speaking of the seers of the tenth *maṇḍala*, we have necessarily to divide them into two main groups, namely, historically more or less authentic seers and fictitious seers.

A careful study of the authors of the *sūktas* included in the tenth *maṇḍala* would show that, out of 151 authors, 78 can be said to belong to the first group while 73 can be assigned to the second group. In respect of the first group, the tradition of authorship was presumably still alive—albeit in a more or less hazy condition—at the time of the *saṁhitīkaraṇa*. Where it was lost,—either wholly or partially—the *saṁhitākāras*, as suggested above, have tried to re-create it. In regard to such superimposed fictitious authorship, certain definite tendencies become evident. And, in accordance with the prevailing tendency, this second group may be further divided into three sub-groups. In other words, the authors of the *sūktas* in the tenth *maṇḍala* can be grouped under four different categories[1] :

Category 1. This category includes all authors in whose case both the personal name as well as the family-name are historically authentic. As seen above nearly half the number of authors in the tenth *maṇḍala* fall within this category.

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(1) An attempt is made to indicate—of course, broadly—these categories in a table appended at the end of this chapter.

Category 2. An author whose family-name is historical but whose personal name is invented or fictitious, belongs to the second category. While inventing these personal names, different methods seem to have been adopted by the *saṁhitākāras*. Sometimes the *devatā* of the *sūkta* itself is said to be the seer, while, in the case of the dialogue-hymns, their authorship is ascribed to one or all of the participants in the dialogue, according to the principle, *yasya vākyam sa ṛṣiḥ*. In some other cases the contents of the *sūkta* are, as it were, personified and a fictitious person bearing that name is said to be the seer. Sometimes again certain sacrificial concept dealt with in a *sūkta* is personified and mentioned as the seer of that *sūkta*. In still other cases, some words in the *sūkta*—especially those which are frequently repeated—are combined to form the name of the fictitious seer.

Category 3. In this category may be included authors whose personal names are historical but whose family-names are invented. While inventing the family-name, patronyms are formed from the names of the deity of the *sūkta* and these are mentioned as the patronyms of the seer of the *sūkta*. In some rare cases the names of the metres of the *sūktas* seem to have been turned into the patronyms of the seers.

Category 4. Authors, whose personal names as well as the family-names are fictitious, form the fourth category. These are generally some mythological figures or even the deities of the *sūkta*.

The seers of the tenth *maṇḍala* are traditionally referred to as the *Kṣudra-sūktas*, that is, the authors of shorter hymns, and the *mahāsūktas*, that is, the authors of longer hymns.[2] Generally, the authors of *sūktas* 1–129 are regarded as the *mahāsūktas*, while those of the remaining *sūktas* are regarded as the *kṣudra-sūktas*. It may, however, be pointed out, in this connection, that several of the longer *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala* have clearly the appearance of having been made up of originally independent shorter hymns which were artificially combined together. Similarly it is possible to combine several smaller *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala* to form longer *sūktas*, which would become homogeneous from the point of view of contents. It appears that the *saṁhitākāras* made these *sūktas* shorter or longer in this peculiar manner, because they wanted that the number of the *sūktas* in the tenth *maṇḍala* should coincide with the number of *sūktas* which were already included in the first *maṇḍala*, namely, 191. And, perhaps, they could take such liberty in respect of this hymnal material because the tradition of authorship, about which they were usually so very scrupulous, had either become indistinct or was altogether lost.

With these observations, which had to be necessarily made by way of an introduction, we may now proceed to the consideration of the seers of the tenth *maṇḍala*. It should, however, be pointed out, at the outset, that very

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(2) Cf. *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, Bibl. Ind., p·267 :

अग्ने बृहन्निति त्वेतद्दशमं मण्डलं प्रति ।
क्षुद्र-सूक्ता महासूक्ता विज्ञेया ऋषयस्त्विति ।।

little can be said, from the sociohistorical point of view, about the obviously fictitious authors, and that even about most of the others one can hardly do anything better than cataloguing a few facts pertaining to them.

Trita Āptya

Trita Āptya is traditionally regarded as the seer of I.105; VII.47; X.1–7 33,34,102. It would appear from one passage[3] that Trita was associated as a priest with the ancient tribe of the Pūrus, who were great sacrificers and to whom Agni was like a fountain in the desert. In another passage, Indra is said to have killed Arbuda for the sake of Trita, who poured libations for the god.[4] We have been also told that Trita, when buried in the well, called on the gods to succour him and that Bṛhaspati heard that call and released him from distress.[5] At the same time, there are passages where Trita is represented to have fought the battle, overpowered his foe, namely, the son of Tvaṣṭā, and released the cows.[6] The Maruts are said to have reinforced Trita's power as he fought this battle.[7] These latter passages seem to indicate the divine character of Trita's personality. Indeed they point to his having once been the rain-god of the Aryans. When in the course of the revolutionary mythology relating to Indra, that god was transformed into a rain-god, he superseded the ancient Aryan rain-god, Trita.[8] We have, therefore, to think of two Tritas in the ṚV —one, the ancient Aryan rain-god, and the other, an ancient seer, whose family connections are not clear.

Triśiras Tvāṣṭra

To Triśiras Tvāṣṭra is ascribed the authorship of IX.8. He is also believed to be a joint author, with Sindhudvīpa, of X.9. According to X. 8.8, he is the special enemy of Trita Āptya. In X.8.9, Indra is described as having cut the three heads of Triśīrṣa.

Sindhudvīpa Āmbarīśa

Sindhudvīpa Āmbarīṣa is the seer of X.9. According to tradition Sindhudvīpa is the son of Ambarīṣa.[9] According to the Purāṇic genealogies, the place of Sindhudvīpa in the line of the Ayodhyā kings may be indicated as follows :

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(3) *ṚV* X·4·1.

(4) *ṚV* II·11·20.

(5) *ṚV* I·105·17.

(6) *ṚV* X·8·8.

(7) *ṚV* VIII·7·24.

(8) Cf. **Dandekar,** "Vṛtrahā Indra", *ABORI* XXXI, pp. 8–12.

(9) Cf. **Chitrav,** *Prācīnacaritrakośa,* p·615, where he says that this tradition is supported by the *Viṣṇu P.*, the *Vāyu P.* and the *Matsya P.* According to the *Bhāgavata P.* and the *Harivaṁśa,* however, he is the son of Nābhā.

Hariścandra
Rohita
Harita
Vijaya
Ruruka
Vṛka
Bāhu (Asita)
Sagara
Asamañjasa
Aṁśumat
Dilīpa I
Bhagīratha
Śruta
Nābhāga
Ambarīṣa
Sindhudvīpa (49th from Manu)
Ayutāyu
Ṛtuparṇa

Yama and Yamī

Yama and Yamī are the son and daughter respectively of Vivasvān and are mentioned as the *ṛṣis* as well as the deities of the hymn X.10 which is constituted of a dialogue between them. **Keith**[10] says that their names denote twin brother and sister and that they are the first human pair—the originators of the human race. **Müller**, on the other hand, says that they are night and day

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(10) **Keith,** *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, I, p·230.

and not the first couple of mortals. Yama, as the first man may, according to him, be a later phase of religious thought.[11]

Havirdhāna

Havirdhāna is the seer of X.11–12. Sāyaṇa[12] refers to him as Āṅgi. In the sacrificial literature the word *havirdhāna* means 'a cart in which the Soma was brought[13] or the place where the cups of Soma were kept.'[14]

Vivasvat

Vivasvat is mentioned as the seer of X.13. A mythological figure, Vivasvat is often described as the father of the Aśvins and of Yama.[15] All the gods also are said to be his children.[16] Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ is his wife.[17] Matariśvā and Agni are said to be his messengers.[18] According to the *Purāṇas*[19] Vivasvat is the son of Kaśyapa Prajāpati and Aditi. Vivasvat had two wives, Saṁjñā and Chāyā. The first wife gave birth to Vaivasvata Manu (*Śrāddhadeva*), Yama and Yamī, while the second to Sāvarṇi Manu and Śani.

Yama

Yama is associated with X.14 as its author obviously because that hymn was regarded as a funeral hymn and Yama had, in course of time, come to be looked upon as a god of death.[20]

Yāmāyanas

(Śaṅkha, Damana, Devaśravas, Saṁkusuka, and Mathita)

Śaṅkha to whom tradition ascribes the authorship of X.15, is said to have been a son of Yama.[21] Damana is said to be the seer of X.16 and is also described as the son of Yama. Devaśravas is another son of Yama and he is said to be responsible for X.17. The author of X.19 is mentioned as Saṁ-

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(11) A reference may here be made to **Dandekar**'s detailed study of "Yama in the Veda" in **B. C. Law Comm. Vol.** Here **Dandekar** traces the several stages in the Yama-mythology in the Veda : (1) Yama-Hermaphrodite God-Man as creator of universe—the result of self-immolation in cosmic sacrifice. (2) Yama-Yamī, Twin-brother and sister, as parents of humanity. (3) Yama as the first 'mortal' to die. (4) Yama as benevolent lord of the blessed souls.

(12) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·299.

(13) *TS* III·1·3; VI·2·9; I·4.

(14) *TS* VI·2; II·1·4.

(15) *ṚV* X·14·1; 58·1.

(16) *ṚV* X·63·1.

(17) *ṚV* X·17·1–2.

(18) *ṚV* I·58·1; VI·8·4.

(19) Cf. **Chitrav,** *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p·535.

(20) Cf. **Dandekar,** (Foot-note 9).

(21) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·313.

kusuka and he too is said to be the son of Yama. Mathita, the fifth son of Yama, is the traditionally recognised author of X.10. However, the very fact that the *Anukramaṇī* mentions Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa, or Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, as the alternative author of this *sūkta* would show that the original tradition of authorship in respect of the *sūkta* had been forgotten and a new one was being established.

It is not unlikely that the five authors mentioned above were originally authentic human seers. In course of time, however, the tradition regarding their family-associations was completely lost. Later on in view of the fact that their hymns related to death and eschatology they must have come to be looked upon almost arbitrarily—as the sons of Yama, the god of death. It is of course difficult to accept **Mankad's** view[22] that these Yāmāyanas, who are believed to have been the authors of X.15–19, were the sons of Yama who was probably the father-in-law of Taṁśu, the grandfather of Duṣyanta.

Vimada

Vimada, the son of Indra or of Prajāpati is believed to have been the seer X.20–26.[23] Vasukṛta, the son of Vasukra is mentioned as being the alternative author of these *sūktas*. The Aśvins are said to have given a wife to one Vimada.[24] Sāyaṇa[25] points out that the wife was Purumitra's daughter. She is said to have been secured by the royal sage Vimada, in a *svayaṁvara*.[26] We are further told that the Aśvins assisted Vimada, who was attacked by his rivals while he was returning home with his newly-won bride, the Aśvins are said to have carried her to Vimada's house in their own chariot. In X.65.12, the name of Vimada's bride is given as Kamadyu. Moreover, in that context, Sāyaṇa says that she was the daughter of Vena.

There does not, however, seem to exist any very strong grounds to identify Vimada, the author of X.20–26 with Vimada, the protege of the Aśvins. Had these two been one and the same person, there would have been at least one entire hymn in this group addressed to the Aśvins. As it is, only three stanzas in X.24 refer to them. Of course, the name Vimada is mentioned in one of these stanzas; and the fact may suggest the possibility of the protege of the Aśvins being the author of the *sūkta*. The name *vimadāḥ* occurs in X.23.5 in a manner which clearly implies that one Vimada was responsible for that hymn. It is also not unlikely that the name of the author is indirectly indicated by the words *vi vo made* in X.21.1. The genealogical connection of Vimada with Indra is, however, obviously fictitious, and his identity with the protege of the Aśvins, doubtful. This seer refers to Uśanā Bhārgava (X.22.6), Aurvaśeya Viśvāyu (X.22.14), Śuṣṇa (X.22.7), Atharvan (X.21.5), and Kakṣīvān (X.25.10). On the other hand he is himself referred to by Vatsa or Śaśakarṇa Āṅgirasa (X.9.15), Kakṣīvān (I.116.1; X.117.20), and Kutsa Āṅgirasa (I.112.

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(22) *Date of Rigveda*, p·57.

(23) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·336; Cf. also *AB* 5·5·1.

(24) *ṚV* I·112·19.

(25) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·684.

(26) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, I, p·712.

19). The tradition of Indra being regarded as the father of Vimada may have arisen out of the reference in X.23.7, where Vimada expresses a fervent desire that the bond of friendship between him and Indra be never dissevered.

Vasukra

Vasukra, the seer of X.27–29, is also said to have been the son of Indra. The basis of this obviously fictitious connection between Indra and Vasukra is made quite clear by Sāyaṇa's commentary on X.27.2, where he says, "*vāsukreṣu sūkteṣu bāhulyena indraḥ stūyate*" The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[27] emphatically asserts that this *sūkta* belongs to Vasukra. Vasukra mentions *ṛṣi* Kapila in X.27.16. It is suggested that the divine birth of the ancient *ṛṣis* is implied in X.27.15 where *sapta* seems to refer to the Saptarṣis, *aṣṭa* to the Vālakhilyas, *nava* to the Bhṛgus, and *daśa* to the Aṅgirasas. In X.29.2, Vasukra mentions Kutsa and Triśoka and says that they were favoured by Indra. It may be incidentally pointed out at this stage that tradition ascribes the authorship of X.28.1 to the wife of Vasukra. There she complains that though all the other gods have come to attend her sacrifice, Indra, her father-in-law, has not come.

Kavaṣa

Kavaṣa is the seer of X.30–34. He seems to have been the priest of king Kuruśravaṇa. In X.33.7, he mentions his patron's father, Mitrātithi, and seems to console Upamaśravas, the son of Kuruśravaṇa, on the death of his grandfather. In the *AB*[28] we find the following story about Kavaṣa :

The seers performed a sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī. They drove away Kavaṣa Ailūṣa from the Soma-sacrifice, saying that he was the child of a slave woman, a cheat and not a Brahmin, and asserting that he could not be consecreted in their midst. They sent him out to the desert saying : "There let thirst slay him; let him drink not the water of the Sarasvatī". Sent away to the wilderness and afflicted by thirst, Kavasa 'saw' the *aponaptrīya* hymn.[29] Thereby he went to the dear abode of the waters; him the waters welled out after; all round him the Sarasvatī hastened. Therefore the poeple call that place there Parisāraka. The seers then thought : "The gods know him, let us summon him back". Thereupon, they summoned him and performed the *aponaptrīya*. Therewith they went to the dear home of the waters, of the gods".

It would appear from this reference that Kavaṣa was originally not a follower of hieratic Brahmanic religion. The mention in VII.18.12 of one Kavaṣa, who was overwhelmed by Indra, seems to confirm this supposition. It may be presumed that Kavaṣa was the priest of some of the tribes, which were antagonistic to Sudās and which were, therefore, regarded as anti-Indra. **Zimmer**[30]

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(27) *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* I·2·2.

(28) *AB* 2·19.

(29) *ṚV* X·30.

(30) *Altindisches Leben*, p·127.

thinks that he was the priest of one of the two Vaikarṇa tribes, which were the allies of the Druhyus.[31] After the victory of the Bharatas in the battle of ten kings, Kavaṣa seems to have changed his religious affiliations and to have been recongnised in course of time, as a seer.

From the chronological point of view also , Kavaṣa who was a contemporary of Sudās , seems to have been the same as Kavaṣa Ailūṣa the reputed author of X·30–33. In X·33·4, king Kuruśravaṇa Trāsadasyava is mentioned. This king seems to have been a direct descendant of Trāsadasyu who was a contemporary of Divodāsa. He must have, therefore, lived about the time of Divodāsa's successor Sudās.

In the *ŚB* [32] Kavaṣa is said to have been the propounder of a particular philosophy. In another passage[33] in that *Brāhmaṇa* Śāṇḍilya refers to him as having built an altar on the river Kārotī. The *BĀU*[34] mentions Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana as his disciple.

By the side of Kavaṣa, Akṣa Maujavata is mentioned as an optional seer of X-34. This latter is obviously fictitious. The hymn X·34 presents in a very realistic manner, the picture of the pitiable plight of a gambler who is inclined to become penitent. In the case of several *sūktas* in the tenth *maṇḍala*, the main concept in a *sūkta* is personified and mentioned as the author of that *sūkta*. The *sūkta*, in question relates to excessive indulgence in gambling (*akṣa*)—and, by implication also in drinking (*maujavata*). That is why *akṣa mujavata* came to be regarded as the author of that *sūkta*.

Luśa

Luśa is said to be the seer of X·35–36 and presumably also of 38 , and is called 'Dhānāka', the son of Dhanaka. He is represented in a series of passages in the *Brāhmaṇas* [35] as a rival of Kutsa for the favour of Indra. Sāyaṇa[36] quotes the following legend from the *Śāṭyāyanaka* : Kutsa and Luśa both invoked Indra, who, however, went over to Kutsa, who bound him down by means of straps. Luśa then praised Indra with X·38·5, whereupon, cutting off all the straps, Indra ran to Luśa. Though, therefore, Muṣkavat Indra is sometimes mentioned as the author of X·38, it would appear from the above legend that Luśa was its real author.

Abhitapas

Abhitapas is the seer of X·37 and is said to be the son of Sūrya. It is rather queer that his *sūkta* should occur between the two *sūktas* which apparently belong to Luśa.

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(31) *ṚV* VII·18·11–12.
(32) *ŚB* 10·6·5·9.
(33) *ŚB* 9·5·2·15.
(34) *BĀU* 6·5·4.
(35) Cf. *PB* IX·2·22, *JB* I·128.
(36) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·408.

Ghoṣā

Ghoṣā is the seer of X·39–40. She is believed to have been the daughter of Kakṣīvān. In her *sūktas* she makes a reference to the following persons : Cyavāna and Taugrya;[37] Vimada, Śundhyu and Viṣpalā,[38] Rebha, Atri and Saptavadhri,[39] Pedu;[40] Śayu;[41] Bhṛgu[42]; Kutsa;[43] Bhujyu, Vaśa and Śiñjāraī[44] and Kṛśa and Śayu.[45]

While commenting on *ṚV* I·117·7 Sāyaṇa tells us that she was the daughter of Kakṣīvān and was a Brahmavādinī. As she was suffering from a disease, she could not be given in marriage to any one. So she stayed at her father's where she became old. She was cured of her disease by the favour of the Aśvins and she got back her husband. The fact is corroborated by X·39·3. The *BD*[46] gives her further details and says that Ghoṣā became sixty years old in her father's house. She knew that, by propitiating the Aśvins, her father had obtained youth, long life, health etc. So she also 'saw' these two (X·39–40) hymns. The Aśvins, in consequence, cured her of the disease and gave her a husband and a son, Suhastya.[47]

In her *sūkta* she piteously prays the divine Aśvins to heal her of her leprosy as they have healed many gods and men before.[48] She is growing old at home, so let them grant her health[49] and youthful beauty and help her to get a rich chieftain as a husband.[50] Let them further enlighten her about the amorous art and ways of love, of which she is, by circumstances ignorant.[51] The intense, pent-up desires of an old maid who is perforce obliged to forego conjugal bliss and domestic life, her disappointment and suffering are very beautifully and realistically portrayed in the hymn.

Handiqui[52] points out that Ghoṣā seems to have drawn almost all her allusions from the hymns to the Aśvins composed by her father[53] and from the one composed by Kutsa.[54] She seems to have reproduced in new connections the very words of her father and of Kutsa thus :

X·39·12 = I·117·2, 15; I·118·1.
X·39·1 = I·118·3.
X·39·4 = I·117·13.
X·39·10 = I·118·9.
X·39·9 = I·116·3.
X·39·14 = I·120·6.

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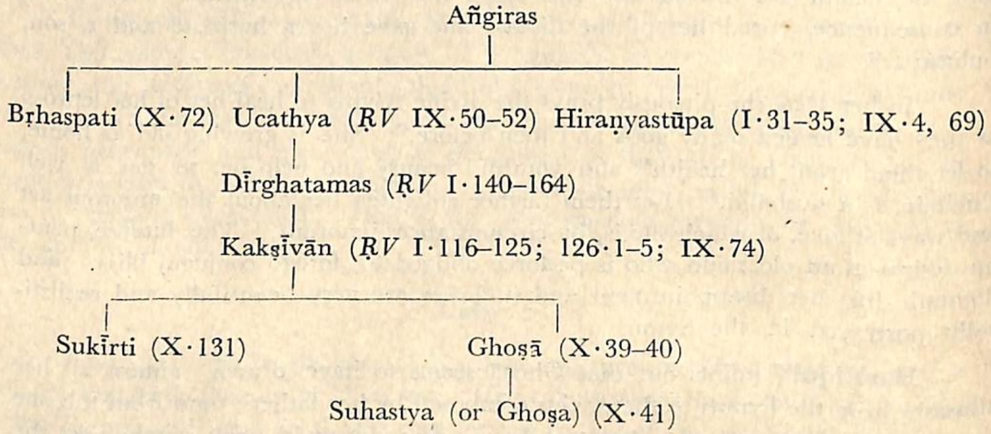
(37) *ṚV* X·39·4.
(38) *ṚV* X·39·8.
(39) *ṚV* X·39·9.
(40) *ṚV* X·39·10.
(41) *ṚV* X·39·13.
(42) *ṚV* X·39·14.
(43) *ṚV* X·40·6.
(44) *ṚV* X·40·7.
(45) *ṚV* X·40·8.
(46) *BD* VII·42–49.
(47) The *Sarvānukramaṇī* mentions Ghoṣa also as the name of her son. The name is referred to in *ṚV* I·120·5 but here Sāyaṇa identifies him with Suhastya, the seer of X·41.
(48) *ṚV* X·39·11.
(49) *ṚV* X·39·3.
(50) *ṚV* X·40·5.
(51) *ṚV* X·40·11.
(52) "Women poets of the Rigveda", **IA,** Vol. 50, p·114.
(53) *ṚV* I·116–118.
(54) *ṚV* I·112.

X·39·13 = I·112·8.
X·39·8 = I·112·8.
X·39·9 = I·112·7.

Ghoṣā's indebtedness to Kakṣīvān is thus clear but still her originality, apart from her independent ṛks is manifest in her condensing the selected allusions and giving them a new background to a considerable degree.[55] In direct contrast with the hymns of Viśvavārā and Apālā, who belonged to Atri's family, Ghoṣā's verses, besides being allusive are grave and different.

It is possible that in *ṚV* I·122·5 may be lurking an indirect reference to Ghoṣā's husband whose name appears to be Arjuna.[56] Her hymns are recited in the *Prātaranuvāk* of the Soma sacrifice and in the Aśvins *śastra* of the *atirātra* form of the same. Her genealogy can be reconstructed on the evidence of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* as follows :


Aṅgiras
Bṛhaspati (X·72)
Ucathya (ṚV IX·50–52)
Hiraṇyastūpa (I·31–35; IX·4, 69)
Dīrghatamas (ṚV I·140–164)
Kakṣīvān (ṚV I·116–125; 126·1–5; IX·74)
Sukīrti (X·131)
Ghoṣā (X·39–40)
Suhastya (or Ghoṣa) (X·41)

Ghoṣā, thus, belongs to a family that has produced a generation of Vedic poets.

Suhastya

Suhastya is said to have been the seer of X·41 and is said to be the son of Ghoṣā. It is possible that the word *Ghoṣa* which occurs in I·120·5 was the name of Suhastya's brother, but Sāyaṇa equates the word with Ghauṣeya (the son o Ghoṣā), that is, referring to Suhastya himself. Suhastya is mentioned by name in X·41·3.

Kṛṣṇa

Kṛṣṇa, belonging to the family of Aṅgiras, is reputed to be the seer of VIII·85 and X·42–44. His name actually occurs in VIII·85·3, 4. In the *CU*[57]

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(55) Cf. *ṚV* X·40·14.
(56) Cf. *ṚV* I·122·5 : *arjunasya naṁśe.*
(57) *CU* 3·17·6.

there is a mention of one Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, and here he is said to have been a disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa. It is, however, not possible to determine whether Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa of the *ṚV* is the same person as Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa, the disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa. The connection of both these persons with Āṅgirasa may indicate such identity. In that case we shall have to assume that Kṛṣṇa was a disciple of some teacher belonging to his own family. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the philosophical doctrine learnt by Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa from Ghora is believed to have been reflected in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[58] Of course, we cannot find any direct trace of that teaching in the hymns of Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa. Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa is also mentioned as an optional seer, with Viśvaka, his son, the author of VIII·86 and, with Dyumnīka Vāsiṣṭha or Priyamedha Āṅgirasa, of VIII·87. In I·116·23, Viśvaka Kṛṣṇiya is referred to as a protege of the Aśvins, who are said to have found out his lost son Viṣṇāpu.[59]

Saptagu

Saptagu is believed to have been the seer of X·47 and refers to himself as Āṅgirasa in X·47·6.[60]

Indra Vaikuṇṭha[61]

Though Indra Vaikuṇṭha is said to be the seer of X·48–50, these *sūktas* must have been composed by some historical *ṛṣi*, perhaps by Saptagu himself, and are represented in the form of Indra's own speech. As a matter of fact the forty-eighth *sūkta* would actually appear to constitute a self-laudatory reply of Indra Vaikuṇṭha to Saptagu. In X·48·2, for instance Indra speeks of the help given by him to Atharvan, Trita, and Dadhīca. In X·48·8, he tells how he helped Divodāsa, the son of Atithigva, against the Gungus and how he killed Parṇaya and Karanja. In X·49·3 he relates how he helped Kavi and Kutsa against their enemies like Atka, Śuṣṇa etc. In X·49·4 he speaks of Kutsa having been helped against Smadibha, Ugra, and Vetasu and of gifts having been granted to Tuji.

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(58) In the *Chāndogya Up.* 3·16–17 Ghora Āṅgirasa is said to have advised Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī that he should take refuge in the final hour in these three thoughts, viz. : "You are the indestructible; you are the unshaken; you are the very essence of life." This seems to be the seed of the rich crop of philosophy of the *Bhagavadagītā*. **Dandekar** ("The Mahābhārata : Origin and Growth" *University of Ceylon Review*, XII, pp.1–21), says, "The popular movement of Kṛṣṇa is characterised by its emphasis on religious and philosophical synthesis. The Brahmanic teachers of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads had been notoriously dogmatic in their speculations relating both to ritualism and spiritualism. As a shrewd leader of men, Kṛṣṇa realised that religious and philosophical dogmatism often tends to divide the people while synthesis unites them."

(59) About Vatsapri Bhālandana, the author of X·45–46, see the chapter relating to the seers of the Pāvamāna *maṇḍala*.

(60) According to **Wilson,** as quoted by **Griffith,** *Hymns of the Rigveda,* II, p·448, the word *saptagu* in X·47·6 means 'the lord of much praise', hence Bṛhaspati, while **Grassmann** (op. cit.), interprets it to mean 'drawn by seven oxen'.

(61) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV,* VSM, I, p·438, where Vikuṇṭhā is said to be an *asura* woman to whom Indra was born.

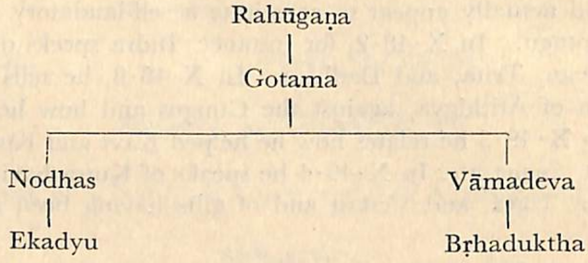
In X·49·5 he tells us how he helped Śrutarvan against Mṛgaya and Āyu against Veśa, and Savya against Padgṛbhi. In X·40·6 he mentions how he killed Navavāstva. In X·49·8, he calls himself *nahuṣo nahuṣṭaraḥ* and speaks of his help to Turvaśa and Yadu.

Agni Saucīka

The *sūktas* X·51·2, 4, 6, 8; X·52; X·53·4–5 and X·79–80 are traditionally attributed to Saucīka Agni who is evidently a fictitious figure, at least partially.

Bṛhaduktha

Bṛhaduktha is the seer of X·54–56 and is said to be a Vāmadevya, that is, either a son or a descendant of Vāmadeva.[62] His name occurs in X·54·6, where he refers to himself as Brahmakṛt. In V·19·3 which is the composition of Vavri Ātreya, there occurs the name Bṛhaduktha, who is described as 'having a golden ornament in the neck'. It is, however, very difficult to say whether it refers to the seer Bṛhaduktha of the tenth *maṇḍala.* In X·56, Bṛhaduktha implores the gods to take away the body of his son Vājin, who is dead. The *AB* (8·23) says that Bṛhaduktha consecrated Durmukha, the king of Pāñcāla on the throne, by means of the rite of Aindra Mahābhiṣeka. In the *Sarvānukramaṇī* he is also referred to as Vāmadevya.[63] In another Vedic text he is referred to as Vāmaneya.[64] The genealogy of Bṛhaduktha may be reconstructed as follows.



Gaupāyanas

(Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu and Viprabandhu)

These four brothers are said to be the sons of the sister of Agastya and are referred to as Gaupāyanas. They are also regarded as the seers of V·24. According to the *JB*[65] and the *PB*,[66] Asamāti, the Ikṣvāku prince of the Rathaproṣṭha family, had these Gaupāyanas as his priests. In course of time, however, the king

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(62) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV* (X·54·1; 56·1), VSM, IV, p·462.
(63) Cf. also *ŚB* XIII·2·214.
(64) *PB* 14·9·37–38.
(65) *JB* 3·167.
(66) *PB* 13·12·5.

quarrelled with his priests. Later on Kirāta and Ākulī, the two *Asuras*, induced him to abandon his family-priests. Through their magic, these *Asuras* also contrived the death of Subandhu, one of the brothers. The other brothers are believed to have then revived him by the use of the hymns X·57–60. The *Sarvānukramaṇī*, quoted by Sāyaṇa, gives the story more or less similarly.[67] The *BD*[68] gives the story as follows: "King Asamāti Rāthaprauṣṭha, of the family of Ikṣvāku, dismissed his domestic priests, Bandhu and the rest. He asked Kirāta and Ākulī, the two crafty demons, to act as his domestic priests. These latter, having assumed the form of pigeons, attacked the Gaupāyanas, particularly Subandhu, by means of their craft and magic. Consequently Subandhu swooned and fell. They plucked out his spirit and went to the king. The Gaupāyanas and their mother, Agastyasvasā praised king Asamāti and recited prayers for his sake. He was thus put to shame. They praised Agni also with a *dvipadā* hymn. Agni then said to them : "Here within the sacrificial enclosure is the spirit of Subandhu. The Gaupāyanas summoned the spirit with the *mantra*, *ayaṁ mātā* (X·60·7), pointing to the body of Asamāti. They also individually touched the body with their hands and as a result of this, Subandhu recovered his life."

In their *sūktas*, the Gaupāyanas refer to their patron as Asamāti Bhajeratha (X·60·2), as Ikṣvāku (X·60·4), and as Rāthaproṣṭha (X·60·5).

Nābhānediṣṭha

Nābhānediṣṭha is the seer of X·61–62. His name occurs in X·61·18. While commenting on *ṚV* X·61, Sāyaṇa gives the following legend[69] : "Nābhānediṣṭha approached his father and asked him why no share in the patrimony was given to him. The father asked him not to worry about such an insignificant thing. He further told him that if he were to recite the two *sūktas*, beginning with *idam itthā* (X·61·1) for the Aṅgirasas, who were holding a sacrificial session, they would endow him with thousand cows. Nābhānediṣṭha did accordingly and got the cows." The *TS*[70] adds some more details to this legend. It tells us that Manu partitioned his estate among his sons. He, however, left out of account Nābhānediṣṭha who was living as a student with his preceptor. When Nābhānediṣṭha returned home, he asked Manu why he was disinherited. Manu replied, "I have not left you out of the heritage. These Aṅgirasas, here, are performing a sacrifice. They do not know adequately the means of attaining to *Svarga*. Recite unto them this *brahman* and as they depart heavenwards, they will bestow on you all their cows." On Nābhānediṣṭha's having done as instructed by Manu, the Aṅgirasas bestowed on him all the cows that belonged to them. As he was marching along with the cattle, Rudra came up to him and met him on the sacrificial grounds. Nābhānediṣṭha said to Rudra, "The Aṅgirasas have offered these cows to me saying that they were mine. They, therefore, are now mine !" "You are not their owner", said Rudra, "Whatever is left over on the sacrificial ground,

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(67) Cf. the *Śāṭyāyanaka* quoted by Sāyaṇa (*Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *RV*, VSM, IV, p·470).

(68) *BD* VII·85–101.

(69) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·481.

(70) *TS* 3·1·9.

that is, by right, mine. Therefore one should not trespass on the sacrificial ground". Then Nābhānediṣṭha appealed to Rudra with the words, "Allow me, my lord, the fruits of the sacrifice, if by any means you do not desire these cattle". And to that end, he took the ghee-offering from the churning vessel and performed a full *saṁsrāva* offering, wherefrom, pleased, Lord Rudra ceased to care for the cattle."

The same story occurs again with a tame moral in the *AB*[71]. **Haug**[72] translates it as follows :

"Nābhānediṣṭha was a son of Manu, who was given to the sacred study. His brothers deprived him of his share in the paternal property. He went to them and said, "What portion is left to me ?" They answered, "Go to the adjudicator and arbitrator." He went to his father and said, "They have divided the property including my share among themselves." The father answered, "My dear son, do not mind that. There are the Aṅgirasas just engaged in holding their sacrificial session for going to heaven. As often as they commence the ceremonies on the sixth day, they are puzzled. Let them recite on the sixth day those two hymns (*ṚV* X·61–62), then they will give you the sum of a thousand which is contributed by all the sacrificers, participating in the session, when they go to heaven." He then went to them, saying, "Receive me, the son of Manu, among you, O wise!" They said, "What dost thou wish, that thou speakest thus ?" He answered, "I will show you how to perform the sixth day, then give me the reward of a thousand cows when you go up to heaven." They did so and became aware of the sacrifice and of heaven. While going up they gave him the gift of thousand. In the meanwhile a man clothed in blackish dress came to him and said, "The cows belong to me." Nābhānediṣṭha said, "The Aṅgirasas have given it to me." "Then it belongs to both of us. Consult your father" said the man. The son told the father what had happened. Manu told him that the gift of a thousand belonged to the man." He went back again to the man and said, "Sir, this belongs only to you; so says my father." The man said, "I give it to you because you have spoken the truth." Therefore, a man who is learned must speak the truth."

A critical study of these legends would bring out some interesting aspects of the ancient Hindu law of inheritance, the main doctrines of which are honoured even today.

The story is important to a student of Hindu jurisprudence,[73] inasmuch as it lays down (i) that the estate of a Hindu joint family was liable to be partitioned amongst the coparceners at the instance of any member thereof, even during the life-time of the parents,[74] (ii) that the sons became entitled to a share of such property by the mere fact of their being born in that family, (iii) that every member was entitled to an equal share, (iv) that the said partition was

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(71) *AB* V·14.

(72) *Aitareya Brahmaṇa of the Rigveda*, Vol. II, pp·341–42.

(73) For a discussion on the jurisprudential bearings of the legend, see Vasudeva **Sarma**'s "The law of Hindu inheritance", *JORSM*, Vol. 6, pp·22–29.

(74) Cf. The *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* II·2·1–2; 2·2·8 and the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* 29·2.

iiable to be reopened on the ground of fraud or unfairness, at the instance of any member, in whose absence the partition arrangements had been concluded, (v) that a member, who was otherwise provided for and well-off, was entitled to renounce or release his share of the estate, (vi) that such release enured to the benefit of the coparceners in the absence of the renouncer's nominees, (vii) that the "gains of learning" amounted to a self-acquisition, which was impartible, (viii) that a donee cannot have a title superior to his donor's, and that (xi) a universal donee is liable to meet all the obligations of the donor to the full extent of the estate onveyed by the gift.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that, in the hymns ascribed to the authorship of Nābhānediṣṭha, we do not see any trace of the legends referred to above. They, therefore, appear to relate to a later phase in his career. The *PB*[75] refers to his Ṛgvedic *sūkta* as the 'Nābhānediṣṭhīya *sūkta*'. In his *sūktas*, Nābhānediṣṭha refers to the following persons : Paktha (61.1), Turvayāṇa and Cyavāna (61.2), Navagva (61.10), Śuṣṇa and Nārṣada (61.13), Kakṣīvān (61.16), Saraṇyu (61.23–24), Vala (62.2), Navagva and Daśagva (62.6), Manu Sāvarṇya (62.8–9), Yadu and Turvaśa (62.10). Etymologically, the name Nābhānediṣṭha can be connected with Nabānaztiṣta in the *Avesta*, which refers to Fravaṣī of the Paoiryoṭkaesha and the Fravaṣī of Nabānaztiṣta. **Lassen**[76] sees in the legend of Nābhānediṣṭha the reflection of Indo-Iranian split. **Roth**,[77] however, thinks that this is impossible. The word *nābhānediṣṭha* means 'nearest in birth', which is its meaning also in the *Avesta*. In the *ṚV* it has become a proper name. In X.61.18, Nābhānediṣṭha styles himself as a *sūri*. The shorter form of his name seems to be Nābhā.[78] He is referred to as *vaitaraṇa* in X.61.17 which is interpreted by Sāyaṇa[79] as *viśeṣeṇa tārayitā*.

Gaya Plāta

Gaya is the traditional seer of X.63–64. He refers to himself as the son of Plati in X.63.17 and X.64.17 and as Gaya in X.64.16. In X.63.7, Gaya refers to Manu and in X.63.1 to Nahuṣya Yayāti. The reference to the rivers Sarasvatī, Śarayu and Sindhu in X.64.9 may also be suggestive. The *Sarvānukramaṇī*[80] and the *AB*[81] also clearly support his authorship of these hymns. In the *AV*[82] Gaya is mentioned with Asita and Kaśyapa as a half-mythical sage. Asita and Gaya are mentioned together also in the *MBh*[83] where they are said to have been defeated, with others, by Māndhātā.

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(75) *PB* 20·9·2.
(76) *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I·520 and Addenda, p·l xxvii.
(77) *ZDMG* 6, p·243 ff.
(78) Cf. *ṚV* X·62·4.
(79) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·487.
(80) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·494.
(81) *AB* V·2.
(82) *AV* I·14·4.
(83) *AV* I·14·4.

Vasukarṇa

Vasukarṇa is the seer of X.65–66, and is said to be son of Vasukra. He mentions Bhujyu, Śyāva, Vadhrimatī, Kamadyu, , Vimada, Viṣṇāpu, and Viśvaka in X.65.12. He mentions the river Sarasvatī in X. 65.13. He also refers to Vasiṣṭha in X.65.15 and X.66.14,15. While commenting on the word *vasiṣṭhaḥ* ocurring in X.65.15 Sāyaṇa says : *vaṣiṣṭhakulajaḥ.*

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa is traditionally believed to have been the author of X. 67–68. His name, Ayāsya, occurs in X.67.1 where he refers to Aṅgiras as *pitā naḥ*. Ayāsya mentions 'Aṅgirasaḥ' in X.67.2 and Āṅgirasaḥ in X.68.2.

Sumitra

Sumitra is the seer of X.69–70. He is supposed to have been the son of Vadhryaśva. In that case, he would be the brother of Divodāsa. He refers to Vadhryaśva in X.69.1,2,4,10,11,12, and refers to himself as Vādhryaśva in X.69.5,9. In X.70.9, he mentions the Aṅgirasas, who seem to have been his ancestors. According to the *Purāṇas*,[84] his genealogy would be as follows :

Mudgala (m.Mudgalānī)
|
Vdhrayśva (m.Menakā)
|
Divodāsa | Sumitra | Ahalyā

He refers to the members of his family as *sumitrāḥ*.[85]

Bṛhaspati

Bṛhaspati is said to be the seer of X.71. With Aditi, he is also mentioned as an optional seer of X.72. This is obviously a fictitious tradition. The original author of this *sūkta* was unknown. In view of its subject matter, which is 'glorification of knowledge', the *saṁhitākāras* associated with it the name of Bṛhaspati, who was regarded as *kavīnām kaviḥ*. One Bṛhaspati, who is mentioned in the *MBh*, however, seems to be not quite ficititious. According to the *MBh*,[86] he had two brothers, named Saṁvarta and Utathya. He cursed Mamatā, Utathya's wife, who did not grant his request, that her child would be born blind. Accordingly, Dīrghatamas was born blind. From Mamatā, Bharadvāja was born to Bṛhaspati. One Bṛhaspati was the priest of Marutta Āvīkṣita.[87]

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(84) **Pargiter,** *AIHT*, pp. 192 and 251.
(85) *ṚV* X·69·7–8.

It appears from the *MBh*[88] that Uparicara Vasu had invited Bṛhaspati to work as his priest. Bṛhaspati seems to have given advice also to Vasumanas, the king of Kosalas.

Aditi

As mentioned above, Aditi, the daughter of Dakṣa and Asiknī is mentioned with Bṛhaspati as an optional seer of X.72. It should be noted that in connection with this *sūkta* Bṛhaspati is referred to as Laukya.

Gaurivīti

Gaurivīti, the traditionally recognised author of V.29, IX.108.1–2 and X.73–74 is believed to have been the son of Śakti and the grandson of Vasiṣṭha. He mentions Namuci and Manu in X.73.7 and Priyamedhas in X.73.11. The *AB*[89] speaks of a 'Gaurivīta *sūkta*' and the fact is corroborated at another place by the *AB*[90] and also by the *PB*[91] The *JB*[92] states that he was a *prastotṛ* in the sacrificial session held by the Vibhindukīyas. *ŚB*[93] states that he was a priest of Ṛṣabha Yājñatura. Gaurivīti refers to Navagva and Dadhyañ in X.108.4.

Sindhukṣit

Sindhukṣit, the author of X.75, is believed to have been the son of Priyamedha Āṅgirasa. In the case of this seer, it appears that the family-tradition has been preserved more or less in tact but the personal name is fictitious. In X.75.5–6, Sindhukṣit mentions a number of names of the various rivers, like Gaṅgā, Yamunā Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī, Asiknī, Marudvṛdhā, Vitastā, Ārjīkīyā, Suṣomā, Tṛṣṭamā, Susartu, Rasā, Śvetī, Sindhu, Kubhā, Gomatī, Krumu, and Mehatnu. It is not unlikely that, because the personal name of the seer was lost, a fictitious name indicating his connection with rivers (*Sindhu*) was invented by the Saṁhitākāras.

Out of the rivers mentioned in X.75, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvati are well-known. Śutudrī is modern Sutlej. Paruṣṇī is conjectured to be modern Rāvī. Asiknī is modern Chinab. The Greeks used to call this river by the name Akcsiniz. Suṣomā must be Soanos of the times of Megasthenes or modern Suwan. Marudvṛdhā, according to Sāyaṇa, is a tributory of Asiknī. According to **Roth**,[94] that river represents the joint stream of Asiknī and Vitastā, while **Ludwig**[95] says that it is the joint stream of Asiknī, Vitastā, and Paruṣṇī.

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(86) *MBh*, Āraṇyaka Parvan, 140.

(87) See also, in this connection, the fifth chapter.

(88) *MBh*, Śānti Parvan 336.

(89) *AB* 3·19.

(90) *AB* 8·2.

(91) *PB* 11·5, 12·13, 25·7.

(92) *JB* 2·233.

(93) *ŚB* 12·8·3·7.

(94) *Zur Litteratur Geschichte des Weda*, 138 et seq.

(95) *Translation of the Rigveda* 3·200.

Vitastā (Hidaspes) is modern Jhelum. Ārjīkīyā seems to be some river in the region near about Kāshmir. Tṛṣṭamā must have been some river joining Sindhu. So too must have been Susartu. Rasā seems to be the name given to a river in the North-Western region of Saptasindhu. Śvetī may be identified with Śvetayāvarī. Sindhu and Kubhā (= modern Kabul) are wellknown. Gomatī seems to have been a tributary of Sindhu. Perhaps it may be Gomal which falls into Sindhu on the Western side. Krumu must be a Western tributary of Sindhu, now known as Kurum. Mehatnu is a tributary of Sindhu which joins it before Krumu and Gomatī. The names of these rivers indicate the region extending from Kubhā in the North-West up to Gaṅgā in the east. Presumably, this region suggests the extent of the Aryan colonisation at the time of Sindhukṣit. It may be incidentally pointed out in this connection that, on the strength of the evidence of the order in which these various rivers are mentioned in X. 75.5–6, (namely, beginning with Gaṅgā in the East and ending with Mehatnu in the West) it is urged that the migration of the Vedic Aryans was from the East towards the West, It is, however, more likely that the poet began with the mention of the river which represented the region up to which the Vedic Aryans had till then colonised and then reflected backwards towards the region from which his ancestors started their migrations in India.

Jaratkarṇa

According to Sāyaṇa,[96] Jaratkarṇa, to whom X.76 is attributed, belonged to the Sarpa tribe. This Jaratkarṇa is further said to be the son of Irāvat. His full name would thus be Jaratkarṇa Irāvat Sarpa. Jarataḥ Karṇa, who is mentioned in X. 80.3 as a protege of Agni, is probably to be identified with this seer.

Syūmaraśmi

He is the seer of X.77–78 and is said to have belonged to the Bhṛgu family. He is referred to in I.112.16, where the Aśvins are said to have protected him with the arrows made of bamboos. In VIII.52.2, Indra is said to have drunk Soma in his house.

Agni Saucīka, Agni Vaiśvānara, Sapti Vājambhara

Three seers are mentioned as optional authors of X.79–80. As for Saucīka Agni, we have already dealt with him in connection with X.51. According to Sāyaṇa Vaiśvānara Agni is also Saucīka. In any case these two names are apparently either partly or wholly fictitious. Sapti Vājambhara, too, who is mentioned as the third optional author, cannot be said to have been authentic. It is possible that the epithets Sapti and Vājambhara, relating to Agni, who is the *devatā* of these two *sūktas*, have been artificially made up into the name of the author, because the origional tradition in that regard had be-

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(96) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·549.

come extinct. Jaratkarṇa, Atri and Nṛmedha are mentioned in X.80.3 as the proteges of Agni. In the same context Jarūtha is referred to as having been burnt by Agni.

Viśvakarmā Bhauvana

The reference to Viśvakarman as the deity of X.81–82 seems to suggest that he was not really the author of these *sūktas*. By way of an introduction to X.81.1, Sāyaṇa quotes from the Nirukta[97] as follows: "Viśvakarman secrificed all being in a *sarvamedha* sacrifice and finally sacrificed himself. This *ṛk* is in his honour." In the *AB* the sage Kaśyapa is said to have consecrated Viśvakarman Bhauvana with the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka.[98] We are told that, on that occasion, Viśvakarman offered the earth as a gift to Kaśyapa. The earth, however, declined saying: "No human being deserves to give the earth as a gift. Here, therefore, I sink down into water. Your promise to Kaśyapa thus becomes fruitless".

In X.81.3, Viśvakarman Bhauvana is described as an omnipresent God, while X.81.2,4 are expressive of the philosophical thoughts regarding the origin of the world.

Manyu Tāpasa

Manyu Tāpasa, obviously a fictitious figure, is believed to be the seer of X.83–84. The *devatā* of these two hymns is also Manyu. These hymns constitute the *nivids* in the 'Marutvatīya *śastra*' of a one-day sacrifice called 'Ajira'.

Sūryā

The authorship of Sūryā, the daughter of Savitṛ, is artificially superimposed on X.85, because the hymn relates to the marriage of Sūryā.[99] Some *mantras* from this *sūkta* are employed in a Hindu marriage ceremony even today. It also contains several references, such as X.85.46 which are highly significant from the point of view of the social and domestic life in the days of the Veda.

Indra, Indrāṇī, Vṛṣākapi

The original tradition regarding the authorship of X.86 must have been lost or suppressed. Therefore, following the tenet, *yasya vākyam sa ṛṣiḥ*, Indra, Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi are mentioned as the seers of that hymn.

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(97) *Nirukta* X·26.

(98) *AB* 8·21 : एतेन ह वा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण कश्यपो विश्वकर्माणं
भौवनमभिषिषेच तस्मादु विश्वकर्मा भौवनः समंतं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन्
परीयाय । अश्वेन च मेध्येनेजे । भूमिर्ह जगौ इत्युदाहरन्ती
न मा मर्त्यः कश्चन दातुमर्हति
विश्वकर्मन् भौवन मां दिदासिथ ।
निमंक्ष्येऽहं सलिलस्य मध्ये
मोघस्त एष कश्यपायास संगरः ।।

(99) **Dandekar** has discussed the significance of this *sūkta* in "Pūṣan, the pastoral god of the Veda" *NIA* 5, pp·49–66.

Indra is said to be the seer of several *sūktas* or portions of *sūktas* in the *ṚV* such as, I.165.1–2,4,6,8,10–12; 170.2,3,4; IV.18.1,4; 26.1–3, VIII.10.4–5, X.28.2,6,8,10,12; 86.1,8,11,12,14,19–22. It is suggested that Indra's authorship of these *ṛks* indicates that Indra was a dynastic title. The members of the family of Indra are also mentioned among *ṛṣis*. His wife Indrāṇī, for instance, is mentioned as the seer of X.86.2–6,9,10,15–18; 145. Her name is also given as Śacī Paulomī. Indra's son is named as Vasukra and his daughter-in-law is also mentioned as Vasukrapatnī or Indra-snuṣā. Moreover, Indra himself is often distinguished as Laba Indra, Vaikuṇṭha Indra and Muṣkavān Indra. There are many incidents in the *ṚV* in which Indra is treated not as a deity but as a contemporary of many persons whom he helped and saved in various ways, e. g. in the legend relating to Marutta Āvīkṣita, Bṛhaspati is said to have been the priest of Indra.[100] The *BD*[101] records a story about Gṛtsamada and Indra where the latter seems to have been referred to as contemporary personage. Sāyaṇa, while commenting on X.38 says that according to the *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa*, Kutsa and Luśa both invoked Indra. This shows that Kutsa and Luśa were contemporary with Indra. The *BD*[102] also refers to Indra as an intimate friend of Bhāvayavya.

Vṛṣākapi Aindra is the seer of VII.13.23 and X.86.3. He is stated to have participated in the dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī. He is mentioned also in X.86.5.[103]

Pāyu Bhāradvāja

Pāyu is the seer of VI.75 and X.87 and is described as the son of Bharadvāja.[104] The *BD*[105] records how, when Abhyāvartin Cāymāna, and Prastoka Sārñjaya were defeated by the Varaśikhas, Bharadvāja asked his son Pāyu to sacrifice for them. The hymn X·87 is a *rakṣoghna sūkta*. In it Pāyu

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(100) Cf. **Mankad,** *Date of Rigveda,* p·59.

(101) *BD* IV·66–69.

(102) *BD* III·142 ff.

(103) According to **Tilak,** Vṛṣākapi is the sun near the point of Southern zodiac or the sun going down the horizon at the beginning of a long-lasting darkness. **Dandekar** ("Viṣṇu in the Veda", **Kane** Comm. Vol. pp·95–111) points out that Indra is here spoken of as having been exhausted when a bold lascivious monkey administered to him some medicine, through which Indra regained his manly power. **Dandekar** has shown in another paper ("Viṣṇu in the Veda", **Kane** Comm. Vol., pp.95–111) that this Vṛṣākapi is to be identified with the fertility-god Viṣṇu. The whole episode, according to him, may thus refer to Indra's efforts to preserve his virility intact. (Cf. also the views of **Macdonell** *VM*, 64; **Perry,** *JAOS* 11, **Bradke,** *ZDMG*, 45·265). He adds that such descriptions of a more or less 'intimate' character must be understood to refer to the actual life of a human hero before he became the supreme god. **Velankar** ("Hymns to Indra in *maṇḍala* X" *JUB*, 28, pp·11–15), however, says that the hymn portrays Indrāṇī's natural jealousy for a step-son, Vṛṣākapi, her attempt to rouse her husband's jealousy, and anger against him, her anger against him, and her clever change of front in the face of a discomfiture. He further points out that there is no indication whatsoever of a new Vṛṣākapi-cult, anti-Indra in nature, at any place in the hymn. The object of the hymn, according to him, is to show Indra's love for a poor but sincere sacrificer in preference to a rich worshipper.

(104) For further details please refer to the fifth chapter.

(105) *BD* V·126.

refers to Mūradevas, Yātudhānas, Kravyādas, and Kimīdinas and requests Agni to kill all of them.

Mūrdhanvān Vāmadevya

Mūrdhanvān is the traditional seer of X·88 and is said to be the son of Vāmadeva, who himself was an Āṅgirasa. A very interesting question is asked by Mūrdhanvān in X.88.18: "How many are the fires and the suns in number? What is the number of the dawns and the waters? Not jestingly I speak to you, O fathers. Sages, I ask you this for information." The answer to this question seems to have been given in VIII·58·2: "Kindled in many a spot, still one is Agni, Sūrya is one though high over all he shineth. Illuminating this All, still one is Uṣas. That which is one hath into all developed."

Reṇu[106]

Reṇu is the son of Viśvāmitra and the traditional seer of IX.70 and X.89.

Nārāyaṇa

The famous *Puruṣasūkta*[107] is included in all the four *saṁhitās* of the Veda. But the true tradition regarding its authorship is shrouded in mystery. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that Nārāyaṇa, who is regarded as the author of that *sūkta*, cannot have been historically authentic. It is well-known that, in the epics, Nārāyaṇa is described as the creator of the universe and is accordingly often identified with the Puruṣa of the Vedic cosmology. The attribution of the *Puruṣasūkta* to the seer Nārāyaṇa presumably represents an earlier stage in the mythological development in this connection.

There are, however, some scholars who speak of Nārāyaṇa as if he was a historical person. According to **Pradhan,**[108] for instance, he was a contemporary of Parvata and Nārada, the priests of king Hariścandra Vaidhasa. He had his residence at Badari, the famous place of pilgrimage in the Himālayas.

Aruṇa

Aruṇa, the author of X·91, is said to be the son of Vītahavya, who was an Āṅgirasa. This Vītahavya Āṅgirasa is, as has been already noted, the seer of

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(106) For further details please refer to the second chapter.

(107) **Dandekar** has discussed the significance of this *sūkta* from the point of view of cosmology in his paper, "Yama in the Veda", B. C. **Law** Comm. Vol. **Haug,** however, holds that the hymn may not necessarily be regarded as modern in character, because such cosmological and speculative conceptions are met with in about every part of the *ṚV* and that the allegory is significant and instructive. **Muir** (*OST*, Vol. V, pp·317 ff.) speaks about the hymn as follows : "Penetrated with a sense of the sanctity and efficiency of the rite and familiar with all its details, the priestly poet, to whom we owe the hymn, has thought it no profanity to represent the supreme Puruṣa himself as forming the victim, whose immolation by the agency of gods gave birth, by its transcendent power, to the visible universe and all its inhabitants".

(108) *CAI*, pp·163 ff.

VI·15. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[109] Vasiṣṭha tells Rāma a legend about one Vītahavya, who was a *Jīvanmukta*.

Śaryāta

Śaryāta is the seer of X·92 and is described as the son of Vaivasvata Manu. The *ŚB*[110] mentions his name as Śaryāta Mānava. *ṚV* I·112·17 tells us that Śaryāta was helped in war by the Aśvins against Indra. On the other hand, in I·51·12, Indra is said to have drunk Soma to his heart's content in Śaryāta's house. Do these references indicate that Śaryāta originally belonged to an anti-Indra-cult, but that, in course of time, he was obliged to adopt it. Śaryāta mentions Atharvā and Bhṛgu in X·92·10 and Aṅgiras in X·92·15. Madhucchandas Vaiśvāmitra is said to be his priest.[111] According to the *ŚB*,[112] Cyavana, of the family of Bhṛgu officiated at a sacrifice performed by Śaryāta, and played a particularly important role in connection with the *āśvina graha*. Cyavana is further said to have consecrated Śaryāta according to the rite of *Aindra Mahabhiṣeka*. The king then performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and so got the honour of being a *gṛhapati* at the sacrifice of the gods.[113] Another legend has been told about Śaryāta Mānava and Cyavana Bhārgava in the *JB*.[114] According to it Śaryāta Mānava, escorted by his followers, once insulted Cyavana Bhārgava, who was lying in a ditch near the river Sarasvatī. Consequently the sage made the king and his followers lose their senses so much so that they did not even observe the laws of incest. Śaryāta, therefore, propitiated Cyavana who agreed to set matters right on condition that Śaryāta's daughter Sukaṇyā might be given to him. Śaryāta agreed to it unwillingly and secretly advised Sukanyā to run away. But as Cyavana knew of it he chanted a hymn by the power of which a black serpent blocked her way. So she had to stay with him. The *ŚB* (4·1·5·1) further tells us how Cyavana was rejuvenated by the Aśvins at the request of Sukanyā.

The *Bhāgavata P.* tells us that the name of śaryāta's wife was Staviṣṭhā. In addition to their daughter Sukanyā, they are said to have three sons, namely, Uttānabarhi, Ānarta and Bhūriṣeṇa. The *Brahma P.* (ch. 138) tells us that he practised penance on the bank of Gautamī and revived his wife who was dead. Śaryāta, Śāryāta, Śaryati and Śāryāti seem to denote one and the same person.

Tānva

Tānva to whom tradition attributes X·93, is the son of Prthu and refers to himself as Tānva Pārthya in X·93·15. The *Anukramaṇī*[115] calls him Pārtha, that is the son of Pṛthu, who was the son of Vena (VIII·9·10) and who is believed

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(109) *Yogavāsiṣṭha* V·82–90.

(110) *ŚB* 4·1·5·1–2.

(111) Cf. **Chitrav,** *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p·571.

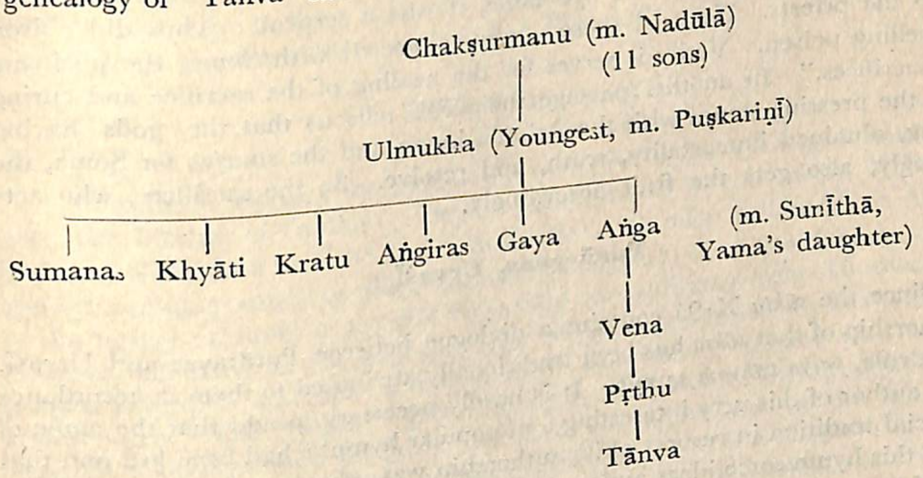
(112) *JB* III·121–128.

(113) *AB* VIII·21.

(114) *JB* III·120–128.

(115) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·630.

to have been the first person to be coronated as king in the whole world. The genealogy of Tānva can be reconstructed from the Purāṇic references as follows



In X·93·14, Tānva mentions kings like Duśśīma, Pṛthavāna (i.e. Pṛthi), Vena, Rāma, and Māyu (X·93·15).

Arbuda

Arbuda is the seer of X·94 and is said to be the son of Kadrū and Kaśyapa Mārīca.[116]

In the *AB* VI·1, a story is told as to how Arbuda Kādraveya, a serpent-seer and a maker of spells, worked as priest *Grāvastut* at the sacrificial session organised by the gods in connection with the *sarvacaru*. He is said to have been an expert in the knowledge of making the sacrifice faultless and the method of extracting juice from the Soma plant. He is also mentioned in the *Sāṁkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* (29·1) and the *PB* (25·15).

The deity of the *sūkta*, X·94, is 'Grāvan' or the Pressing Stone and the hymn is called the 'Arbuda hymn'. The *ṛks* in this *sūkta* are appropriate to the actions relating to the pressing stone on the part of the priests. In X·94·4, for instance, the action of the Soma-pressers is referred to. That *ṛk* is to be recited when the words, *bṛhat bṛhat*, are uttered.

The *KB*[117] gives the following information about this *sūkta* ascribed to the authorship of Arbuda :

"The *ṛks* in this *sūkta* are fourteen in number; the fingers are ten and the pressing stones are four. They, thus, together make up the number fourteen. In that, he concludes with a *Triṣṭubh*; thereby, at midday, is the *Triṣṭubh* secured.

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(116) Arbuda, thus seems to have belonged to the *Sarpa* tribe.

(117) *KB* 29·1.

He praises standing; the stones stand as it were. He praised wearing a turban and with eyes tied up; therefore now also wearing a turban the priest praises the stones. Moreover, they say 'the eye came, it was a serpent.' Thus did poison come to the priests. He used these verses connected with Soma, the purifying and repelling poison. Verily it serves for the healing of the sacrifice and curing of the sacrifices." In another passage the *KB*[118] tells us that the gods having praised the pressing stones with the Arbuda hymn and the stanzas for Soma, the purifying, obtained immortality, truth, and resolve. So the sacrificer, who acts accordingly, also gets the fruit accordingly.

Purūravas, Urvaśī

Since the *sūkta* X·95 contains a dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī, the authorship of that *sūkta* has been traditionally attributed to them in accordance with the rule, *yasya vākyaṁ sa ṛṣiḥ*. It is hardly necessary to add that the name of the real author of this very interesting and popular hymn[119] had been lost and that an artificial tradition in respect of its authorship was subsequently started. There occur in this hymn some ideas and perhaps even some phrases which are evidently derived from ancient floating literature of worldly wisdom.[120]

Baru or Sarvahari Aindra

Baru, the author of X·96, was an Āṅgirasa. His authorship of this *sūkta* is confirmed by the *AB*[121] as also by the *KB*,[122] which refers to this *sūkta* as Baru-*sūkta*. It should, however, be pointed out that the hymn is optionally ascribed to the authorship of Sarvahari Aindra. The word, *hari* occurs in one form or another about 50 times in the 13 *ṛks* of this hymn. The hymn is moreover addressed to Indra These circumstances might have given rise to the alternative tradition relating to the fabulous author Sarvahari Aindra. There should, indeed, be little doubt that Baru is the genuine author, though his name does not occur anywhere in the hymn.

Bhiṣak

The name of the seer of X·97 is traditionally given as Bhiṣak, the son of Atharvan. It would, however, appear that the tradition relating only to the family of this seer is correctly preserved while that relating to his personal name is invented at a later stage. It is well-known that the two names, Atharvan and Aṅgiras, represent two distinct tendencies : Atharvan stands for the things which are characterised as *bheṣaja*, *śānta*, and *pauṣṭika*, while Aṅgiras stands for things which are characterised as *yātu*, *abhicāra*, and *ghora*. This fact must have, in course

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(118) *KB* 25·1.

(119) In his "Urvaśī and Purūravas", *JBBRAS*, 27, **Kosambi** has discussed in detail the sociological implication of this legend.

(120) Cf. *ṚV* X·95·15.

(121) *AB* VI·25.

(122) *KB* 25·8.

of time, given rise to the artificial formation of the two names of apocryphal teachers, namely Bhiṣak Ātharvaṇa and Ghora Āṅgirasa. The subject matter of X·97, which refers to the wholesome, medicinal properties of various herbs, would also account for the author being called Bhiṣak.[123]

Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa

Tradition ascribes the authorship of X·98 to Devāpi who is said to have been the brother of Śantanu. Devāpi mentions his own name in X·98·2, 4–8 and that of Śantanu in X·98·3, 7. In X·98·11, he refers to himself as Aulāna.[124] Devāpi and his younger brother, Śantanu, belonged to the Kuru dynasty according to the legend narrated in the *BD*,[125] Devāpi was suffering from skin-disease. He, however, officiated as the priest at the sacrifice performed by Śantanu. He praised Bṛhaspati and caused rain to fall in the country stricken with famine for twelve years. The *Nirukta*[126] gives the story as follows : "Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Śantanu Kauravya were brothers. Śantanu was consecrated on the throne while Devāpi went away to practise penance. Thereupon, in the kingdom of Śantanu, it did not rain for twelve years. That, explained the Brāhmins, was due to a transgression of law in that the younger brother came to the throne, having set aside the claims of the elder one. Śantanu, therefore, offered the kingdom to Devāpi. The latter, however, told him that he did not want the kingdom but that he would officiate at a sacrifice to be performed by Śantanu, whereby there was sure to be rainfall. This *sūkta* (X·98) was employed to bring rain. About this *sūkta* composed by Devāpi **Wilson**[127] remarks : "This *sūkta* is remarkable as representing one of two brothers, both of the *kṣatriya* caste, becoming the *purohita* or the family-priest of the other who is a king." In this *sūkta* Devāpi addresses Bṛhaspati in his special character of the purohita of the gods and as the prototype of all human *purohitas*.

From the Purāṇic references the genealogy of Devāpi may be reconstructed as follows :

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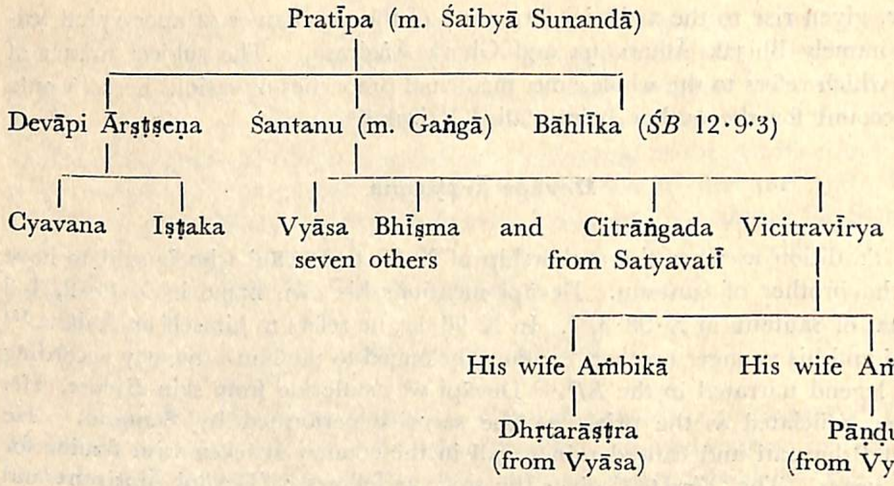
(123) In this connection a reference may be made to the view of **Pradhan** (*CAI*, p·79) who says that Śantanu Prātīpa was a skilled physician and was for this reason called the great Bhiṣak (Mahābhiṣak) in the *MBh* (50·542–43). His reputation as a physician was so great that people believed that whoever was touched by him, be he a chronic sufferer, was restored to the health of a young man. It seems to have escaped the notice of all the previous enquirers including even Śaunaka, the author of the *BD*, that the *ṚV* contains compositions of Śantanu, the great Bhiṣak who seems to have composed X·97. This is corroborated by the fact that the composition of Devāpi who is the brother of Śantanu immediately follows this hymn. In X·97·9 he refers to himself as Bhiṣak.

(124) According to **Griffith** (*Hymns of the Rigveda* II, p·536), *aulāna* may suggest his descent from Ula. In the *Śalyaparvan* of the *MBh* (stanzas 2281 ff.), Devāpi is said to have become a *Brāhmaṇa* at a holy place called Pṛthūdaka (cf. **Kane** *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p·793) where Sindhudvīpa and Viśvāmitra also were received into the higher caste (cf. also **Muir** *OST*, I·270 ff.).

(125) *BD* VII·154 and VIII·7.

(126) *Nirukta* 2·10.

(127) Cf. **Griffith** *Hymns of the Rigveda*, II, p·535, f. n.


Pratīpa (m. Śaibyā Sunandā)
Devāpi Ārṣṭṣeṇa
Śantanu (m. Gaṅgā)
Bāhlīka (*ŚB* 12·9·3)
Cyavana
Iṣṭaka
Vyāsa
Bhīṣma and seven others
Citrāṅgada
Vicitravīrya
from Satyavatī
His wife Aṁbikā
His wife Aṁbālikā
Dhṛtarāṣṭra
(from Vyāsa)
Pāṇḍu
(from Vyāsa)

Vamra Vaikhānasa

He is the traditional seer of X·99 and refers to himself in X·99·5. In X.99.12 he refers to himself as "Vamraka'' The mention of the Śiśnadevas in X·99·3 is historically very important. Vamra refers to Kutsa, Suṣṇa, Kavi, Atka in X·99·9 and to Pipru and Ausija Ṛjiśvā in X·99·11.[128]

Duvasyu

Duvasyu, the seer of X·100, is said to have been the son of Vandana. One Vandana is often mentioned as a protege of the Aśvins, who took him out of the well.[129] It is, however, not possible to determine whether he was the father of Duvasyu.

Budha

Budha, the son of Soma, is traditionally mentioned as the author of X·101. He is believed to have been the father of Purūravas. Evidently, his authorship of X·101 is fictitious.

Mudgala

Mudgala, to whom the authorship of X·102 is generally ascribed is often described as the son of the king Bhṛmyaśva and as the grandfather of king Divodāsa. His wife is referred to in X·102·2 as Mudgalānī Indrasenā. In the *MBh*[130] her name is given as Indrasenā Nālāyanī. **Pradhan**[131] suggests that she appears to be the daughter of Nala and Damayantī.

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(128) See also the note on *Sataṁ Vaikhānasaḥ* in the ninth chapter.

(129) Cf. *ṚV* I·116·11, 117·5, X·39·8.

(130) *MBh* Vanaparvan, 114.

(131) *CAI* p·4.

The *sūkta*[132] contains a reference to a very interesting legend. The legend as given by the *Sarvānukramaṇī*[133] tells us that all cattle belonging to Mudgala had been stolen. Only an old ox remained with him. He harnessed that ox to his wagon and went in pursuit of the robbers. He threw his mace in front of his wagon, and that mace showed him the way to the thieves. Mudgala, eventually, recovered his property.[134] The *Nirukta*[135] gives a different legend. According to its version Mudgala, the son of Bhṛmyaśva having yoked the *drughaṇa* and the ox to his wagon went to the battlefield.

Explaining the background of X·102, *BD*[136] says : the *sūkta* beginning with the words, *pra te ratham* is considered by Śākaṭāyana to be a narrative hymn; Yāska thinks that it is addressed to the Mallet or to Indra; but Śaunaka says that it is addressed to the All-gods. By this hymn, Mudgala Bhārmyaśva, in a contest, overcame Indra and Soma, having yoked to his chariot a bull and a Mallet belonging to Indra."

If we examine critically the legends relating to Mudgala, as given by Sāyaṇa, Yāska, Durga, Ṣadguruśiṣya, and Śaunaka, it would become evident that, though their treatment is much diversified, they exhibit certain basic features with sufficient constancy to make them worthy of close attention.

Geldner[137] assumes that the hymn in question is merely a fanciful tale. According to him the story may be given as follows: ' Mudgala, an old gentleman, enters upon a chariot-race although he does not possess a racing-chariot. He has only an ox-cart. Also, he has only a single steer, though two are generally necessary. He disguises the cart so as to make it look like a race-chariot and in place of the second ox he yokes a *drughaṇa*, a block of wood, or a wooden ox, which performs the double function of completing the span and smashing up the competitors. Since Mudgala himself is too old, his young and courageous wife, Indrasenā or Mudgalānī, drives and wins the race."

Geldner construes the hymn as constituting the glorification of a fabulous chariot-race. Indeed, he decorates the narrative with all the environments of modern sporting life, such as, turfmen devoted to women and loose life and conversant with slang and punning language; tricksters of the stable who employ every expedient in their power to interfere with legitimate success; jocose remarks on

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(132) **Rahurkar** has attempted an interpretation of the *sūkta* in his "Mudgala and Mudgalānī" in the *ṚV* in **Citrav** Comm. Vol. pp·85–97. He concludes that the *sūkta* is a *saṅgrāma sūkta* and has no connection with a chariot-race.

(133) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·675.

(134) Ṣadguruśiṣya, in his commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, gives the story as follows : Mudgala's cattle was stolen by thieves, leaving behind only an old steer. Having yoked this steer to one side of his cart and the *drughaṇa* to the other, he pursued the thieves leaving the guidance of the cart to the *drughaṇa*, and thus regained the cattle.

(135) *Nirukta*, 9·23. Durga, while commenting on this part of the *Nirukta*, says : "Mudgala engaged himself in a contest with the king. Owing to the absence of a second ox, he yokep the *drughaṇa* in its place, and, directing him with his divine power, ran a race with the king and finally conquered him.

(136) *BD* VIII·11–12.

(137) *Vedische Studien*, I·138; II·1–22.

the lusty but illmated Mudgalānī and her old and impotent husband; etc. The legend has thus been concocted by him with spices and condiments.

Pischel[138] on the other hand, has offered quite a different restoration of the legend : "Mudgala and Mudgalānī, according to him, take part in a race, in which buffaloes were yoked to the chariots. The charioteer Keśin, who inspired his buffaloes by loud cries, was their competitor. Mudgala won because one of the animals of their opponent, having drunk too much water, stopped in the middle to relieve itself, and the other fell down."

Bradke[139] says that the song, ṚV X·102, about Mudgala and Mudgalānī, their peculiar wagon with the steer in front is a diatribe, that is, a personal satire on the heroine and the hero of the mock-heroic hymn. The sage Mudgala is 'a countryclown', who, together with his wife, steps in 'where angels fear to tread' and in a foolishly dazed way surprises himself and everybody else by winning the race, handicapped though he is, by every imaginable obstacle. **Velankar**[140] is of the opinion that the hymn delineates a picture of the victory of Mudgala and Mudgalānī in a chariot-race but he does not agree with the views of **Geldner** and **Bloomfield. Bloomfield**[141] does not favour the interpretation given either by **Geldner** or by **Pischel** or by **Bradke.** According to him, in those interpretations the very *vedatvam* of the Veda is lost sight of. On a close scrutiny of the hymn one is disposed to doubt strongly whether the hymn has at all any 'race' in view.[142] Moreover, words like '*jighānsataḥ, vajram, vadham,* in stanza 3 and *pṛtanājyeṣu* in stanza 4 of this hymn would suggest something more than a race or a contest. According to **Bloomfield,** the hymn is essentially a war-hymn and the priest employs, in part, an invocation, of Indra whose name occurs in all three *bṛhatī* stanzas, and, in part an account of Mudgala's performances. The poem, thus, savours of the Indra-myth. Indrasenā Mudgalānī is the female of Mudgala and the latter must therefore represent Indra's weapon personified as a male. The *drughaṇa* also performs the natural function of a weapon.

We have seen above that the translation of the word *drughaṇa* by 'a wooden block', 'machine', 'automaton', is indefensible and deprives the hymn of its most characteristic point. Commentators and scholiasts define the word as 'hammer' or 'axe' which hews or cuts the wood.[143] Above all, the passage in the *Kauśika-sūtras*[144] puts it out of question to regard *drughaṇa* as a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning *drumayaḥ ghanaḥ*, since, it is stated in 46·2, 3: "*drughaṇaśiro rajjvā badhnāti*" and also "*pratirūpaṁ palāśāyolohahiraṇyānām*". In the fourth stanza of the hymn, *kuta* is the synonym of *drughaṇa. Kūṭa* has the meaning of 'hammer' in every Vedic passage which is accessible at present, and also at the *AV* VIII·8·16.

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(138) *Vedische Studien*, I·124.
(139) *ZDMG*, 46, pp·445 ff.
(140) *JUB* September 1953, p·21.
(141) *ZDMG*, 48, p·544.
(142) The word *āji* has certainly got both meanings of contest and 'the clash of arms'.
(143) The *Amarakośa* (II·8·91) explains the word as 'an axe'. Sāyaṇa, while commenting on the *AV* VII·28·1 says, द्रु: द्रुमो हन्यते अनेनेति द्रुघणो लवित्रादि: । In *TS* III·2·4·1 and the *Āpastamba ŚS* XI·5·2, *vighana* takes the place of *drughaṇa* and both Sāyaṇa and Rudradatta interpret it as 'hammer' (Cf. Rudradatt's bhaṣya : *mudgarastena loṣṭāni ghnanti*).
(144) *Kauśika-sūtras* 46·2, 3. Cf. also 14·13, 25·17, 26·3.

according to **Bloomfield** Mudgala is identifiable with *mudgara* and there is inter-relation between *drughaṇa*, *kūṭa* and *mudgala*.

According to **Geldner** the words, *drughaṇa* X·102·10, *dudhi* X·102·6, *dāru* X·102·8, *kūṭa* X·102·4 and *vadhri* X·102·12 are all, more or less synonyms and that they denote some substitute for the missing second horse. So according to **Geldner,** it is a 'wooden artificial horse—a *yantrāśva*.[145]

The word *drughaṇa* in X·102·9 is explained by Durga and he interprets *śayānam* as *apaviddham*. Sāyaṇa, also in his introduction to the hymn, quotes : "*drughaṇam ca agrataḥ kṣiptvā caurebhyaḥ jagṛhe svagāḥ*. The words *apaviddham* and *kṣiptvā* indicate that the *drughaṇa* was hurled at the enemy. The *drughaṇa*, thus fulfils two functions, that of being a yoke-fellow of the bull and at the same time 'hammer', an effective weapon of the combatant.[146]

Mudgalānī, the heroine of the *sūkta*, is not unknown to later literature. Mudgala and his wife are cited in the *MBh*[147] as model couples along with Cyavana and Sukanyā, Rāma and Sītā, Agastya and Lopāmudrā and Satyavān and Sāvitrī. According to the *MBh* the original name of Mudgalānī seems to have been Nārāyaṇī Indrasenā. The name occurs also in the *Harivaṁśa*.[148] So Mudgalānī appears to be a derived name. Indrasenā is elsewhere mentioned as the daughter of Nala and Damayantī.[149] She is said to have been the wife of the Pañcāla king, Brahmiṣṭha and Vadhryaśva is said to have been her son. This would lead us to the conclusion that Brahmiṣṭha must be another name of Mudgala, the son of Bhṛmyaśva. The name Indrasenā, therefore, appears to be a real historical name. **Bloomfield**'s suggestion that Indrasenā and Mudgala represent respectively the female and male personified aspects of Indra's weapons, though ingeneous, does not, therefore, appear to be convincing. It is, however, possible to agree with **Bloomfield** when he says that the theme is a battle and in the course of it a hammer plays an important and a singular role.

Mudgalānī is the heroine of this hymn and plays a prominent part in the legend. The *sūkta* tells us that Mudgalānī obtained a reward in proportion to her merit. There is, at the same time, nothing in the hymn to suggest, as **Geldner** does, that Mudgala did not participate in the battle along with Mudgalānī. The words *rathī*, *sārathi*, *keśī* suggest that Mudgalānī acted as a brave charioteer while Mudgala himself was present in the cart as a warrior who won victory in the contest.[150] To an unbiassed reader of the opening and final stanzas of the *sūkta*, it will, doubtless, appear to be a war-like hymn, employed in connection with some war-like performances. The first stanza contains an invocation of the most general sort directed to Indra, the god of war, to aid the chariot of the warrior, a certain

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(145) In the *Pañcatantra* we hear of a similar eagle's idol. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* also we hear of a wooden horse (like the Trojan Horse) used to arrest king Udayana. The *Manusmṛit* (II·157) speaks of a '*kāṣṭhamaya hastī*'.

(146) Cf. **Bloomfield,** *op. cit.* : "It is fairly well-established, therefore, that the theme of the hymn is a battle and in the course of it a hammer plays an important and singular role".

(147) *MBh* III·113·22 ff.

(148) *Harivaṁśa* 6718.

(149) *MBh*, Vanaparvan 57.

(150) *ṚV* X·102·9.

king who was entering upon a war. The *sūkta* concludes with a prayer for help to Indra.

So far, however, the authorship of this hymn is concerned, it is hardly likely that Mudgala himself is its author. The *sūkta* was presumably composed by some poet, whose identity was lost at the time of the *saṁhitīkaraṇa*, mainly in praise of Indra. With a view to demonstrating, as it were, the Aryan war-god's greatness, the poet has narrated the war-like legend of Mudgala and Mudgalānī. With Indra's aid, suggests the poet, his worshipper is bound to become victorious even against all possible odds.

At the same time it must be pointed out that Mudgala is an important historical figure of antiquity. He belongs to the North Pāñcāla dynasty of kings and there is considerable agreement between the Purāṇic genealogy and the incidental references to many of these kings in the *ṚV*. Thus Mudgala Bhārmyaśva is mentioned in X·102·5, 9 and Indrasenā in X·102·2. Vadhryaśva is referred to in X·69·1 and VI·61·1 and the latter passage connects Vadhryaśva with Divodāsa. Sṛñjaya is mentioned in VI·15·4, and Çyavana Paijavana in X·69·5·6. Sudās is named as Sudās Paijavana in VII·18·22, 23. According to VII·18·25, Sudās was the son (or descendant) of Divodāsa. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII·34 says that Sahadeva was descended from Sṛñjaya and *ṚV* IV·15·7–10 says Somaka was his son. References to Vadhryaśva's fire in X·69·2, 4, 9, 10 show that Vadhryaśva and the author of the hymn Sumitra exercised priestly functions. The same can be said as regards Divodāsa and his fire mentioned in *ṚV* VIII·103·2. Hymn I·130·7, 10 would imply that some of the descendants of Divodāsa, the warrior, were *ṛṣis* and priests. The *sūkta* X·133, is actually attributed to Sudā·s These allusions confirm the statements in the Puranic genealogy[151] that Mudgala's descendants were 'Kṣatriyan Brāhmins'.

It seems that Bhṛmyaśva's kingdom was divided among his five sons, Mudgala, Sṛñjaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Yavīnara, and Kāmpilya. The eldest branch of Mudgala rose into prominence under Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa, and Sudās. It declined after Sudās's death and was subdued by Saṁvaraṇa of the main Hastināpur line. Droṇa, with the aid of the Hastināpur princes, conquered Pṛṣata's son, Drupada, and retaining North Pāñcāla to himself transferred South to Drupada. From Sṛñjaya were descended the Sṛñjayas and from Somaka the Somakas both of which families attended Drupada, who was a Somaka. How the dynasty became Brahmanic is also noteworthy. Mudgala's eldest son became a Brahmin His descendants the Mudgalas or Maudgalyas, were Kṣatriyan Brahminas and joined the Aṅgirasas. Vadhryaśva and Divodāsa are said to have exercised priestly functions and appear to have joined the Bhārgavas. Divodāsa's successor was Mitrayu who was a Brahmin and his son was Maitreya from whom came the Maitreyas who, again, were Kṣatriyan Brahmins and who joined the Bhārgavas. This whole genealogy of the North Pāñcālas may be stated as follows :

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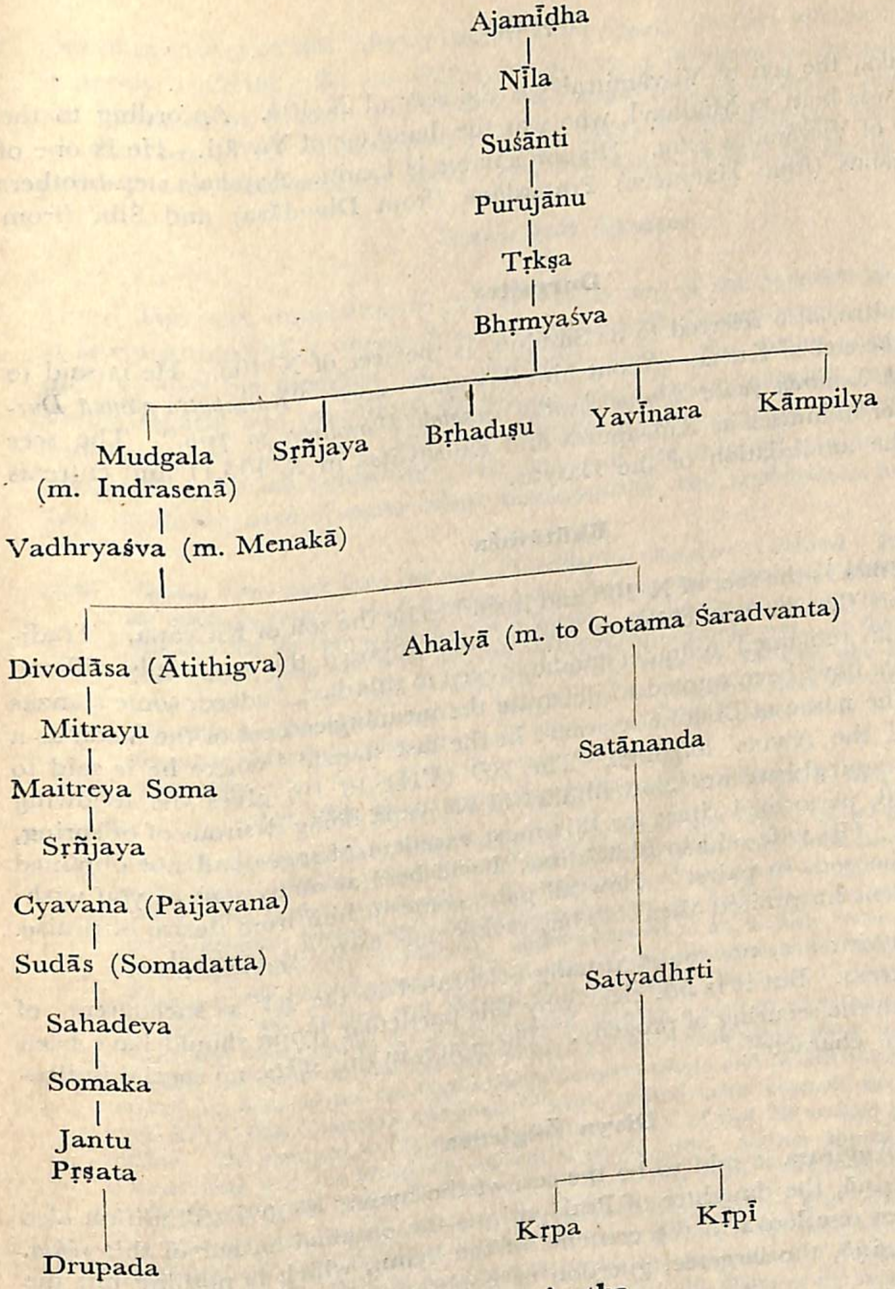
(151) **Pargiter,** *CAI*, p·251.


Ajamīḍha
Nīla
Suśānti
Purujānu
Tṛkṣa
Bhṛmyaśva
Mudgala
(m. Indrasenā)
Sṛñjaya
Bṛhadiṣu
Yavīnara
Kāmpilya
Vadhryaśva (m. Menakā)
Divodāsa (Ātithigva)
Ahalyā (m. to Gotama Śaradvanta)
Mitrayu
Satānanda
Maitreya Soma
Sṛñjaya
Cyavana (Paijavana)
Sudās (Somadatta)
Satyadhṛti
Sahadeva
Somaka
Jantu
Pṛṣata
Kṛpa
Kṛpī
Drupada

Apratiratha

He is the seer of X·103 and is mentioned in the *AB* and the *ŚB*.[152] Tradition makes him the son of Indra. Obviously the name is entirely fictitious. It is derived from the subject-matter of the hymn which celebrates Indra as the invincible warrior and contains a prayer for aid and victory in battle.

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(152) *ŚB* IX·2·3·1–5.

Aṣṭaka

Aṣṭaka, the son of Viśvāmitra[153] is the seer of X·104. According to the *MBh*[154] he was born to Mādhavī, who was the daughter of Yayāti. He is one of the *pravaras* of Viśvāmitra *gotra*. His son's name is Lauhi. Aṣṭaka's step-brothers are Vasumanas (from Haryaśva) Pratardana (from Divodāsa) and Śibi (from Uśīnara).

Durmitra

Durmitra, also referred to as Sumitra, is the seer of X·105. He is said to have been the son of Kutsa. About him Sāyaṇa[155] says : "*Kutsaputro nāmnā Durmitro guṇataḥ sumitraḥ yadvā nāmnā Sumitro guṇataḥ Durmitraḥ sa ṛṣiḥ.*" The seer seems to refer to himself as Kutsaputra and Kutsavatsa in X·105.11 and entreats Indra for the annihilation of the Dasyus.

Bhūtāṁśa

Bhūtāṁśa is the seer of X·106 and is said to be the son of Kaśyapa. Tradition[156] tells us that he was childless and so he composed this unusually difficult *sūkta* which has remained ununderstandable even to this day. Indeed, some stanzas from this *sūkta* have been quoted to illustrate the meaninglessness of the Veda as a whole.[157] The name of Bhūtāṁśa occurs in the last stanza[158] where he is said to have fulfilled the Aśvins' longings. The *BD* (VIII·18·19) gives the following information about this seer : "Now Bhūtāṁśa Kāśyapa being desirous of offspring, in days of old, performed rites; for this most excellent of sages had not obtained any children. His wife said to Bhūtāṁśa, "I will bear as many sons as you wish; only praise the gods in pairs." Now all pairs come to him from desire of praise. Observing them he praised them. The Aśvins thus own the hymn."

The Aśvins are, no doubt, usually celebrated in the *ṚV* as succourers of people in distress. But it is not clear why this particular hymn should have been connected with the securing of progeny. There are, in this *sūkta*, no special indications of such character.

Divya Āṅgirasa

Divya Āṅgirasa is said to be the seer of the hymn, X·107. Tradition also mentions Dakṣiṇā, the daughter of Prajāpati, as the optional author of this *sūkta*. However, when one looks to the contents of the hymn, which is nothing but the eulogy of Dakṣiṇā, the largesse, guerdon or honorarium presented by the institu-

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(153) Cf. *AB* VII·17 and the *Śāṅkhāyana ŚS* XV·26.
(154) *MBh* Udyogaparvan 119·18·20.
(155) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·687.
(156) *BD* VIII·18–19.
(157) e. g. X·106. Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, I, p·4.
(158) *ṚV* X·106·11 : यशो॒ न प॒क्वं मधु॒ गोष्व॒न्तरा भूतांशो॑ अ॒श्विनो॒ः काम॑मप्राः

tors of sacrifices to the priests, one feels convinced that this alternative authorship is purely artificial. As has happened in several other cases, the subject-matter of the hymn is, as it were, personified and made into its author. Such a tendency on the part of the *Saṁhitākāras* perhaps, suggests the identity, from the poetical point of view, between an author and the subject which he treats.

Paṇis and Saramā

The very interesting hymn, X·108, is one of the *Saṁvāda-sūktas* in the *ṚV.* It is constituted of a colloqy between Saramā,[159] the messenger, of the gods and the Paṇis,[160] the members of a wandering tribe, who being antagonistic to the Vedic Aryans, had carried off their cows which Indra wishes to recover. Saramā and Paṇis are said to be alternately the devatā and the *ṛṣi*. All this is evidently impossible. In all probability, the name of the original author was forgotten, and, as in the case of some other *saṁvāda-sūktas*, the *saṁhitākāras* have mentioned

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(159) Various views have been put forth regarding the character of Saramā. **Rajesvara Gupta,** for instance, says, in his *Rigveda—a history,* that Saramā is neither a birth, as is generally believed, nor the Dawn, but that she is human. He further points out that Saramā represents those Paṇi women who were captured by the Aṅgirasas in the war. In the cololqy in X·108, the Paṇis do not ask who Saramā was but they insist on knowing who Indra was. These Paṇi-women who were treated as hostages by the Aṅgirasas must have been compelled to capitulate for them with the Paṇis. But why is she represented as a bitch ? Sāyaṇa's commentary on I·62·3, gives the clue. He says :

“ यथा लोके व्याधः वनान्तर्गतमृगान्वेषणाय श्वानं विसृजति तद्वत् । ”

Saramā appears to have been Indra's special messenger, employed by him on diplomatic and scouting errands (Cf. **Ragozin,** *Vedic Indra,* p·256). She must have been a youthful beauty sent to the strongholds of the Paṇis to find out the stolen property. The Paṇis, the avaricious traders and robbers, had stolen the milk-kine on which the Aryans chiefly depended for nourishment. Indra prepared to go to their rescue in company with Bṛhaspati, the lord of prayer and with the Aṅgirasas who were the heavenly singers and sacrificers. But he first sent Saramā to reconnoitre. She went on the 'right path' and found the strong stable, a cave in the rock, through a cleft of which she heard the cows' lowing. She went on and daringly crossed the river Rasā which was a tributary of Sindhu. Until she came across the Paṇi-robbers between whom and herself there ensued a colloqy (cf. *RV* X·108). Sarama's scouting, it seems, proved more successful than her diplomatical effort. She returned to her master. Swift and sure of foot she walked before them taking them along with the broad and ancient heavenly path. As they approached the rock, the loud singing of the Aṅgirasas mingled with the lowing of the cows in the cave.

Indra and Bṛhaspati now came up; the rock opened with a great crash under the blows of Indra's mace and Bṛhaspati let forth the cows, driving them along as the wind drives the storm-cloud. The Paṇis were dismayed; Vala, the cave-demon (According to **Holditch** Gates of India, p·201, Bolous or the Belous lived in the plains of the North, right up to the mountains and these are the people, who, hailing originally from the Caspian Province, are the typical Baluch tribe people of today.") mourned for his beautiful cows as the tree mourns for its foliage when it is stripped bare by frost. Vala is killed at the end of the year (cf. *ṚV* X·62·2). Thus the overthrow of Vala or the defeat of the Paṇis seems to be a historical incident happened in the remote past even before the Dāśarājña war. An attempt to see there any symbology (cf. **Tilak** *The Arctic home in the Vedas,* p·241 and **Ragozin,** *op. cit.*) seems to be utterly needless.

(160) For further details about the Paṇis see the fifth chapter.

the participants in the dialogue as the authors of the *sūkta*. This is in accordance with the principle, *yasya vākyàm sa ṛṣiḥ*, understood quite literally.

Juhū

Juhū is said to be the seer of X·109 and is referred to as a *brahmavādinī*.[161] According to tradition she was the wife of Brahmā.[162] In a legend quoted by Sāyaṇa, she is identified with Vāk. Her husband Brahmā or Bṛhaspati, had deserted her; but gods are said to have restored her to him. The word, *Brahmajāyā*, occurs almost in every stanza of this *sūkta* and Bṛhaspati is mentioned[163] in stanza 5. It would, however, appear, that Juhū actually denotes a sacrificial ladle and Brahmā denotes the Brahman priest. This *sūkta* which is almost wholly unintelligible, consists of a symbolic description of the Brahman's function in respect of the ladle. It is possible to assume that the optional author of this hymn, Ūrdhvanābhā actually composed it.

Jamadagni[164]

ṚV X·110 is an *Āprī sūkta* and the *Anukramaṇī* ascribes it to Jamadagni or his son Rāma. Jamadagni of the Bhārgava family is the seer also of III·62·16–18, VIII·101, IX·62, 65, 67·16–18; X·137·6; 167. The *Sarvānukramaṇī* makes it clear that Rāma Bhārgaveya is the Paraśurāma of the epics.

Aṣṭādaṁṣṭra

Aṣṭādaṁṣṭra has been credited with the authorship of X·111 and also of a well-known *Sāman*.[165] He seems to have been the son of Virūpa Āṅgirasa. There is a reference to the Aṅgirasas in X·111·4. Elsewhere in this *sūkta*,[166] there occurs an interesting reference to Indra who is said to have become Menā for his devotee.

Other Vairūpas

Three other Vairūpas, namely, Nabhaḥprabhedana, Śataprabhedana and Sadhri are believed to have been the authors of X·112, X·113, and X·114 respectively. Out of these Sadhri is mentioned along with Evāvada, Yajata etc., by Avatsāra in V·44·10. It may also be pointed out that Gharma Tāpasa is mentioned with Sadhri as the optional seer of X·114 but that name is clearly fictitious. Gharma Tāpasa seems to denote the personification of the energy generated by penance and austerity. Incidentally it may be noted that in X·14·5, Yama, the mythical first human being is associated with Aṅgirasas and the Vairūpas. This fact clearly indicates that the family of the Vairūpas, like that of the Aṅgirasas, was one of the most ancient Vedic families.

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(161) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·707.
(162) *Op. cit.*
(163) Bṛhaspati is the seer of X·71–72. He is said to have helped Indra II·23·18.
(164) For further details see the ninth chapter.
(165) *PB* 8·9·21.
(166) *ṚV* X·111·3.

Upastuta

Tradition ascribes to Upastuta, the authorship of X·115 and he is said to have been the son of Vṛṣṭihavya[167]. In stanza 5 of his *sūkta* he refers to Agni as *kaṇvatamaḥ* and *kaṇvasakhā*, which fact may suggest that he belonged to the Kaṇva family. In X·115·9, he refers to the sons of Vṛṣṭihavya as Upastutas. We may, therefore, assume that the sons of Vṛṣṭihavya formed, as it were, an independent family and that the author of this *sūkta* was the eldest brother in that family. One Upastuta is mentioned in I·36·10, 17 along with Medhyātithi Kāṇva, while in VIII·103·8, which belongs to Sobhari Kāṇva, the Upastutas are mentioned as singers;

Agniyuta

Angiyuta, belonging to the family of Sthūra, is said to be the seer of X·116. The name of the author of this *sūkta* is alternatively mentioned as Agniyūpa. Neither of these names, however, occurs in any other significant context.

Bhikṣu

The seer of X·117 is called Bhikṣu and he is traditionally believed to have been an Āṅgirasa. In the case of this seer, the family-name seems to have been preserved but the personal name seems to have been invented. It is clearly derived from the subject-matter of the *sūkta*. As pointed out by Sāyaṇa,[168] this *sūkta* is in praise of gifts of wealth and food. It contains some ideas relating to the concept of *dāna* which must have been prevalent in those days. We are, for instance, told that the riches of the liberal never waste away, while he, who will not give, finds no one to comfort him.[169] Bounteous, indeed, is he who gives unto the feeble beggar who comes to him in want of food.[170] For, as the poet adjures : "Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer, and bend his eye upon a longer pathway. Riches come now to one, now to another and like the wheels of cars are ever rolling.[171] Fruitless is the labour to win food of a man who is not inclined to give. To speak the truth, that food shall be his ruin. He feeds no gods like Aryaman and does not feed his friends. All guilt is he who eats with no partaker.[172]

Urukṣaya

The traditional seer of X·118 is Urukṣaya who is said to have been the descendant of Amahīyu[173] Āṅgirasa, the seer of IX·61. A family of Urukṣayas,

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(167) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·733.
(168) *Op. cit.* p·737.
(169) *ṚV* X·117·1.
(170) *ṚV* X·117·3.
(171) *ṚV* X·117·5.
(172) *ṚV* X·117·6. For the idea in केवलाघो भवति केवलादी
Cf. also *Bhagavadgītā* III·13. cd : भुञ्जन्ते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ।
(173) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p·741.

who seem to have been special worshippers of *rakṣohan* Agni, is referred to in this *sūkta* in X·118,8, 9.

Laba

The hymn X·119, is believed to contain a soliloquy of Indra, wherein that god, disguised as Laba, gives expression in a very realistic manner, to the peculiar feelings and sensations of exhilaration which a strong dose of Soma had created in him.[174] This *sūkta*, which is popularly called the 'Laba *sūkta*', presents to us a picture of Indra boasting of his greatness and capricious power under the influence of the excess of the draught of Soma. It is a fine example of a 'caricature in words,[175] in which innocent fun is made of some foible in the character of a great personage. It is a delightful parody based on Indra's over-indulgence in Soma. Sāyaṇa prefaces the *sūkta* with the words : 'Indra disguised as Laba is the *ṛṣi*'. But it is obvious that the name of the original author was lost and that, therefore, some fictitious tradition in that respect was created by the *Saṁhitākāras*. It is also not unlikely that Laba was actually the personal name of the author of the *sūkta*. His family-relationship must have become unknown in course of time. That is why he is artificially called Aindra. The legendary background of the *sūkta*, namely, that Indra assumed the form of a quail (*laba*) and expressed his exhilarated thoughts was perhaps given rise to by the similarity of names.

Bṛhaddiva

Bṛhaddiva, a son or a descendant of Atharvan, is said to be the seer of X·120. He mentions his own name at two places.[176] The first part of this *sūkta* is metaphysical in character and deals with the original cause of the universe, while the remaining portion is in praise of Indra. In X·120·8, Bṛhaddiva refers to himself as *agriyaḥ* which word Sāyaṇa explains as *ṛṣīṇām pramukhaḥ*.[177] The *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*[178] mentions Bṛhaddiva as a disciple of Sumanyu. In the *AB*[179] Bṛhaddiva's *sūkta* is referred to as *Niṣkevalya śastra.*

Hiraṇyagarbha

The hymn X·121, which is popularly known as the *Hiraṇyagarbha-sūkta*, is one of the three important cosmological hymns in the *ṚV*, the other two being the *Puruṣasūkta* X·90 and the *Nāsadīya sūkta* (X·129). In this *sūkta* we have been told that, in the beginning, there arose the *Hiraṇyagarbha*, which, then, literally means, 'the gold-germ,' from which all other powers and existences, divine and earthly, are derived—a conception which is the nearest approach to the later mystical conception of Brahmā, the creator of the world. So Hiraṇyagarbha could not have been the name of the seer of the hymn. The original seer must have been some one else whose name was lost in course of time. An artificial tradition was, therefore, created whereby the personified Hiraṇyagarbha, who was significantly associated with Prajāpati as his son, came to be regarded as the author of the *sūkta.*

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[174] **Bergaigne**, Vol.I, p.151, however, considers it to be the utterance of an exhilarated mortal.

[175] Cf. **Dandekar**, "Vṛtrahā Indra", *ABORI* XXXI, p.21 Cf. also **Perry** ("Indra in the *ṚV*" *JAOS* 11, pp. 117ff.) who points out that Indra's conditon after a drink of Soma is parodied in this *sūkta* and that it is too realistic not to be considered human. Note the fun in X.119. 9,10. Indeed, by thus light-heartedly poking at such a foible, the high personality of Indra is brought nearer to the hearts of the people, for , it indeed emphasizes his essential humanness.

[176] *ṚV* X.120.8,9.

[177] *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.750

[178] *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* 15.1.

[179] *AB* IV.14.

Citramahas

Citramahas, who belonged to the family of Vasiṣṭha is traditionally regarded as the seer of X·122. The fact that the word, *citramahas*, occurs in X·122·1 as an epithet of Agni, would, however, suggest that the real personal name of the author of this *sūkta* was forgotten and that a fictitious one derived from an important word occurring in the *sūkta* was foisted on him. Or, perhaps, the author has attempted a pun on his own name and then applied it to Agni. The word *Vasiṣṭhāsaḥ* occurring in X·122·8, on the other hand, clearly indicates the author's connections with the family of Vasiṣṭha. In X·122·5, he refers also to the Bhṛgus.

Vena

Two *sūktas*, namely, IX·85 and X·123, are ascribed to the authorship of Vena who is described as a Bhārgava.[180] The word, *vena*, occurs in X·123·1–2, 5. Vena is also mentioned as the deity of this hymn—a fact which would imply that Vena as the personal name of the author is fictitious.

Agni

Sāyaṇa[181] says that Agni himself is the *ṛṣi* of X·124·2–4, while the remaining stanzas were composed by Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma.

Vāk Āṁbhṛṇī

Vāk, the daughter of *ṛṣi* Aṁbhṛṇa[182] is believed to have been the seer of X·125. As **Wallis** has rightly pointed out,[183] Vāk, that is speech as divinity, is glorified in this *sūkta* which illustrates the constant assimilation of the varied phenomena of nature to the sacrifice; all that has a voice in nature, the thunder of the storm, the reawakening of life at dawn, with songs of rejoicing over the new birth of the world, are embodied in this Vāk in the same way as it is said of Bṛhaspati that he embraces all things that are. It is thus another expression for the idea of the unity of the world. The name Vāk given to the author of the *sūkta* is, therefore, definitely artificial. It may, however, be presumed that Aṁbhṛṇa himself is the author and that his *sūkta* is celebrating Vāk in general.

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[180] For further details see the ninth chapter.

[181] *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.762.

[182] *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, op. cit., p.765.

[183] *Cosmology of the Rigveda*, p.85.

Kulmalabarhiṣa

Kulmalabarhiṣa is said to be the author of X·126. He was the son of Śilūṣā. He is mentioned in the *PB*[184] as the seer of a *Sāman*.[185]

Aṁhomuk, who is mentioned as an optional author of this hymn, is said to be the son of Vāmadeva. But the occurrence of *aṁhas* in X·126·1, of *niraṁhasaḥ* in X·126·2 and of *muñcatā vi aṁhaḥ* in X·126·8 would suggest that the name Aṁhomuk is artificially derived.

Kuśika

Sāyaṇa says[186] that the *sūkta* X·127 is the composition of Kuśika, the son of Sobhari. Alternatively, Rātri (which is obviously an artificial name derived from the subject, of the *sūkta*,) belonging to the family of Bharadvāja, is mentioned as its author.

Vihavya

Vihavya, the author of X·128, is described as an Āṅgirasa. The name Vihavya, however, does not occur anywhere else in the *ṚV*. It is, therefore, possible that it has been derived from the words, *vihaveṣu* and *vihave* which occur in X·128·1 and 2 respectively.

Parameṣṭhī Prajāpati

The tradition regarding the authorship of X·129, which is popularly known as the *Nāsadīyasūkta*, must have become extinct even before the time of the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*. Therefore, in consonance with the contents of this cosmological hymn, its authorship is artificially ascribed to Parameṣṭhī. According to the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*,[187] Parameṣṭhī was a disciple of Prajāpati, while the *BĀU*[188] tells us that Sanaga was a disciple of Parameṣṭhī.

Yajña

The subject of the hymn, X·130, is creation typified and originated by the mysterious primeval sacrifice (cf. X·90). The ascription of its authorship to a *ṛṣi* having the fictitious name of Yajña, when the real author was forgotten; indeed becomes quite understandable.

Sukīrti

Sukīrti, the traditionally recognised author of X·131 is a supposed to be the son of Kakṣīvān and the grandson of Dīrghatamas. The *AB*[189] confirms

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(184) *PB* XV.3.21.

(185) The word *kulmala* means the neck of an arrow in which the shaft is fixed; cf. *AV* IV.6.5; V.18.15; The *Maitrāyaṇī saṁhitā* III.89.1.2 and the *ŚB* III.4.4.14.

(186) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.771. (187) *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* 3.40.2.

(188) *BĀU* 2.6.3; 4.6.3. (189) *AB* V. 15. 4.

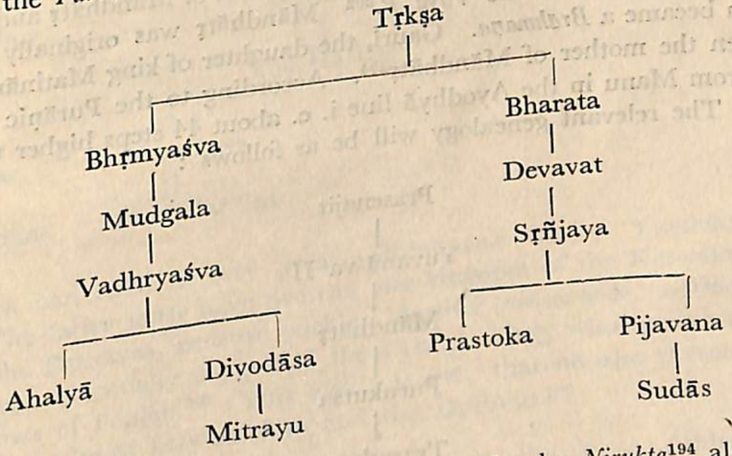
Sukīrti's authorship of the hymn. In another passage,[190] the *AB* tells us that the Sukīrti-hymn is the birth-place of the gods.

Śakapūta

Śakapūta, the son of Nṛmedhas Āṅgiras, is said to be the seer of X·132. In the last stanza of the hymn, he refers to Nṛmedhas in the following words: "These our disheartened tribes Nṛmedhas saved from woe, Sumedhas saved from woe.[191] **Ludwig,** as quoted by **Griffith,**[192] conjectures that the two brothers Nṛmedhas and Sumedhas, had contended for sovereignty and that the adherents of one had wished to put the other brother to death, but had not carried out their purpose. Śakapūta absolves and purifies the former, and the brothers are then reconciled. Śakapūta is mentioned also in X·135·5.

Sudās

The authorship of X·133 is traditionally ascribed to Sudās Paijavana. The genealogy of the Northern Pāñcālas, to whom Sudās apparently belongs,[193] is given in the *Purāṇas* as follows:



Sudās is called Paijavana in VII·18·23. In the *Nirukta*[194] also he is said to be the son of Pijavana. *ṚV* VII·18·25, however, seems to mention Divodāsa as his father. In VII·18·22, he is said to be the grandson of Devavat. In the *AB*[194] we are told that the sage consecrated Sudās with the rite of Aindra Mahābhiṣeka. In I·112·19, the name of the wife of Sudās is given as Sudevī[195] whom he is said to have secured through the favour of the Aśvins.

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(190) Cf. *AB* VI.29.
(191) *ṚV* X.132.7.
(192) There appear to have been two persons named Sudās in ancient times. One was the king of Ayodhyā and the father of Kalmāṣapāda and the other was a North Pāñcāla king who was the Ṛgvedic Sudās.
(193) *Nirukta* 2.14.
(194) *AV* VIII.21.
(195) Sāyaṇa, however, interprets the word differently.

The part played by Sudās in the history of the early Vedic age has been already referred to at several places—particularly in the chapters relating to Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. Though Sudās himself is mentioned as the author of the *sūkta* X·133, it is possible to presume that one of the poet-priests patronised by that ruler actually composed it for him.

Māndhātṛ (stanzas 1–6); **Godhā** (stanza) 7

According to the tradition Māndhātṛ, the son of Yuvanāśva is the seer of the first five stanzas and the first half of the sixth stanza of X·134; while the female seer Godhā is responsible for the latter half of the sixth stanza and the seventh stanza. In one passage of the *ṚV*, the sacrificial fire of Māndhātṛ is described to have been particularly eminent.[196] In VIII·40·12, Nābhāka refers to Māndhātṛ with the words : "I praise Agni like Māndhātṛ". Elsewhere, Māndhātṛ is said to have been helped by the Aśvins.[197] In the *MBh*,[198] we come across a peculiar legend about the birth of this royal sage. The expanse of his kingdom is described in the *Viṣṇu P.*[199] The *Bhāgavata P.*[200] describes him as having been very generous and as having protected the people from the Dasyus. The *GB*[201] states that Vicārin Kābandhi had been to the sacrifice of Māndhātṛ and had asked for wealth. According to the *Vāyu P.*[202] Māndhātṛ was originally a *Kṣatriya* but later on became a *Brāhmaṇa*. Gaurī, the daughter of king Matināra,[203] seems to have been the mother of Māndhātṛ[204]. According to the Purāṇic genealogy, he is 21st from Manu in the Ayodhyā line i. e. about 44 steps higher than Rāma Dāśarathi. The relevant genealogy will be as follows :

Prasenajit
|
Yuvanāśva II
|
Māndhātṛ
|
Purukutsa
|
Trasadasyu

---

(196) *ṚV* VIII.39.8. (197) *ṚV* I.112.13.

(198) *MBh* Vanaparvan 127, Droṇaparvan 62, Śāntiparvan 28.81.

(199) *Viṣṇu P.* 4.2 यावत्सूर्य उदेति स्म यावच्च प्रतितिष्ठति ।
सर्वं तद्यौवनाश्वस्य मान्धातुः क्षेत्रमुच्यते ।।

(200) *Bhāgavata P.* 9.66.32. (201) *GB* I.2.10.18. (202) *Vāyu P.* 2.29.114.

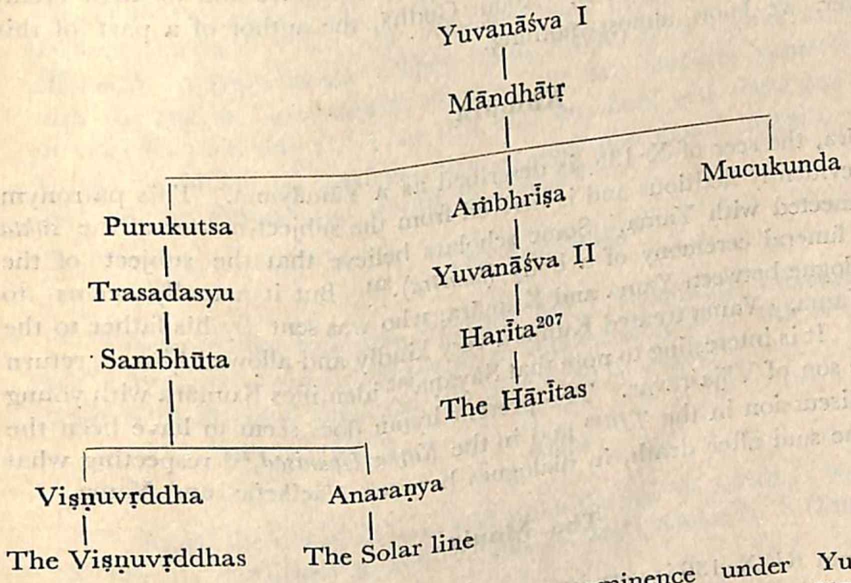
(203) Cf. *Harivaṁśa* I.32.2:

मतिनारसुताश्चासंस्त्रयः परमधार्मिकाः ।
तंसुराद्यः प्रतिरथः सुबाहुश्चैव धार्मिकः ।
गौरी कन्या च विख्याता मान्धातुर्जननी शुभा ।।

(204) Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa P.* and *Vāyu P.*

The name of Māndhātṛ's wife seems to have been Bindumatī (Caitrarathī), and she seems to have been the daughter of Śaśabindu, the famous Yādava king, who was the son of Citraratha.

According to the *Vāyu P.*[205] Māndhātṛ had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha or Aṅgara whom he ultimately killed. Māndhātṛ, his sons, his grandsons and his descendants, the Viṣṇuvṛddhas and Hārītas,[206] are said to have joined the Aṅgirasas. According to the *Purāṇas*, his genealogy may be reconstructed a follows :



Ayodhyā had risen to very great prominence under Yuvanāśva and Māndhātṛ. The latter must have overrun the kingdom of the Kānyakubja and the realm of the Pauravas, because pushing further westwards, he had a long contest with and eventually conquered the Druhyu king, who must have ruled over the confines of Panjab.[208] This also suggests that he also pressed on the Ānavas, who lay almost between him and the Druhyus.[209]

We had seen that Māndhātṛ had three sons—Purukutsa, Aṁbarīṣa and Mucukunda. The *Viṣṇu P.* (IV·3·6–12) suggests that he or his sons carried

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(205) *Vāyu P.* 99.7–8.

(206) The Viṣṇuvṛddhas and the Hārītas were, according to the *Vāyu P.* (91.117), Kṣatrian Brahmins who joined the Āṅgirasas. Cf. *AśŚS* II.12.2.
विष्णुवृद्धानामाङ्गिरस पौरुकुत्स्यत्रासदस्यवेति ।

(207) Cf. *AśŚS* II.12.3–4 हरितकुत्सपिङ्गशङ्खदर्भभैमगवानामाङ्गिरसाम्बरीषयौवनाश्वेति ।
मान्धातारं हैके ब्रुवतेऽतीत्याङ्गिरसं मान्धात्राम्बरीषयौवनाश्वेति ।

(208) The next Druhyu king, Gāndhāra, is said to have retired to the Northwest and given his name to the country.

(209) According to the *MBh* VII.62.10, Māndhātā had defeated Janamejaya, Sudhanvan, Gaya, Pūru, Bṛhadratha, Asita and Nṛga.

their arms south to the river Narmadā. Mucukunda seems to have built and fortified a town on the rocky bank of the river, at the foot of the Vindhya and Ṛkṣa (Sātapuḍā) ranges. It was Māhiṣmatī or the modern Māndhātā.[210] He also built a spacious town called Purikā on the south bank near the Ṛkṣa range Mucukunda's kingdom, however, did not survive long.

So far as Māndhātṛ's authorship of X·134 is concerned, he must be regarded as belonging to that galaxy of early kings, like Manu Vaivasvata (VIII·27–31). Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (X·61–62), Śaryāta Mānava (X·92), Vatsapri Bhālandana (IX·68; X·45–46) etc., who are reputed to have had to their credit the composition of Ṛgvedic *mantras*. About Godhā, the author of a part of this *sūkta*, however, we know almost nothing.

Kumāra

Kumāra, the seer of X·135, is described as a Yāmāyana. This patronym is, however, evidently fictitious and is derived from the subject-matter of the *sūkta* which is connected with Yama. Some scholars believe that the subject of the hymn is the funeral ceremony of a body (*kumāra*).[211] But it actually seems to contain a dialogue between Yama and Kumāra, who was sent by his father to the kingdom of Yama. Yama treated Kumāra very kindly and allowed him to return to this world. It is interesting to note that Sāyaṇa[212] identifies Kumāra with young Naciketas the son of Vājaśravas. The present hymn does seem to have been the basis of the discussion in the *TB*[213] and in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*,[214] respecting what becomes of the soul after death, in dialogues between Naciketas and Yama.

The Munis

The hymn *ṚV* X·136 is very important from the point of view of the history of the religious cults in ancient India. It seems to describe certain salient features of the Muni-cult, which must have prevailed in India even in the pre-Vedic times.[215] Indeed, as indicated elsewhere, it is quite possible to distinguish, in a broad way, between two main cults of antiquity—the pre-Vedic *muni*-cult and the Vedic Aryan *ṛṣi* cult. As regards the former cult the present hymn makes it clear that by means of a life of rigorous austerity the *muni*[216] can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarasas and the Gandharvas, and furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course.[217]

The authors of this *muni-sūkta* are collectively characterised as Vātaraśanas, though their individual names also are mentioned as Jūti, Vātajūti, Viprajūti,

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(210) Cf. **Kane**, *History of Dharmaśāstra* IV, p.777 (*Māhiṣmatī*) and p.786 (*Oṁkāra*).

(211) **Griffith**, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, Vol. II, p.581.

(212) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.799.

(213) *TB* III.11.8.

(214) *Kaṭha–Upaniṣad* I.4.

(215) Cf. **Dandekar**, "Rudra in the Veda", *JUP* Vol.I, p.44.

(216) For further information about the *muni*-cult please see Introduction.

(217) Cf. what Viprajūti says in X.134.3.

Vṛṣāṇaka, Karikrata, Etaśa, and Ṛsyaśṛṅga.[218] These Vātaraśanas, as their name suggests (wind-girdled), seem to be a type of nude ascetics. The *Vājasaneya Āraṇyaka*[219] gives the following legend about them : "Now these were *ṛṣis* (named) wind-girt, being Śramaṇas[220] and celibates. (Other *ṛṣis*) solicited them. They (the *Śramaṇas*) observed *anilāya* (houselessness) and they entered into the Kūṣmāṇḍa *mantras*. In these the *ṛṣis* found them by means of devotion and penance. The *ṛṣis* asked them, "Why do you observe *anilāya ?* They said to the *ṛṣis*, "Salutations to you, O Bhagavats ! In this abode wherewith can we honour you ?" The *ṛṣis* replied to them, "Tell us of some means of purification whereby we may become sinless". They (the *Śramaṇas*) saw those hymns—*yad devā...........yad adīvyan.........āyuṣṭe viśvato.* They said, "With these *mantras* do you offer ghee with the *mantra*, '*vaiśvānarāya*' worship (the fire) and free yourselves from all sin short of foetus-killing !" They (the *ṛṣis*) sacrificed with these and became sinless. In the beginning of sacrificial acts (karma) one should sacrifice with these and purified, he obtains the worlds of Devas.[221]

The Saptarṣis[222]

Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha are respectively the seers of the seven stanzas of X·137. All of them have been dealt with at some length in the preceding chapters.

Aṅga

Aṅga, the son of Uru, is said to be the seer of X·138. He refers to Kutsa (X·138·1), Pipru and Ṛjiśvā (X·138·3), and Ayāsya in X·138·4.

Viśvāvasu

Though Viśvāvasu is traditionally mentioned as the author of X·139, the way in which he himself figures in it—particularly in its last three stanzas—make

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(218) These individual names are indeed quite significant. Some of them imply the uhique 'impulse' which the *munis* acquire, while some others, like Vṛṣāṇaka and Ṛsyaśṛṅga connect the *munis* with the Rudra-Śiva-cult.

(219) Brahmayajña Praśna II.7.

(220) The word *Śramaṇa* seems to have no connection with the Buddhist monks of that name. The word occurs also in the *Bhāgavata P.* 11.2.20 :

न वाभवन् महाभाग मुनयो ह्यर्थशंसिनः ।
श्रमणा वातरशना आत्मविद्याविशारदाः ॥

The next stanza mentions the nine types of *munis* as Havis, Hari, Antarikṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalāyana, Āvirhotra, Dramīla, Camasa and Karabhājana. Here the commentator says, अर्थशंसिनः परमार्थनिरूपकाः, श्रमणाः श्रमवन्तः—आत्माभ्यासे कृतश्रमा इत्यर्थः; वातरशना दिगम्बराः ॥

(221) This passage presumably represents an attempt to bring about a compromise between the *muni*-cult and the *ṛṣi*-cult.

(222) For further details please see the ninth chapter.

it more or less clear that he had already come to be regarded as a mythological personality. He is significantly called a Gandharva. Viśvāvasu is mentioned in the *TS.*[223] In the *ŚB*[224] he is said to have stolen the Soma brought by the Gāyatrī from heaven. He is regarded as the custodian of celestial Soma.

Agni

The authorship of X·140 and X·141 is traditionally ascribed to the two forms of Agni—Agni Pāvaka and Agni Tāpasa—respectively. Actually what seems to have happened is that the original authors of these *sūktas* were forgotten and the *devatās* of the *sūktas* themselves have been turned into their authors.

Jaritā, Droṇa, Sārisṛkta, and Stambamitra

Jaritā, Droṇa, Sārisṛkta and Stambamitra are according to the *Anukramaṇī* responsible for two stanzas each in the X·142. These four are said to be Śārṅgas, and Sāyaṇa says[225] that Śārṅga is a species of birds. But a clue to their identity is found in the *MBh.*[226] There it is said that a Brāhmaṇa named Mandapāla had, by a *Śūdra* woman named Śārṅgī, four sons, who were Brahmavādins, and that they prayed to Agni, the carrier of *havya.* Their names were Droṇa, Stambamitra, Sārisṛkka and Jaritāri. Thus the *MBh* seems admirably to corroborate the tradition regarding the authorship of X·142.[227] Elsewhere, the *MBh*[228] mentions that, when the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, burnt down the Khāṇḍava forest,[229] these four Śārṇgas escaped from being burnt. The four Śārṇgas had prayed to Agni Vaiśvānara[230] at that time in order that the Vedic god might be pleased to spare them and the god had granted their request.

Atri[231]

Atri of the Saṁkhya-family is said to be the seer of X·143. His name occurs three times in this *sūkta.*[232] According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* the genealogy of the Atri-family can be put down as follows :

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(223) *TS* I.1.11.1.

(224) *ŚB* 3.2.2.2.

(225) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.816.

(226) *MBh* XIII.53.21–22. Cf. also **Pradhan**, CAI, pp.167ff.

(227) Ṣadguruśiṣya also, while commenting on the relevant portion of the *Anukramaṇī*, says that the authors of X.142 were Śārṅgas by birth (*jātitaḥ*)

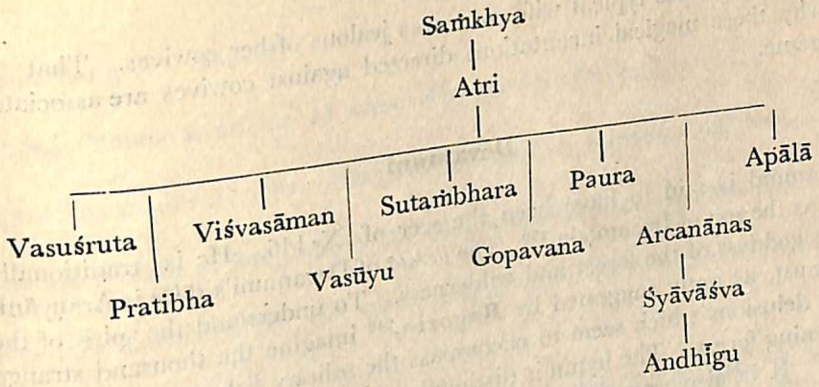
(228) *MBh* I.254.47.

(229) Khāndava is mentioned in the post-Vedic literature cf. *TĀ* V.1.1. as the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra. Cf. also **Kane**, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.IV, p.768.

(230) *MBh* I.260.

(231) For further details please see the fourth chapter.

(232) *ṚV* X.143.1–3.



In the present *sūkta* Atri refers to the restoration of Kakṣīvān by the Aśvins as a standard of comparison for his own release from a calamity.[233] He also refers to the release of Bhujyu Taugrya.[234]

Suparṇa

Suparṇa, who is said to be the seer of X·144 is described as the son of Tārkṣya. As a matter of fact, however, Suparṇa himself is Tārkṣya, that is, the son of Kaśyapa who is also called Tṛkṣa. Ūrdhvakṛśana, who is fictitiously connected with Yama, is mentioned as the optional author of this hymn. Sāyaṇa is not sure whether it is the name of a *ṛṣi* or an adjective qualifying the '*mada*' or the Soma-juice.[235]

The word, *suparṇa* occurring in X·144·4 does not seem to indicate the name of a *ṛṣi*. There it clearly means an eagle, who brought Soma from heaven.[236] But in the third stanza it may denote the name of some person. All the same, the genuineness of Suparṇa's authorship of this *sūkta* is definitely doubtful.

Indrāṇī

Indrāṇī is said to be the seer of X·86·2–6, 9, 10, 15–18 and X·145. She is also sometimes referred to as Śacī Paulomī, that is Śacī, the daughter of Pulomā. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[237] tells us that she got a son, later named Jayanta, because she performed the *Gaurīvrata*. The present *sūkta* is characterised as *Sapatnī nāśana* (uprooting a cowife) *sūkta*. The *Anukramaṇī* refers to it as Indrāṇyupaniṣad.[238] Indrāṇī is regarded as having been the authoress also of X·159 under the name Śacī. But neither Indrāṇī, nor Śacrī is regarded as having been, the real composer of these hymns. Indra was originally the name of the heroic leader of the Vedic Aryans. It is possible that this historical hero had amorous dealings with several women. His wife, Indrāṇī, must, therefore, have come to be looked upon,

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(233) *ṚV* X.143.1.

(234) *ṚV* X.143.5.

(235) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.822.

(236) Cf. *ṚV* VIII.100.8.

(237) *Bhaviṣya P.* 28.

(238) Cf. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV* VSM, IV, p.824.

in course of time, as the typical wife, who was jealous of her cowives. That is, perhaps, why these magical incantations directed against cowives are associated with her name.

Devamuni

Devamuni is said to have been the seer of X·146. He is traditionally referred to as the son of Irammada.[239] The *devatā* of Devamuni's *sūkta* is Araṇyānī, the tutelary goddess of the forest and wilderness. To understand the spirit of the hymn we must, as aptly suggested by **Ragozin,**[240] imagine the thousand strange sounds and delusions which seem to encompass the solitary listener of an evening in the darkening forest. The hymn is distinguishable by the poetical feeling which pervades it. It is also repeated in the *TB*[241].

Suvedas

The authorship of X·147 is traditionally ascribed to Suvedas, the son of Śirīṣa. This Śirīṣa is said to be one of the *Gotrakṛts* in the Atri family.

Pṛthu[242]

Pṛthu, the son of Vena is said to have been the seer of X·148. It is not clear whether this seer is the same as Pṛthi, who is said to have been protected by the Aśvins.[243]. Pṛthu Vainya is the first king who was coronated in the world.[244] Because of this coronation he could also secure the over-lordship over the villages and forest-animals and beasts.[245]. The *AV*[246] says that Pṛthī Vainya was the milker, Manu Vaivasvata was the calf; the earth was the cow and the milk was agriculture and crops. In X·93·14, Pṛthu is mentioned as one of the richest person by Tānva Pārthya, who seems to be his son. According to the *Purāṇas*, his genealogy may be stated as follows :

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(239) In the *PB* XXV.14.5, Devamuni is also an epithet of Tura.

(240) *Vedic India*, p.272.

(241) *TB* II.5.5.6ff.

(242) The name occurs also as Pṛthi or Pṛthī in the *saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.

(243) Cf. *ṚV* I.112.5 and VIII.9.10.

(244) Cf. *ŚB* V.3.5.4 : पृथी ह वै वैन्यो मनुष्याणां प्रथमोऽभिषिषिचे ।
Hence the significance of the *pārthahoma* in the coronation ritual. The *MBh*, Śāntiparvan, 28 and Kuntīparavan 137 state that he was coronated in the Mahāraṇaya. Cf. also the *Kāthaka-saṁhitā* XXXVII.4; *TB* II.7.7.4.

(245) Cf. *PB* XIII.5.19 and *TB* II.7.5.1.

(246) *AV* VIII.10.24 : सोदक्रामत्सा मनुष्यानगच्छत्तां मनुष्या उपाह्वयन्तेरावत्येहि इति ।
तस्या मनुर्वैवस्वतो वत्स आसीत् पृथिवी पात्रम् । तां पृथी वैन्योऽधोक् ।
तां कृषिं च सस्यं च मनुष्या उपजीवन्ति ।
This may suggest to us that agriculture was first introduced by Pṛthu Vainya. Cf., for the same idea, the *Kumārasaṁbhavam* I.2.

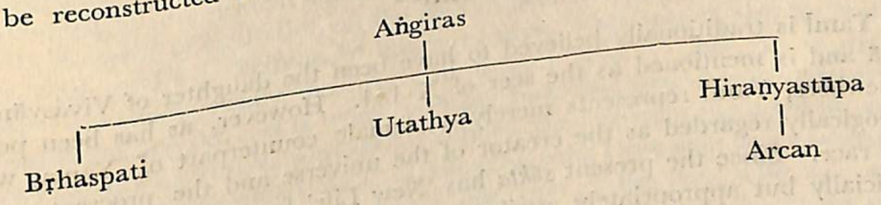
Cakṣurmanu (m. Nadūlā)
|
Ulmuka (Youngest among 11 sons. He married Puṣkariṇī)
|
Aṅga (One of the six sons. He married Sunīthā, Yama's daughter.)
|
Vena (A tyrannical king whom the people ousted from the throne.)
|
Pṛthu (He married Arci. His career conduced to the happiness of his subjects.)
|
Tānva

Pṛthu's capital, according to the *Purāṇas*, was on the bank of Yamunā.[247] The *Sūtas* and the *Māgadhas* came into prominence in his reign.[248] The *Bhāgavata P.*[249] states that Pṛthu renounced the throne in his old age and died in consequence of his austere penance. His wife is said to have burnt herself in his funeral pyre.

In Pṛthu Vainya, again, we have an eminent ruler, who was also responsible for the composition of Vedic *mantras*. The present *sūkta* is most appropriately addressed to Indra.

Arcan

Arcan, the son of Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa, is said to have been the author of X·149. In the fifth stanza of this *sūkta*, the author seems to refer both to his father and to himself. According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the genealogy of Arcan may be reconstructed as follows :



Mṛḷīka

The authorship of X·150 is traditionally ascribed to Mṛḷīka who is said to have belonged to the family of Vasiṣṭha. The word *mṛḷīka* occurs in the *sūkta* quite frequently and Sāyaṇa has interpreted it both as the name of the seer and as meaning 'happiness.' It would, therefore, appear that the personal name of the author, namely, Mṛḷīka is fictitious and is artificially derived from the fact that he has used that word so very frequently. In X·150·5, Mṛḷīka refers to Vasiṣṭha along with other *ṛṣis*, such as Atri, Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, and Kaṇva. It may be incidentally pointed out that Mṛḷīka is also the author of stanzas IX·97·25–27, which are in praise of Soma.

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[247] Cf. **Citrav**; *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p. 342. (248) Op. cit.

[249] *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV p.836.

Śraddhā

The tradition regarding the authorship of X·151 seems to have become extinct at an early date. The *Anukramaṇī* has, therefore, mentioned Śraddhā. whose glorification constitutes the subject-matter of the *sūkta* as its author. Śraddhā, is described as Kāmāyanī, thereby implying that she belongs to the family of Kama. But the word Kāma also seems to denote here the mental faculty, wherefrom faith arises, rather than any *gotra*.

Śāsa

Śāsa Bhāradvāja is said to be the author of X·152. Here, again, the personal name of the author seems to have been artificially derived from the first word of the *sūkta*, namely, Śāsa, which is evidently used there as an epithet of Indra. The *sūkta* is to be recited as a blessing for a king, who has prepared himself for a battle. The *ĀśGS*[250] corroborates this *viniyoga*.

The mothers of Indra

The tradition according to which Indra's mothers are considered to be the seers of X·153, is clearly fictitious. The reference in the first stanza of this *sūkta* to the 'active ones' rocking Indra at his birth must have suggested the mothers of Indra. Sāyaṇa characterises them as sisters of gods while the *Anukramaṇī* calls them *devajāmayaḥ*.[251]

Yamī[252]

Yamī is traditionally believed to have been the daughter of Vivasvān and Saṁjñā and is mentioned as the seer of X·154. However, as has been pointed out elsewhere, Yamī represents merely a female counterpart of Yama, who is mythologically regarded as the creator of the universe and the procreator of the human race. Since the present *sūkta* has 'New Life' for its theme, its authorship is artificially but appropriately attributed to Yamī.

Śirimbiṭha

The seer of X·155 is Śirimbiṭha, who belonged to the family of Bharadvāja. Sāyaṇa, however, points out that *Śirimbiṭha* may either be the name of an individual or a word denoting a cloud.[253] The object of the hymn is the removal of misfortune.

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(250) *AśGS* 3.13.23.

(251) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.838.

(252) For further details please see Yama, the author of X.10 in this chapter where she figures as a joint authoress.

(253) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, pp.841–42.

Ketu

Ketu is the traditional seer of X·156 and the *Anukramaṇī* characterises him as Āgneya. Both the personal name and the family-name of the author as given by tradition, are obviously fictitious. It may be noted that in the fifth stanza of this *sūkta*, Agni is glorified as the *ketu* (the banner) of the people. This must have suggesed the fiction about the authorship of the *sūkta* as a whole.

Bhuvana

Bhuvana, of the Āptya-family, is mentioned as the author of X·157. Sādhana Bhauvana is its alternative author. This latter tradition seems to be artificial and is presumably derived from the occurrence in the first stanza of this *sūkta*, of the words *bhuvanā* and *siṣadhām* (from the root *sādh*).

Cakṣu

The name of the seer X·158, namely *Cakṣuḥ Sauryaḥ*, is obviously derived—quite artificially—from Sūrya who is the *devatā* of the *sūkta* and from the occurrence in it of the word *Cakṣuḥ*.

Śacī

Śacī is said to be the seer of X·159. She is traditionally described as the daughter of Puloman and the wife of Indra, and is also called Indrāṇī. Her authorship of the present *sūkta*, however, is obviously fictitious. This *sūkta* represents the sense of exultation on the part of Śacī resulting from her domination over her rival cowives. **Wilson,**[254] however, says, "Śacī means also an 'act' and this hymn is metaphorically the praise of Indra's acts". But this is stretching the imagination too far. It is worth noticing how Śacī describes her victory over her rivals in very expressive phrases : "Yonder, the sun hath mounted up and this my happy fate hath mounted high. I knowing this, have won my husband for mine own".[255] She prides on her being a destroyer of the rival wife, sole spouse, and a victorious conqueror. The magic-ritualistic purpose of the hymn is stated to be *sapatnībādhana*.[256]

Pūraṇa

Pūraṇa, the seer of X·160, is said to have belonged to the family of Viśvāmitra. He is also a *gotrakāra* and a *pravara* in Viśvāmitra's family.[257] The *Kaṭha saṁhitā*[258] mentions the name as Purāṇa. A *ṛṣi*, by name Pūraṇa, is mentioned in the *MBh* also.[259]

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(254) Quoted by **Griffith**, *Hymnas of the Rigveda*, II,p.596.

(255) *ṚV* X.159.1.

(257) **Citrav**, *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p.339.

(258) *Kaṭha-Saṁhitā* 39.7.

(256) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IVp. 845. Cf. also *ĀśGS* 9.9.

(259) *MBh*, Śāntiparvan, 47.

Yakṣmanāśana

Yakṣmanāśana, the son of Prajāpati, is traditionally mentioned as the author of X·161. The *Anukramaṇī* describes this *sūkta* as *rājayakṣmaghna.*[260] It would thus become clear that the personal name of the author of the *sūkta* is artificially derived from its subject-matter. Why he should have been connected with Prajāpati is, however, not clear.

Rakṣohā

The tradition regarding the authorship of X·162, according to which Rakṣohā Brāhma is believed to have been the author of that *sūkta*, is evidently fictitious. The subject of the hymn is 'prevention of abortion' and the word *rakṣohā* occurs in its first stanza in the sense of 'slayer of demons'. The first two stanzas of the *sūkta* are directed against diseases and the remaining four against evil spirits which attack women who are about to become mothers.

Vivṛhā

Vivṛhā, the author of X·163, is said to have belonged to the Kāśyapa family. This is also '*yakṣmaghna sūkta*'. The burden of every stanza in this hymn is *yakṣman vi vṛhāmi te* (I extricate the disease). This seems to have been the source of the artificially concocted personal name of the seer, namely, Vivṛhā.

Pracetas Āṅgiras

The seer of X·164 is Pracetas, who is traditionally described as an *Āṅgirasa*. The *Sūkta* is characterised as *duḥsvapnanāśana*. The author mentions his own name in X·164·4. According to Sāyaṇa,[261] Pracetas may have either been the name of the seer or it may denote Varuṇa.

Kapota

Kapota, who is said to have been the son of Nirṛti is mentioned as the seer of X·165.[262] A dove, it seems, was regarded, in Vedic times, as a bird of ill-omen and as a messenger of death if it flew into the house.[263] Sāyaṇa[264] says that if a pigeon enters a house, oblation should be given with the recitation of this *sūkta.* The *ĀŚGS*[265] also corroborates this *viniyoga* of this *sūkta.* In the first stanza of this *sūkta*, Kapota is said to be the messenger of Nirṛti. This seems to prove beyond doubt that Kapota is not the name of the seer. The real name of the seer must have already been lost in oblivion.

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(260) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.849. Cf. also *ĀśGS* 3.6.4–5.

(261) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.856.

(262) The first three stanzas of this *sūkta* occur in the *AV* VI.27.1–3.

(263) It may, however, be pointed out that, even in modern times, a dove is often regarded as a messenger of peace. In North Linconshire, a belief is prevalent that if a pigeon is seen sitting on a tree or comes into the house, or from being wild suddenly becomes tame, it is a sign of death.

(264) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.856.

(265) *ĀśGS* 3.7.7.

Ṛṣabha Vairāja : Ṛṣabha Śākvara

These two are mentioned as the optional authors of X·166. The personal names as well as the family-names of both of them appear to be fictitious. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the first word in this *sūkta*, which is said to be *sapatnaghna* (i. e. uprooting the rivals), is *ṛṣabha* : It may, indeed, be generally stated that the authorship of magical incantations like the present one can rarely be specified with certainty. They form part of the popular religion of the masses for whom the tradition of authorship was of no importance whatsoever. When, therefore, this material relating to popular religion came to be included in the *saṁhitā* of the *ṚV* some artificial tradition regarding its authorship had to be created.

Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni

Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are said to be the joint authors of X·167. Both of them are mentioned together in the fourth stanza of the *sūkta*. The first three stanzas are believed to have been spoken by the two *ṛṣis* and the fourth by Indra.

Anila

Anila, who is said to have belonged to the family of Vāta (*Vātagotra* or Vātāyana), is mentioned as the author of X·168. The *sūkta* contains a graphic description of impetuous wind. And the words, *anila* and *vāta*, both mean wind. It is, therefore, evident that both the personal name as well as the family name of the author, as given by tradition, are fictitious.

Śabara

The authorship of X·169 is traditionally ascribed to Śabara, who is said to have been born in the family of Kakṣīvān. This *sūkta* contains the blessings sought by the poet for the safety of the cows. It is interesting to note that the cows are here said to have been produced by the Aṅgirasas through penance.[266]

Vibhrāṭ

If one were to consider the subject-matter of X·170, one would hardly entertain any doubt as to the fictitious character of the tradition of authorship regarding that *sūkta*. The word, *vibhrāṭ*, which occurs at the beginning of the first two stanzas of this, *sūkta* as also the words, *viśvabhrāṭ* and *vibhrājan*, which occur in the third and the fourth stanzas respectively, are clearly epithets qualifying the god Sūrya. It thus appears that the personal name of the author of this *sūkta*, who had presumably been forgotten, was made up from an epithet of Sūrya which is frequently used in this *sūkta*, while the family-name is derived from the *devatā* itself.

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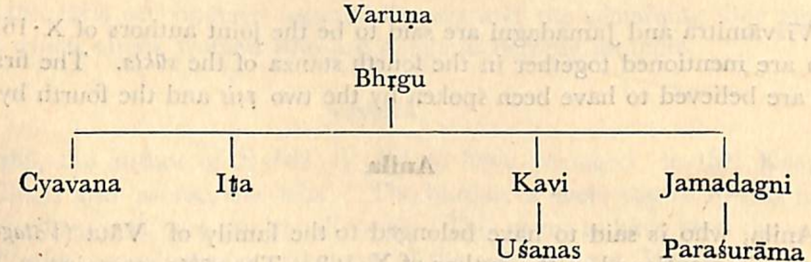
(266) *ṚV* X.169.2.

Iṭa

Tradition regards Iṭa of the Bhṛgu-family as the seer of X·171. The author has mentioned, his name as Iṭat, in the very stanza of the *sūkta*, where Indra is said to have protected Iṭat's chariot. In the second stanza there is a reference to a legend, understood by Sāyaṇa,[267] as referring to sacrifice namely, that, when sacrifice attempted to escape from the gods, in human form, his head was cut off by Indra. However, the legend actually seems to refer to the antagonistic Makha, whom Indra had overpowered for the sake of a Soma-sacrificer. This legend of Makha is narrated in *TMB* 7·5·6. His head plays an important role in the *Pravargya*-ritual. In the third stanza, the mortal Vainya[268] is said to have been set free by Indra for the sake of Āstrabudhnya.[269] According to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, the genealogy of Iṭa would be as follows :



Roth[270] is of the opinion that the word *iṭat* is really a form of the verb *iṭ*, meaning 'to err, wander'. According to him, it need not be understood as a proper noun.

Saṁvarta

Saṁvarta, the seer of X·172, is said to be an Āṅgirasa. He was the brother of Bṛhaspati and the *purohita* of Marutta Āvīkṣita,[271] whom he coronated with the rite of *aindra mahabhiṣeka*. He is also called Vītahavya.[272] He is described as one of the very ancient performers of sacrifice.[273] It is at the behest of Nārada that Saṁvarta is said to have accepted Marutta's priesthood when Bṛhaspati had declined to do so.[274] The *MBh*[275] tells us that Marutta's sacrifice was performed on the banks of Yamunā near Plakṣaprasravaṇa. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Yogavāsiṣṭha 5·82–90), on the other hand, says that the sacrifice was performed in a country called Uśīrabīja. Indra tried to threaten Marutta through his messengers Agni and Dhṛtarāṣṭra Gandharva. But Saṁvarta promised complete security to Marutta. It is said that the utensils in the sacrifice performed by Marutta, were

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(267) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.866.

(268) This Vainya is apparently Pṛthī Vainya (Cf. X.148.5).

(269) This Āstrabudhnya, the son of Astrabudhna is not mentioned anywhere else in the *ṚV*.

(270) **Roth** *P*⩽ s. v. (271) Cf. *AB* VIII.21. (272) *Yogavāsiṣṭha* V.82–90.

(273) Cf. *ṚV* VIII.54.2. (274) Cf. **Citrav**, *Prācīna-caritra-kośa*, p.595.

(275) *MBh*, Vanaparvan, 129.

all made of gold. Saṁvarta himself, seated at the altar of the sacrifice, was offering oblations and throwing them into the fire chanting the relevant *mantras*. Through the efficacy of his *mantras* he is said to have compelled all the gods to attend the sacrifice.

The present *sūkta* is in praise of Uṣas but there is nothing poetic or extraordinary in it. There is obviously a conscious attempt on the part of the poet to indicate his name in X·172·4.

Dhruva

Another scion of the family of Aṅgiras, namely, Dhruva, is said to have been responsible for X·173. Dhruva, however, does not seem to be the real personal name of the author. It is, as it were, a key-word in this sūkta,[276] and is, therefore, artificially adopted as the personal name. The present *sūkta* is very important because in it are reflected the Vedic concepts of nation and kingship. 'Benediction of a newly elected king' is the subject of the hymn. From the first stanza we come to know that the king was elected by people[277] and people wished him stability. Further Indra is implored to make all the subjects bring taxes to the king regularly.[278] Sāyaṇa[279] says that this *sūkta* is to be recited when the king prepares for a battle.

Abhīvarta

The seer of X·174 is also said to be an Āṅgirasa. His personal name is given as *abhīvarta*. But in this case also, the personal name seems to have been artificially derived from the key-word of the *sūkta*, namely, the root *vṛt* with *abhi*. It may be incidentally pointed out that, in the *AV*, Abhīvarta is an amulet, while in the *ṚV*, it denotes, significantly enough, a sacrificial offering. This *sūkta* contains some indications regarding a king's desire for unrivalled sovereign power. It is interesting to note that the fourth stanza of this *sūkta* is identical with X·159·4. Except for that stanza, the whole *sūkta* occurs in the *AV* (I·29). The *purohita* makes the king recite it when the latter is about to go to the battlefield.

Ūrdhvagrāvā

Ūrdhvagrāvā, to whom the authorship of X·175 is traditionally ascribed, is said to be Ārbudi i. e. the son of the seer, Arbuda, of the *sarpa* clan.[280] This Arbuda is also called Kādraveya and is mentioned as the seer of X·94. The name Ūrdhvagrāvā, however, appears to be fictitious and is evidently derived from the subject-matter of the *sūkta*, namely, the Soma-pressing stones.

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(276) That word occurs nearly 15 times in the *sūkta*.

(277) Cf. *ṚV* X.173.2.4,5.

(278) *ṚV* X.173.6.

(279) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.867. Cf. also *ĀśGS* 3.12.2.

(280) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p. 870

Sūnu

The first-words of X·176 evidently constituted the source of the fiction regarding the name of its seer, which is given as Sūnu, the son of Ṛbhu. The first stanza is in praise of Ṛbhu and the rest of Agni.

Pataṅga

The *Anukramaṇī* characterises X·177 as a Māyābheda, that is to say, a certain kind of magic. It is associated with Pataṅga or a bird which as a matter of fact represents the inner light of the seer's knowledge and the enlightenment in the hearer.[281] In consequence of this, the *sūkta* is attributed to a fictitious seer, who is artificially named Pataṅga. His family-relationship with Prajāpati also is evidently fictitious. According to tradition, however, Pataṅga is said to have been the dearest son of Prajāpati.[282] In a passage of the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, we are told that Uccaiśravas Kaupeya got 'a smoky body' as the result of the *Sāman* recited by one Pataṅga.[283] This Uccaiśravas is said to have been the king of the Kurus and the maternal uncle of Keśin Dārbhya.[284]

Ariṣṭanemi

The seer of X·178 is said to be Ariṣṭanemi, the son of Tārkṣya. The deity of the *sūkta* is also Tārkṣya[285] which fact implies that the patronym Tārkṣya, given to Ariṣṭanemi is fictitious. It may, however, be incidentally pointed out that Tārkṣya is sometimes connected with Tṛkṣi, who was a descendant of Trasadasyu.[286]

Śibi Pratardana, Vasumanas

The authorship of the three stanzas in X·179 is ascribed respectively to Śibi, Pratardana, and Vasumanas. Sibi is the son of Uśīnara and Mādhavī (or Dṛṣadvatī). The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sutra*[287] mentions a sacrifice performed by him. The *MBh*[288] relates a story, according to which Śibi is said to have sacrificed his body in order to save a pigeon pursued by a hawk. Vasumanas, Pratardana and Aṣṭaka are said to be his brothers, born to Mādhavī from Haryaśva (Rohidaśva?), Divodāsa, and Viśvāmitra respectively. Vṛṣādarbha, Suvīra, Madra and Kaikeya[289] are said to be the sons of Śibi.

As indicated above, Vasumanas is said to have been the son of Mādhavī from Haryaśva.[290] The *Anukramaṇī*, however, describes him as the son of Rohi-

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(281) Cf. *ṚV* VI.9.4–5. Cf. **Geldner** *Der Rigveda*, III, p.398.

(282) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.873. (283) *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Bṛahmaṇa* III.30.30.

(284) *Op.cit.* III.29.1–3.

(285) Tarkṣya, who, according to Sāyaṇa is to be identified with Suparṇa, is actually a deified race-horse like Dadhikrāvan.

(286) Cf. **Foy**, *Kz* 34, 266. (287) *Baudhāyana ŚS* 21.18. (288) *MBh*, Vanaparvan, 132

(289) *Bhāgavata*, 9.23.3.

(290) Cf. *Vāyu P.* as quoted by **Citrkv**, *Prācīna-caritrā-kośa*, p.518.

daśva. It, would thus appear that Haryaśva and Rohidaśva were one and the same person. According to the *MBh* also, Vasumanas was born from Haryaśva.[291] The *MBh*[292] mentions that Vasumanas was instructed in polity by Vāmadeva.

Pratardana, the seer of the second stanza of the present *sūkta* is also the author of IX·96. He was king of Kāśī and is said to have been the son of Divodāsa and Mādhavī. This whole hymn was employed in the *dadhigharma* ceremony, when Soma mixed with curds was offered to Indra.[293]

Jaya

The patronym, Aindra, which is traditionally given to Jaya, the seer of X·180, is obviously fictitious and is derived from the *devatā* of the *sūkta*. This Jaya must certainly not be confused with Jayanta, who is described in the *Purāṇas* as having been a son of Indra born to Śacī.

Pratha, Sapratha, Gharma

The three stanzas in X·181 are respectively attributed to three different seers, namely, Pratha of the Vāsiṣṭha family, Sapratha of the Bhāradvāja family, and Gharma of the Saurya family. This *sūkta* contains a kind of mystic speculation regarding the two famous *Sāmans*, *Rathantara* and *Bṛhat*, and regarding Gharma which represents the libation of hot milk offered in the *pravargya* ritual. The name of the seer connected with the third stanza of this *sūkta*, namely, Gharma Saurya, must accordingly, be regarded as being entirely fictitious. The same seems to have been the case in respect of the personal names of the first two seers. For, Pratha (extending) and Sapratha (far-extending) refer to the *Rathantara* and the *Bṛhat*-Sāmans respectively. These two words actually occur in the first stanza.

The *sūkta* X·181 is quite important from the ritualistic point of view. In the first stanza, we are told that Vasiṣṭha secured the *Rathantara Sāman* from Dhātṛ, Viṣṇu, and Savitṛ. While the second stanza tells us that Bharadvāja got the *bṛhatsāma* from the above-mentioned and Agni. *Rathantara* is one of the most important *Sāma*-hymns (= *SV* II·1·1·11) and is based on VII·32·22–23. Equally important is the *Sāman* called Bṛhat (= II·2·1·12), which is based on VI·46·1–2. Since *Rathantara* and *Bṛhat* are respectively based on stanzas from the seventh and the sixth *maṇḍalas* they are said to have been secured by Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja respectively. According to the third stanza, Gharma was secured by the priests from the various gods including Sūrya. That is apparently the reason why Gharma is characterised as Saurya.

Tapumūrdhan

Tapumūrdhan, the author of X·182, is said to be the son of Bṛhaspati. The word, *bṛhaspati* occurs in the first stanza and the deity of the *sūkta* is also Bṛhaspati. The family-name of the author, namely, Bārhaspatya, is, therefore,

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(291) *MBh*, Udyogaparvan, 115.8.

(292) *MBh* Śāntiparvan, 92–94.

(293) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p.876 cf. also *ĀśŚS* 5.13.

obviously fictitious. The authenticity of the personal name, Tapumūrdhan is also doubtful. For, the word, *tapumūrdhā* occurs in the third stanza of the *sūkta* as an adjective qualifying Bṛhaspati. Sāyaṇa interprets that word as *tāpakaśiraskaḥ*.[294] The ritualistic significance of the present *sūkta* is indicated by the mention of *prayāja* and *anuyāja* in the second stanza, which represent respectively the introductory and final sacrifices of a Soma-sacrifice and seem to have played a particularly important role in the ancient ritual.[295]

Prajāvān

The *sūkta* X·183, relates to the birth of a son. According to the *Anukramaṇī* three stanzas contain respectively the longings of the sacrificer, his wife and the Hotṛ. In the last stanza, the Hotṛ regards himself as the procreator of all living beings through the efficacy of the sacrifice which he performs. Actually, however, the hymn seems to represent an idyllic scene between the husband and the wife, who are dreaming, as it were, of the birth of a son. The divinity which controls the continuity of the family, presumably Prajāpati, appears in the third stanza and grants the desire of the couple. This synopsis of the *sūkta* will make it absolutely clear that the name of its author is fictitious and quite artificially derived.

Tvaṣṭā, Viṣṇu

The subject-matter of the *sūkta* X·184, is an enreaty for easy conception, full protection of the embryo, and quick delivery. In this *sūkta*, god Viṣṇu is represented in his original character, namely, that of a fertility-divinity.[296] Tvaṣṭā is the divine creator or fashioner of things in general. These two, therefore, are mentioned, of course, fictitiously, as the authors of this *sūkta*.

The first stanza of this *sūkta* reads : "May Viṣṇu form and mould the womb, may Tvaṣṭṛ duly shape the forms. May Prajāpati infuse the stream and Dhātṛ lay the germ for thee." In the second stanza, Sinīvālī is invoked, as she generally aids the birth of children. In the third stanza Agni, produced by the Aśvins from the golden churning woods is invoked as the germ of a pregnant woman who would bear it in the tenth month.[297] The first two stanzas of the *sūkta* are incorporated in the *AV* V·25, which is a charm to accompany the *garbhādhāna* ceremony, to ensure or facilitate and bless conception.

Satyadhṛti

Satyadhṛti, to whom the authorship of X·185 is traditionally ascribed, is described as the son of Varuṇa. This is presumably due to the fact that Varuṇa's invulnerable protection is sought in the first stanza. Even the personal name of the seer, namely, Satyadhṛti, arouses doubts as regards its genuineness. It is not unlikely that Satyadhṛti is just a synonym for Dhṛtavrata which is an exclusive

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(294) Cf. *ṚV* VII.3.1. Here, the epithet Tapumūrdhā is attributed to Agni.

(295) Cf. *ṚV.* X.51.9.

(296) **Dandekar**, *Viṣṇu in the Veda*, pp'108–110 (297) Cf. *ṚV* X.24.4 and AV X.8.20.

epithet of Varuṇa. According to the *Anukramaṇī*, this *sūkta* is a Svastyayana. Sāyaṇa[298] says that the preceptor consecrates with it, his disciple who is about to start on a journey for securing wealth, in order to ensure his safety. The *ĀśGS*[299] also corroborates this *viniyoga*. The second *ṛk* reads as follows : "The evil-minded foe has power over these neither at home, nor yet abroad on pathways that are strange."

Ula

The *devatā* of X·186 is Vāyu, and, therefore, Ula, who is believed to have been the seer of X·186, is described as belonging to the family of Vāta. The name, Ula, does not occur anywhere else in the *ṚV*.[300]

Vatsa

The seer of X·187 is mentioned to have been Vatsa, the son of Agni. About the fictitious character of the author's family-name, hardly, anything need, indeed be said. For, it is certainly derived from the *devatā* of this *sūkta*. Is it possible to assume that Vatsa Āgneya is identical with Kumāra Āgneya, who is mentioned with Vasiṣṭha, as the alternative author of VII·101–102 ? The fact that the latter two *sūktas* are addressed to Parjanya would, however, seem to go against such assumption. The refrain of every stanza in the *sūkta*, X·187 which recurs in the *AV* as VI·36, is "May Agni bear us past our foes".

Śyena

The patronym Āgneya given to Śyena, who is mentioned as the author of X·188, is again obviously fictitious and is derived from the *devatā* of the *sūkta*. As for the author's personal name, Śyena, the present *sūkta* at least does not give any ground to suspect its authenticity.

Sarparājñī

The *sūkta* X·189 has given rise to a lot of controversy among the traditional scholiasts. According to the *Anukramaṇī* the *devatā* of the *sūkta* is Sūrya or the *sūkta* contains self-glorification by Sarparājñī, whose real character is, indeed, problematical. Other scholiasts believe that in the three stanzas of this *sūkta*, Vāk is praised in connection with the three regions respectively.[301] The *VS* III·6–8, employs this *sūkta* in the *agnyupasthāna*. According to Sāyaṇa, the *devatā* of the *sūkta* is Sūrya, while Mahīdhara and Uvaṭa believe that the *devatā* is Agni. Whatever it is, one thing is quite certain, namely, that the tradition regarding the author-

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(298) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, *ṚV*, VSM, IV, p. 882. (299) *ĀśGS* 3 .10.7–8.

(300) The word, *ula* denotes a wild beast. Had the impetuosity of the wind been the subject of this *sūkta* it would have been possible to wonder whether *ula* was not intended as an epithet of wind. The present context, however, shows that *ula* must have been the genuine personal name of the author of the *sūkta*.

(301) Cf. *BD* VIII.90–91.

ship of the *sūkta* is entirely fictitious. It does not become quite clear from the *sūkta* how Sarparājñī came to be associated with it. The *sūkta* is evidently a morning-hymn, in which the three morning-divinities, Agni, Sūrya and Uṣas, are indicated.

Aghamarṣaṇa

Aghamarṣaṇa, the seer of X·190, is said to have been the son of Madhucchandas.[302] This is a cosmogonical hymn, according to which Tapas is the source and the original principle of the world. Aghamarṣaṇa must, accordingly, be regarded as the grandson of Viśvāmitra, sometimes he is also referred to as Aghamarṇa.

Saṁvanana

The seer of X·191, is said to have been Saṁvanana Āṅgirasa. The *sūkta* is known as the *saṁjñāna sūkta*, that is, a *sūkta* which conduces to harmony. It must be said that the Saṁhitākāras, have, indeed shown great propriety in concluding the *ṚV-saṁhitā* with this *sūkta* which represents a noble ideal.[303]

Appendix to Chapter X

Classification of the authors of the X *maṇḍala* according to categories

Category 1[304]

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
1—7	Trita Āptya
9	Sindhudvīpa Āmbariṣa
30—34	Kavaṣa Ailūsa
35—36	Luśa Dhānāka

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(302) For further details please see the eighth chapter.

(303) Cf. X.191.4;

स॒मा॒नी व॒ आकू॑तिः स॒मा॒ना हृद॑यानि वः ।
स॒मा॒नम॑स्तु वो॒ मनो॒ यथा॑ वः॒ सुस॒हास॑ति

(304) For classification into different categories of the seers of this *maṇḍala* please see the introduction to this chapter. Many of the traditional authors of the tenth *maṇḍala* who belong to the first category, that is, who appear to possesss some historical authenticity, can be connected either with the *ṛṣi*-families already known from the earlier books of the *ṚV* or with the later *pravara*-lists. With regard to the remaining families of the *sūtra*-accounts, it can be said, that many of them can trace a Ṛgvedic connection (cf. **Brough**, *History of the Gotras*, *JRAS* (1946 Sept.), as their *pravaras* contain the names of seers who are the authors of the *sūktas* in the tenth *maṇḍala*. Thus the Saṁkṛtis, with the *pravara*, Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāṁkṛtya; can be traced to the seer of X.73, Gaurivīta Śāktya. Similarly Maudgalyas can be atraced to Mudgala Bhārmyaśva (X.102), Rathītaras can be traced to Aṣṭādaṁṣṭra Vairūpa (X.111); Kapis can trace the origin to Urukṣaya Āmahīyava (X.118); Kutsas can be connected with Mandhātṛ Yauvanāśva (X.134), and the Vainyas to Pṛthu Vainya (148).

39—40	Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī
41	Suhastya Ghauṣeya
42—44	Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa
45—46	Vatsapri Bhālandana
47	Saptagu Āṅgirasa
54—56	Bṛhaduktha Vāmadevya
57—59	Asamāti Aikṣvāka
60	Gaupāyanas (Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu)
61—62	Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava
63—64	Gaya Plāta
65—66	Vasukarṇa Vāsukra
67—68	Ayāsya Āṅgirasa
69—70	Sumitra Vādhryaśva
71—72	Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa
73—74	Gaurivīti Śāktya
75	Sindhukṣit Praiyamedha (Doubtful)
76	Jaratkarṇa Airavata Sarpa
77—78	Syūmaraśmi Bhārgava
87	Pāyu Bhāradvāja
88	Mūrdhanvān Āṅgirasa
89	Reṇu Vaiśvāmitra
91	Aruṇa Vaitahavya
92	Śāryāta Mānava
93	Tānva Pārthya
94	Arbuda Kādraveya Sarpa
96	Baru Āṅgirasa
97	Bhiṣag Ātharvaṇa
98	Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa
99	Vamra Vaikhānasa
100	Duvasyu Vāndana
101	Budha Saumya
104	Aṣṭaka Vaiśvāmitra
105	Sumitra or Durmitra Kautsa
107	Divya Āṅgirasa
110	Jamadagni Bhārgava
	or
	Rāma Jāmadagnya
111	Aṣṭrādaṅṣṭra Vairūpa
112	Nabhaḥprabhedana Vairūpa
113	Śataprabhedana Vairūpa
114	Sadhri Vairūpa
115	Upastuta Vārṣṭihavya
117	Bhikṣu Āṅgirasa (Doubtful)
118	Urukṣaya Āmahīyava
120	Bṛhaddiva Ātharvaṇa
122	Citramahas Vāsiṣṭha

123	Vena Bhārgava
126	Kulmalabarhiṣa Sailūṣiḥ
	or
	Aṁhomuk Vāmadevya
127	Kuśika Saubharaḥ
	or
	Rātri Bhāradvāji (Doubtful)
128	Vihavya Āṅgiras
131	Sukīrti Kākṣīvata
132	Śakapūta Nārmedha
133	Sudās Paijavana
134	Māndhātā Yauvanāśva
	or
	Ṛṣikā Godhā
137	Saptarṣayaḥ (Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha)
138	Aṅga Aurava
142	Jaritā, Droṇa, Sārisṛkta and Stambamitra, all of whom are the Śārṅgas
143	Atri Sāṁkhya
146	Devamuni Airammada
147	Suvedas Śairīṣiḥ
148	Pṛthu Vainya
149	Archan Hairaṇyastūpa
150	Mṛlika Vāsiṣṭha (Doubtful)
152	Śāsa Bhāradvāja (Doubtful)
155	Śirimbiṭha Bhāradvāja
160	Pūraṇa Vaiśvāmitra
164	Pracetas Āṅgirasa
167	Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni
169	Śabara Kākṣīvata
172	Saṁvarta Āṅgirasa (Doubtful)
175	Ūrdhvagrāvā Ārbudiḥ (Sarpaḥ) (Doubtful)
179	Śibi Auśīnara
	Pratardana Kāśirājaḥ
	Vasumanas Rauhidaśva
185	Satyadhṛti Vāruṇi (Doubtful)
190	Aghamarṣaṇa Mādhucchandasa

Category 2

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
11–12	Havirdhāna Āṅgi
86	Indra, Indrāṇī, Vṛṣākapi (Doubtful)
90	Nārāyaṇa
95	Purūravas, Urvaṣī
96	Sarvahari Aindra
109	Juhū Brahmajāyā or Ūrdhvanābhā Brāhma
114	Gharma Tāpasa
116	Agniyuta Sthaura or Agniyūpa Sthaura
121	Hiraṇyagarbha Prājāpatya
124	Agni
125	Vāk Āṁbhṛṇī
129	Prājāpati Parameṣṭhī
130	Yajña Prājāpatya
140	Agni Pāvaka
141	Agni Tāpasa
156	Ketu Āgneya
157	Bhuvana Āptya or Sādhana Bhauvana
161	Yakṣmanāśana Prājāpatya
162	Rakṣohā Brāhma
163	Vivṛhā Kāśyapa
165	Kapota Nairṛta (Doubtful)
177	Pataṅga Prājapatya (Doubtful)
181	Pratha Vāsiṣṭha Sapratha Bhāradvāja Gharma Saurya
191	Saṁvanana

Category 3

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
15	Śaṅkha Yāmāyana
16	Damana Yāmāyana
17	Devaśravas Yāmāyana
18	Saṁkusuka Yāmāyana
19	Mathita Yāmāyana
20–26	Vimada Aindra or Vasukṛt Aindra
27	Vasukra Aindra
28	Vasukrapatnī
37	Abhitapas Saurya
135	Kumāra Yāmāyana
139	Viśvāvasu Gandharva
144	Ūrdhvakṛṣana Yāmāyana
166	Ṛṣabha Vairāja or Ṛṣabha Śākvara
168	Anila Vātāyana (Doubtful)
176	Sūnu Ārbhava (Doubtful)
178	Ariṣṭanemi Tārkṣya
186	Ula Vātāyana
187	Vatsa Āgneya (Doubtful)
189	Sarparājñī (Doubtful)

Category 4

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
8	Triśiras Tvāṣṭra
10	Yama Vaivasvata and Yamī Vaivasvatī
13	Vivasvān Āditya
14	Yama Vaivasvata
38	Muṣkavān Indra
48–50	Vaikuṇṭha Indra
51–53	Saucīka Agni
79	Saucīka Agni or Vaiśvānara Agni or Sapti Vājaṁbhara
80	Saucīka Vaiśvānara Agni
81–82	Viśvakarmā Bhauvana
83–84	Manyu Tāpasa
85	Sūryā Sāvitrī
102	Mudgala Bhārmyaśva

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
103	Apratiratha Aindra
107	Dakṣiṇā Prājāpatyā
108	Paṇayaḥ Asurāḥ
119	Laba Aindra
136	Vātaraśanāḥ Munayaḥ (Jūti, Vātajūti, Viprajūti, Vṛṣāṇaka, Karikrata, Etaśa
144	Suparṇa Tārkṣya
145	Indrāṇī
151	Śraddhā Kāmāyanī
153	Indramātaraḥ, Devajāmayaḥ
154	Yamī Vaivasvatī
158	Cakṣu Saurya

The number of the *sūkta*	The name of the seer
159	Śacī Paulomī
170	Vibhrāṭ Sauryaḥ
171	Iṭa Bhārgava (Doubtful)
173	Dhruva Āṅgirasa (Doubtful)
174	Abhīvarta Āṅgirasa(Doubtful)
180	Jaya Aindra
182	Tapumūrdhā Bārhaspatya
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